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Photo. by Sarony, New York.

MINNIE MADDERN FISKE

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them.—HEINE.*

The Arena

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No. 218

THE SOUL OF MAN IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY SCULPTURE: A STUDY OF MR. PARTRIDGE'S PORTRAIT BUSTS.

By B. O. FLOWER.

THE SCULPTOR whose imaginative power renders him capable of achieving great work and whose spiritual nature is so awakened as to enable him to understand the dignity and meaning of life, is like the great poet, painter, novelist and prophet, who can say with Carlyle: "Now, indeed, I am independent of the world's smile or frown, since I am in harmony with God and have His smile as the light of my life. I have got into the blessed region of the Everlasting Yea."

Several years ago, on entering the studio of William Ordway Partridge, our eyes fell on the legend, "Character is Destiny," engraved in bold letters above the platform on which the master and his assistants labored. From this motto we turned to examine the sculptor's work, and here, it seemed to us, was found the secret of that subtle spiritual power or quality in master creations which makes their influence distinctly morally invigorating.

The man of genius must possess in large degree the imaginative power that

enables him to penetrate to the heart of things, to enter the Holiest of Holies and become one with lives that he wishes to portray. But who has not felt a difference in the effect produced upon the mind by master creations of men of genius, whether in the worlds of poetry, painting or sculpture? Some appeal primarily to the sensuous side of life, while others awaken moral enthusiasm and stir the profound depths of the spiritual nature.

Man is a spiritual being. Naturally though often blindly he gropes for the light, aspires to that which is higher, hungers for an ideal. As the seed in the dark ground feels the compulsion of the sun and struggles to the light and heat, so the soul of man throughout the ages has slowly, toilsomely, but none the less positively, reached out toward the Divine Life, which, though not perceptible the physical senses, enwraps him as to light enfolds the flying bird.

Man is spiritual, though the divine essence is frequently veiled by materiality as in winter for days the face of the sun



BYRON,

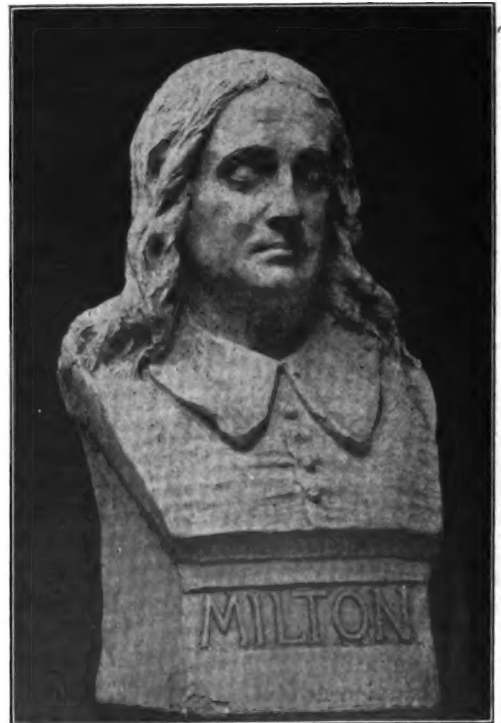
By William Ordway Partridge.

is shrouded from the earth. Now it is not enough that the man of genius should possess the seeing eye. Unless he is spiritually awakened, so as to discern the real being behind the veil, he is liable to place the primary emphasis on the exterior or the materialistic side of life. This was the master defect of Grecian sculpture, especially after moral idealism began to decline. Thus, as has been well observed, the great works of Praxiteles are well-nigh perfect in the esthetic representation of sensuous life, but they are signally wanting in the soul quality which inspires that which is noblest and finest and best in the heart of man; and it is precisely this quality, complementing the fine imaginative penetration of the man of genius, which pervades in a striking manner the work of many of the greatest present-day sculptors, and it is this quality that gives special value to the work of Mr. Partridge.

In all his work there is this two-fold excellence: fidelity to the subject in hand, with that touch of idealism,—that emphasis on the soul or real self, that makes the work radiate a helpful influence, makes it give a moral uplift to the imagination of those who have eyes to see and souls to sense the subtle something in all the creations of genius that minister to the spiritual side of life.

In recent years this sculptor has devoted much time to portraiture—the representation of great characters of modern times. Now this kind of creative work required an eminent degree of penetration and discernment, in order to reflect at once the outer and the inner man; being true to the life and the thought of the subject, yet never losing sight of the fact that all men are children of God, are spiritual beings, who in nature image the Divine.

Among the many portrait busts that this sculptor has made in recent years



MILTON,

By William Ordway Partridge.

we give our readers some fairly typical examples that well illustrate the wide range of life depicted and the admirable manner in which the poet-sculptor has portrayed the originals, making the soul shine forth and accentuating the dominant note struck by his subject on the higher plane of expression. These representative poets, philosophers, thinkers and emancipators are real heroes of civilization whose work in elevating, developing and advancing humanity while increasing the happiness of the race, contrasts strikingly with the work of the heroes of war or destruction who have risen to sinister eminence, but who, owing to their egoism, self-absorption and spiritual blindness, have left behind them blight, ruin, hate and despair.

Here we have a study of Milton, the austere poet of the Protestant Reformation and of the revolt of the people against the despotisms of the Stuarts. As Homer was the blind bard whose tran-



BURNS,

By William Ordway Partridge.

scendent imagination enriched the dawning days of Western civilization, Milton was the poet of eagle imagination in the gray dawn that heralded the age of freedom and popular rule.

From Milton we turn to Franklin, one of the most speaking works in portraiture that has been produced by an American sculptor. Here we almost imagine the cheerful and simple child of a new world, a new philosophy and a new political order will utter, even while we peer upon the sculptured bust, some of those wonderfully droll sayings that were so pregnant with homely truth and practical wisdom. One accomplished critic, after seeing this bust observed:

"One cannot regard this head without smiling. Any moment, you feel sure, he may mop his forehead with a bandana and replace his hat; meanwhile you are actively conscious of the teeming brain inside that solid-looking head—a brain that is at work sizzling and fermenting, getting up



FRANKLIN,

By William Ordway Partridge.

schemes in a manner to circumvent the devil. This inimitable portrait is the work of a hand that knows its own cunning."

Franklin was one of the most complex natures the New World has produced, and yet perhaps the most typically American of all the illustrious citizens of the New World; and this portrait reveals the fact that Mr. Partridge has entered into such intimate *rapproch* with the "Poor Richard" of the printer's world, the marvelous philosophical student and the peerless statesman as to represent the real Franklin in a most realistic manner.

Now let us consider the poets, Burns, Byron and Shelley. Each represents in a fine way the subtle presence of the artistic imagination. Burns, the free-hearted child of the people and lover of justice and singer of the broadening life of the common man, with prophetic vision beheld what the wisest men of his day little dreamed was hastening on the wings of time. Mr. Partridge's study of Burns is



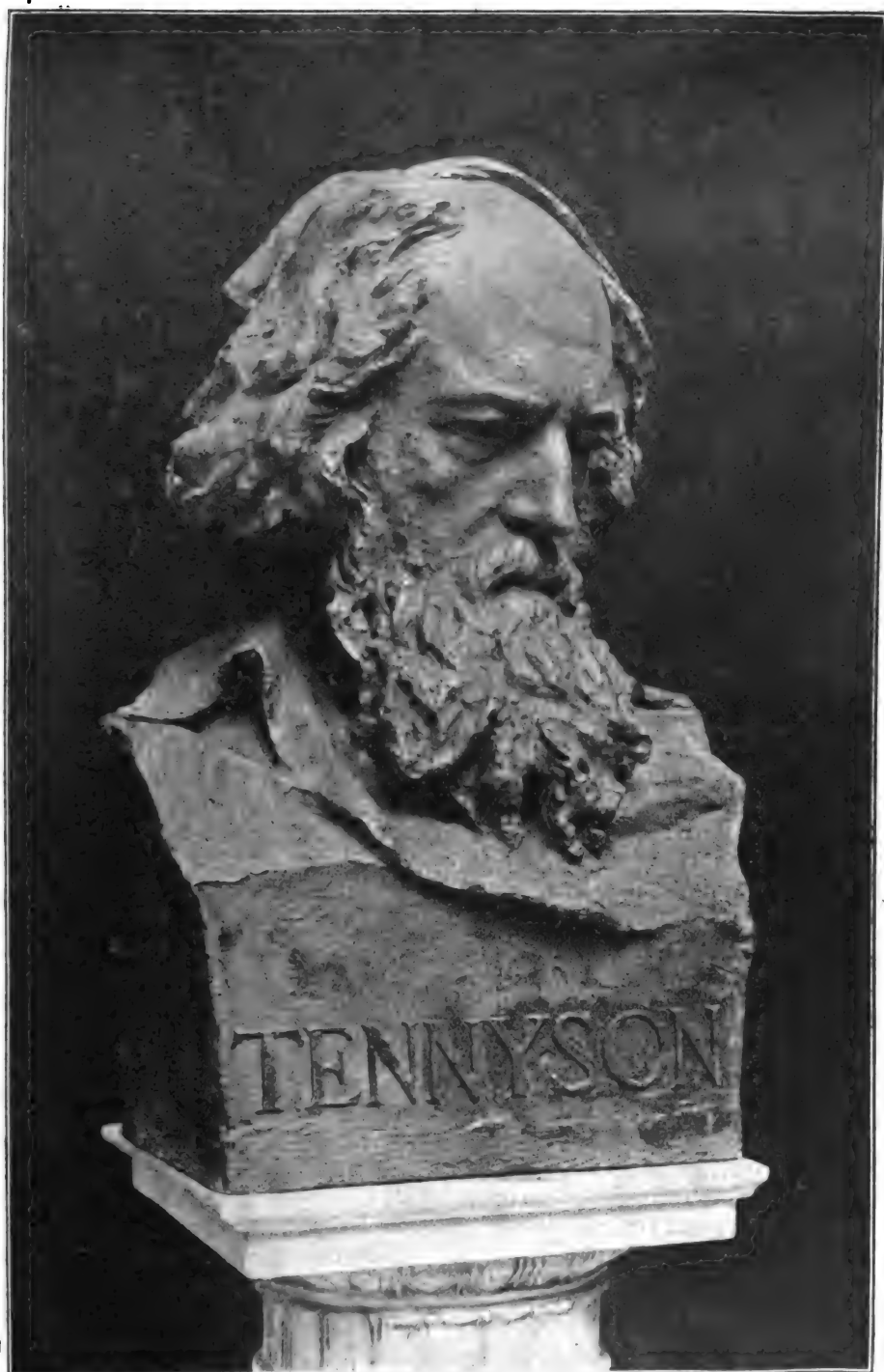
SHELLEY,
By William Ordway Partridge.

particularly excellent. One can almost imagine these lips are ready to exclaim:

"Then let us pray that come it may—
As come it will for a' that—
That sense and worth, o'er a' the earth,
May bear the gree, and a' that:
For a' that, and a' that,
It's comin' yet for a' that,
That man to man, the warld o'er,
Shall brothers be for a' that!"

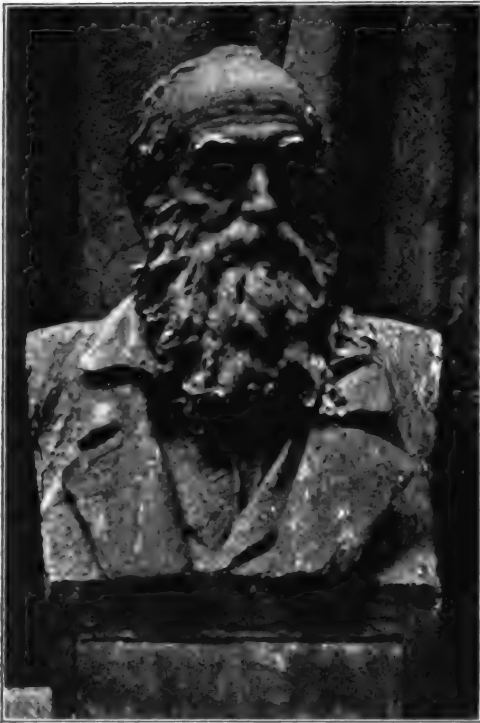
In the portrait of Byron it will be observed that Mr. Partridge has chosen to represent the poet on the threshold of early manhood, ere the baleful effects of the Venus-world had left their marks upon his plastic features. In the history of nineteenth-century literary men we know of no fate so melancholy and essentially tragic as Byron's. Gifted with a rich poetic imagination, with a nature as delicate as a finely-strung instrument that responds to the lightest passing zephyr, had he been favored during the formative period of life with an environment of love, sympathy and appreciation, and had he entered manhood happily married to a spiritually strong woman, how rich might have been his gift to civilization and how nobly joyous would have been his full-orbed life; for resident in his heart was so much that was fine, noble and true, and here was so deep a love of justice and freedom, that with his wealth of imagination and wizard power with words, he might have fanned the moral enthusiasm of generations and become a great factor in sweeping millions of lives to a higher plane of being. The potentiality for good and the sensitive delicacy and possibility of becoming clay in the hands of environing conditions, whether good or ill, are all suggested in this portrait of the young Byron, whose life and poetry naturally suggest his contemporary, Shelley.

One has only to examine the portrait bust of this poet to appreciate the presence of that subtle, dreamy, haunting spirit of unrest—hope mingled with doubt, expectation treading on the heels of unsatisfied desire—which marked in so large a way the life of Shelley and which expressed the tremendous struggle of opposing forces



Copyright, 1899, by William Ordway Partridge.

ALFRED TENNYSON,
William Ordway Partridge, Sculptor.



WALT. WHITMAN.
By William Ordway Partridge.

among the revolutionary youths of his time. Shelley was intensely human, and over his sensitive mind the hopes, aspirations, dreams and longings of the Angel of Light warred with the spirits in revolt on the lower plane, who sought the mastery of men among the revolutionary forces no less than among others of the highest-wrought and most sensitive natures of that time. Mr. Partridge has created a noble piece of work in this head, and as we look on the speaking face whose tempestuous life went out so tragically while the day of manhood was yet far from its meridian glory, we call to mind these words, which welled from the depths of the emotional nature of a great soul:

"I will be wise,
And just, and free, and mild, if in me lies
Such power, for I grow weary to behold
The selfish and the strong still tyrannize
Without reproach or check."

Or perhaps these words from the exquisite poem on "Intellectual Beauty" come to the mind:

"The awful shadow of some unseen Power
Floats, tho' unseen, amongst us,—visiting
This various world with as inconstant wing
As summer winds that creep from flower to flower,—
Like moonbeams that behind some piny mountain
 shower,
It visits with inconstant glance
Each human heart and countenance;
Like hues and harmonies of evening,—
Like clouds in starlight widely spread,—
Like memory of music fled,—
Like aught that for its grace may be
Dear, and yet dearer for its mystery."

"Spirit of Beauty, that dost consecrate
With thine own hues all thou dost shine upon
Of human thought or form,—where art thou
 gone?
Why dost thou pass away and leave our state,
This dim vast vale of tears, vacant and desolate?
Ask why the sunlight not forever
Weaves rainbows o'er yon mountain river,
Why aught should fail and fade that once is shown,
Why fear and dream and death and birth
Cast on the daylight of this earth
Such gloom,—why man has such a scope
For love and hate, despondency and hope?"

In Tennyson, Whitman and Whittier we have a trio of poets who delivered vital messages after Shelley and Byron had ceased to sing. Mr. Partridge's Tennyson is, we think, one of the greatest pieces of portraiture that has been produced by an artist of the New World. In speaking of this work Mr. Robert Burns Wilson in an admirable criticism which appeared a few months ago in *The Studio*, observed:

"This head of Tennyson, Dr. Van Dyke says, is the best portrait of the poet extant, but aside from its being so fine a piece of portraiture, the head would have its value for the perceiving mind apart from the glamor of 'Locksley Hall,' 'The Princess' and the 'Idylls of the King.' This is essentially the head of the music-master of any age. The spirit's impatient, patient battle with the eternal drag of material things is written on these features. That Tennyson fought the battle well is known in his long life, his great work. The record of the fight is written in this face."

The sculptor was extremely fortunate in the advantage he enjoyed in preparing Tennyson's bust, as he passed a day with the poet and was thus able to work from life. This bust of Tennyson and those of the other poets, thinkers, philosophers and emancipators that our sculptor has so



THE MADONNA,
A Twentieth-Century Conception.
William Ordway Partridge, Sculptor.



WHITTIER.
By William Ordway Partridge.

faithfully portrayed, suggest the new ideal that it is the august duty of twentieth-century spiritually awakened men of genius to present before the imagination of the young. No man can conceive the momentous results that will follow the transfer of the imagination of the young from self-centered war-gods to the prophet-poets and inspirers of the higher and finer sentiments of the truly civilized man; from the Alexanders, Cæsars and Napoleons, of whom we have had such a surfeit in literature during the recent years, to the Hugos, the Ruskins, the Tennysons, the Whittiers, the Lowells, the Lincolns and the Markhams. The whole front of civilization will be changed when the mind of youth is fed on that which awakens moral enthusiasm and creates a passionate love for all the children of men, instead of being riveted on the ideals which embody, first of all, force, and secondly, self-interest. This change means the lifting of the imagination and ideals of

civilization from engrossment in material concepts to the spiritual sphere from which life must more and more draw its inspiration and upon the dominance of which the uninterrupted progress of civilization depends. Let our schoolrooms be filled with busts of Lowell, Longfellow, Whittier, Bryant and Tennyson; of Fröbel, Ruskin, Grotius and Hugo; of Jefferson and Lincoln. Let the walls be decorated with reproductions of works of those great masters in art who have externalized lofty and immortal dreams. Let the teachers dwell upon the works and the lives of these great personalities who have enriched the world of art and literature and played upon the highest chords of the emotional nature; and the transforming effect will be almost inconceivable, acting day by day on the plastic character as the sculptor's touch which fashions the clay.

Whitman and Whittier suggest so much that is rugged, strong and morally healthful that they call for much more extended notice than it is possible to give at the present time. Each reflects the man—the soul of the man. Here is the sturdy, iconoclastic democrat, free-soaring child of America, with much of the elemental passions in his being. And here is the austere yet sweet-souled Quaker bard who was alternately a prophet of freedom and human rights and the sweetest singer of the America of the nineteenth century.

Another portrait that is justly famous is that of the Rev. Edward Everett Hale. This, like that of Tennyson, was made from life. The great Unitarian divine, who is at present chaplain of the United States Senate, and the sculptor have long been intimate friends.

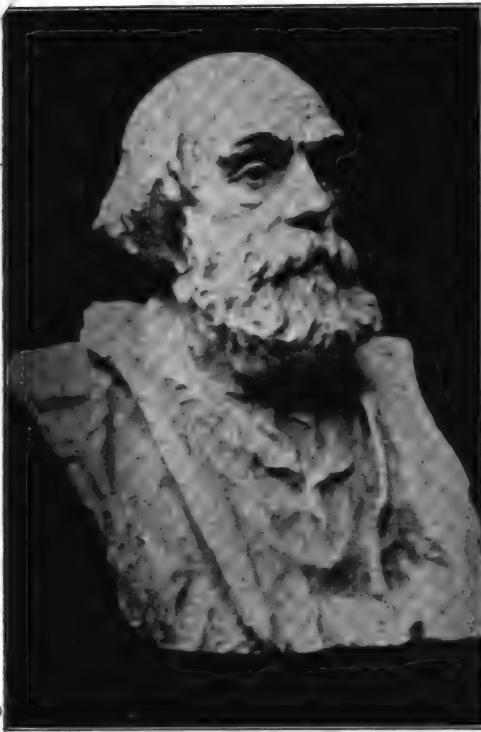
But among Mr. Partridge's heads we think none of them is more entitled to unstinted praise than the magnificent portrait bust of Abraham Lincoln. Here we have the rugged son of the soil, the apostle of justice and democracy, the wise statesman and brave emancipator, who dared to tread the pathway of duty even though it led to a martyr's death. Lincoln represented the spirit of democracy in a greater



Photo. by Darling, New York.

(CORNER IN MR PARTRIDGE'S STUDIO, SHOWING HIS "NATHAN HALE" AND
"THE PEACE STATUE."

The Soul of Man in Twentieth-Century Sculpture.



EDWARD EVERETT HALE,
By William Ordway Partridge.

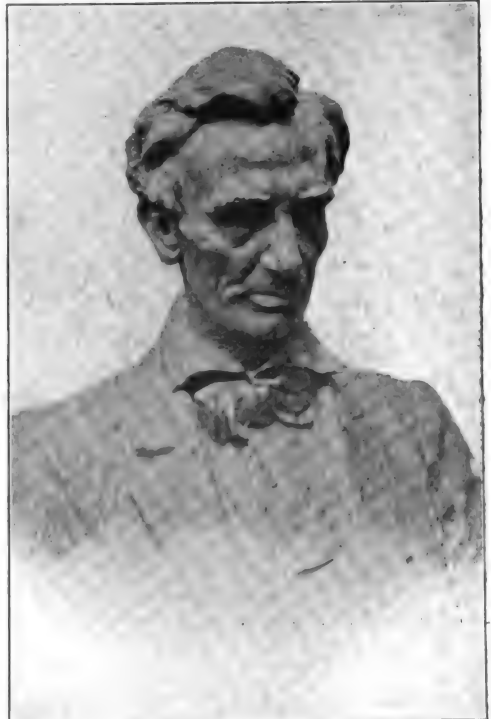
way than any statesman since Jefferson. On looking at his plain yet grandly true face, we involuntarily think of the finest of all pen-pictures of this great man,—the master-poem by our chief poet of democracy, Edwin Markham:

"When the Norn-Mother saw the Whirlwind Hour
Greatening and darkening as it hurried on,
She bent the strenuous Heavens and came down
To make a man to meet the mortal need.
She took the tried clay of the common road—
Clay warm yet with the genial heat of Earth,
Dashed through it all a strain of prophecy;
Then mixed a laughter with the serious stuff.

"The color of the ground was in him, the red earth;
The tang and odor of the primal things—
The rectitude and patience of the rocks;
The gladness of the wind that shakes the corn;
The courage of the bird that dares the sea;
The justice of the rain that loves all leaves;
The pity of the snow that hides all scars;
The loving-kindness of the wayside well;
The tolerance and equity of light
That gives as freely to the shrinking weed
As to the great oak flaring to the wind—
To the grave's low hill as to the Matterhorn
That shoulders out the sky."

The poet and the sculptor are naturally enough warm friends, for their ideals and aspirations are largely in common, and the best bust that Mr. Partridge has made since he completed his Lincoln is undoubtedly that of Edwin Markham. It is instinct with life. All who know the poet will appreciate the fact that it is probably the most speaking likeness extant.

We close this sketch of Mr. Partridge's work in portraiture with a glance at a corner of his studio in which is found his magnificent statue of Nathan Hale on his way to execution, and one of his latest works, the remarkably fine ideal creation entitled "Peace." Nathan Hale is a favorite character with Mr. Partridge. He has written a fine appreciation of this high-minded young patriot, and the statue shows that the sculptor has thrown his whole heart into the work. In it the patriot, facing death, has thrown his head back in the act of uttering the famous regret that he had but one life to give for



LINCOLN,
By William Ordway Partridge.



PEACE STATUE,
William Ordway Partridge, Sculptor.



EDWIN MARKHAM,
By William Ordway Partridge.

his country. Such work is necessarily inspiring and uplifting. The lesson of

Hale's devotion should be impressed on the mind of every youth in the land. So also ought the lofty ideal of peace suggested in this late concept of Mr. Partridge, in which the Goddess of Concord is represented as having broken the sword of force.

Our sculptor, in common with the spiritually awakened and the nobly idealistic men of genius everywhere, is a staunch champion of peace and human brotherhood. The Peace statue embodies an idea that is very dear to him and one that he believes is destined to grow with each advancing year until it becomes an all-powerful or dominating ideal throughout the civilized world, in spite of the little men, the materialists and those who see nothing beyond the outward trappings and show of things, who vainly imagine that physical force, great armaments and crushing military burdens are a better protection for a free people than that moral idealism that during the early days of our national life made the Republic the greatest moral world-power in the family of nations.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

THE ULTIMATE ISSUE INVOLVED IN RAILROAD ACCIDENTS.

BY CARL S. VROOMAN.

THE WIDESPREAD discussion of the question of railroad accidents which has been carried on so vigorously during the past six months in all parts of the country, has brought to light the fact that more than one-half of the accidents to travelers and employes are avoidable. This discussion has made plain furthermore that the expense involved in the abolition of avoidable accidents is very far from being prohibitory—that in fact this expense could be provided for out of the yearly increase in railroad profits or out of

the yearly surplus profits of roads, without in any way interfering with the payment of the usual honest dividends to the stockholders.*

Moreover, if the railroads should attempt by a juggling of accounts to dispute this proposition, it might easily be shown that there is still another huge reservoir of capital available for this purpose—the ever-swelling, non-productive dead sea of railroad watered stock. It would

*See "Can Americans Afford Safety in Railroad Travel?" *McClure's Magazine*, August, 1907.

seem wiser, therefore, on the part of the railroads not to enter into any discussion or contest which would tend to drag this question into the foreground, for if ever the American people are called upon to render a decision as to the right of financiers to coin the bones and blood of railroad victims into dividends on fictitious values, there seems to be little doubt as to the probable nature of their verdict.

HOMICIDAL ECONOMIES MUST STOP.

In the face of these undeniable facts, it seems at last to have become apparent, to railroad officials as well as to the public, that a continuation of the present policy of economy in railroad management at the cost of human life, is impossible. At the next session of Congress legislation doubtless will be enacted, requiring the introduction of some of the most successful safety appliances on all passenger-carrying roads as well as the carrying out of other much-needed reforms such as the abolition or effective guarding of grade crossings. But unfortunately this is very far from being all that is required. If all the patchwork reforms which have been suggested by competent experts during the past year were to be carried into effect in the most approved way, there still would remain to be dealt with other causes of railroad accidents still more complicated and deep seated. What railroad managers need most desperately to-day is not greater technical competence or even better financial backing, but rather a new spirit, a change of ideals, a large increase in the *moral capital* with which for the past few years they have been doing business.

The statement of a Western railroad official to me recently, that "a large percentage of our railroad accidents are due to the belief on the part of the railroad directors that it costs less to pay for accidents than to prevent them" is deeply significant. The fact that this remark was made with no apparent relish on his part, but pensively and solemnly as one would

speak of the awful and inevitable catastrophes which result from the blind and merciless workings of the forces of nature, serves to call our attention once more to the gruesome fact that however intelligent and humane railroad officials may be personally, in their official capacity they too often become only so many cogs in a complicated and conscienceless mechanism which knows but one supreme purpose—the extraction from the public of the largest possible dividends on the largest possible quantity of watered stock. In regard to this particular category of industrial organization the socialist undoubtedly is right—"It is not the individual but the system which is at fault." For this reason it becomes clear that in the great work of social reconstruction which lies before us, the first practical step to be taken does not consist of that great task for the accomplishment of which 1900 years have proved all too short—the spiritual regeneration of the individual members of society—but rather of the more modest work of raising our corporate morality from the level of the hyena and the tiger up to the pitifully unsatisfactory but distinctly higher standard already attained by us as individuals.

AN APPALLING SITUATION.

The whole world was horrified last year at the stories sent out from Italy by newspaper correspondents concerning the state of demoralization in which the Italian railroads found themselves. I made a special trip from Paris to Rome in order to investigate the matter, and find out, if possible, the cause of this extraordinary situation, which reached its climax three months after the government had taken the railroads out of the hands of private companies. In Italy I was asked, as I had been in each of the different European countries in which I had been studying the railroad problem, how American railroads compared with European lines. My response invariably was that, while from a social and political standpoint our rail-

roads left much to be desired, while they were tyrants in the world of business, and debauchers of our political life, that from a mechanical and economic standpoint, they probably were as good as the best in the world. What was my amazement, therefore, on arriving in this country last autumn, to find that traffic on all the railroads in the Northwest was in a worse state of demoralization than it had been on the Italian lines a year before, and that in other parts of the country, while traffic was still being handled after a fashion, the generally unsatisfactory conditions of the service seemed to indicate that immediate and far-reaching reform was the only thing that could prevent a large part of our transportation system from falling into a state of serious inefficiency.

Government inspectors at the Interstate Commerce Commission, men who are constantly going about examining the condition of the roads, told me that a very large number of them in all parts of the country to-day are being run with an utter disregard for sound business principles; that anyone can walk along miles of track pulling up spikes with his fingers from rotting ties; that new and heavy engines are being put on such light rails that the wonder is they stand the strain as well as they do; and that the roadbeds have been allowed to deteriorate and become so uneven that a train going at a moderate rate of speed wobbles until it is a matter for continual surprise that it stays on the track at all. When I first heard these stories I hoped to find that they were exaggerated. But on a recent trip to Georgia I found them all verified down to their smallest details and that on one of the oldest, and formerly one of the best roads in the State, viz., the famous "Georgia Railroad," known for half a century as the "Old Reliable."

A DECADENT RAILROAD.

The attention of the Georgia Railroad Commission was called to the unsatisfactory condition of the "Georgia Railroad"

in a petition presented January 25th by Mr. Bowdre Phinizy, the editor and proprietor of the *Augusta Herald*. Mr. Phinizy, who is one of the most forceful writers in the state, thereupon began through the columns of his paper a campaign which he declared would not be ended until the lives of the traveling public were held to be more sacred in the State of Georgia than the swollen profits of railroad corporations. This editor is no irresponsible agitator. The Phinizy family is not only one of the oldest and wealthiest families in the South, but actually owns more Georgia Railroad stock than any other single interest. It is perfectly true, as his opponents urge, that owing to the fact that the Georgia Road since 1881 has been leased to other railroad corporations which are bound by their contract to keep the road in first-class condition, the improvements demanded by him will not cost a cent to the Phinizy interests. But at the same time it is equally true that the improvements for which he is fighting would in no way increase the yearly rental of the road or the dividends of its stockholders. Moreover Mr. Phinizy is not a politician, striving to gain a partisan advantage by a demagogic attack on the policy of the party in power. He is as good a Democrat as are the members of the Railroad Commission and whatever admixture of personal ambition or of desire for newspaper popularity there may be in the motives which have inspired him, the fight he is engaged in is clearly and indisputably a fight in behalf of the public safety as against the menace of private greed. Among a large number of facts which Mr. Phinizy and his brilliant young attorney, Mr. Austin Branch, brought before the attention of the Commission are the following:

1. The railroad of recent years has been so managed as to earn a dividend of over 13 per cent. on its capital stock, after paying the interest charges of \$138,000 per annum on its funded debt.

2. While from 1895 to 1905 the gross earnings have increased 89.7 per cent. and

the net earnings have increased 126.9 per cent. the amount expended on maintenance of way and structures has increased only 33 per cent. In other words the percentage of the gross earnings which this road has spent on maintenance of way and structures has decreased steadily from 16 per cent in 1895 to 11.2 per cent. in 1905.

3. This state of affairs has been allowed to come about in spite of the rapidly growing demand for ever heavier expenditures on maintenance of way and renewal of track. Not only has the freight tonnage and the number of passengers hauled more than doubled during the past ten years but the weight of engines and trains has increased so enormously that as Mr. Phinizy says: "Rails that would have borne the traffic ten years ago snap with the brittleness of glass beneath the weight of trains to-day. A roadbed that was safe and smooth and sufficient in 1895 is beset with pitfalls and hazards now." Thus the lives of passengers and railroad employes are seriously endangered every day that the Georgia Railroad's huge engines weighing 90 tons are allowed to drag enormous trains over an unballasted track and on 65-pound rails—rails which are about 33½ per cent. lighter than those used by street-car lines in the city of Augusta.

When his petition came up for consideration, Mr. Phinizy went before the Commission with a collection of spikes which he and his attorney had pulled from rotting ties with their own hands; with some samples of cross-ties which had reached such a state of decomposition that they had to be brought into Court in bags, together with his own affidavit, and one by his attorney, to the effect that in two miles of track on the main line they had counted 219 ties that were "rotten, split or unsound." He had a pocketful of affidavits sent to him voluntarily by people living along the Georgia Road, sustaining every statement he had made. The attorney for the road could not disprove these

facts. Moreover, to make the confusion of the defense worse confounded the Georgia Railroad had a wreck or a breakdown of some sort about every other day during the entire period of nearly two months, that the case was being contested before the Commission. The Railroad urged in its defense that while it was true that accidents were frequent and that a number of employes had been mangled, killed and even parboiled, yet up to the present time, only one passenger had been killed in the entire history of the road.

The prosecution replied that it was to be hoped that the Commission would not wait until in some horrible catastrophe the road had mangled, killed or perhaps roasted alive a score of passengers before insisting that universally recognized principles of sound and safe management should be lived up to; and showed that while railroads all over the world are constantly putting on faster and ever faster trains, the Georgia road had only avoided a harvest of fatal accidents by following the opposite policy of lengthening out its time tables. As an instance of this they pointed to the fact that whereas it formerly required only five hours to go from Augusta to Atlanta it now requires six full hours even when, as is almost never the case, the train is on time.

In the light of these facts and with the law explicitly providing that "the Railroad Commission is hereby empowered and required upon complaint made to inspect for themselves or through an agent, the railroads or any railroad or any part of any railroad in this state, etc.", there was nothing for the Commission to do but to order an inspection of the road.

Unfortunately for all parties concerned, however, the fight was not yet won. The road having put a few gangs of men to work replacing the rottenest ties, here and there, and making a few other comparatively unimportant repairs, thereupon the so-called "expert," after

a very hasty and superficial examination of the road, made a report in which its most glaring defects of management were skilfully covered over with a combination of bouquets and whitewash. This narrow and shortsighted action on the part of the railroads, the Commission and their "expert" however produced a result the very reverse of that expected. Intelligent people all over the state were deeply offended at this awkward attempt to throw dust in their eyes and partially as a result of this unfortunate fiasco, the Legislature at its summer session reorganized the Commission and added two new Commissioners. A few days later the Governor suspended one of the old Commissioners, Mr. Jos. H. Brown, and appointed to fill out his unexpired term of seven weeks, Hon. S. G. McLendon who recently had been elected as his successor. As Governor Hoke Smith has taken a very strong and advanced position on the railroad question, and was elected on a railroad reform platform, it seems highly probable that his new Commission will take vigorous action to secure for the people of Georgia a greater degree of safety in railroad travel.

THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM.

The problem of correcting the form of abuse so strikingly exemplified by the Georgia Railroad, and which Interstate Commerce Commission Inspectors say is a widespread condition on American roads, is a much more difficult one than that of securing the introduction of a few safety appliances. Such a state of affairs indicates a deep-seated disease which we shall find it very difficult to cope with by means of mere legislative palliatives. Legislation can patch a little here, and tone up a little there, but it will hardly be able to infuse new life into a system which seems to be without any normal vitality or healthy business instincts. To be sure the French government has worked out a most elaborate system of legislation on this very subject,

regulating every detail of railroad construction, organization and management. Not a mile of railroad is allowed to be built in France until its plans and specifications have been approved by the government, nor can that road be operated until the government inspectors have pronounced it safe and satisfactory. Not a locomotive is allowed to be built that does not fulfil the requirements laid down by a government commission, nor can locomotives so built be put into active service until government inspectors have pronounced them up to the mark. Moreover, at any hour of the day or night, the Minister of Public Works or a Prefect can command a railroad to take any measure which is considered necessary to insure the safe transportation of persons and property. But while in this way the French government seems practically to have exhausted the possibilities of state railroad regulation, at the same time it must be admitted that its complicated and inelastic system has proved to be not only costly but far from satisfactory.

Some such system, however, apparently will have to be worked out in the United States, unless we decide to follow the example of Germany, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy, by embarking on a *régime* of government-ownership; or unless our railroad directors and managers, experiencing a change of heart, can be induced to stop using the railroad lines of the country as pawns in a great game of chance—unless the predatory hyenas and tigers of Wall street can be persuaded to give up the ambitions and practices of the jungle, in order to subject themselves once more to the galling rules and regulations of legitimate business, and to bend their untamed energies to the comparatively profitless and insipid work of providing adequate transportation facilities for the country at a reasonable remuneration.

There are in the world three generic systems of railroad management; the governmental type, found in Germany,

Belgium and Switzerland, etc., where the railroads are run primarily to serve the public, to build up national industries, and to advance civilization. This type has the smallest number of killed and mangled passengers and employes, for dividends are strictly a secondary consideration. The second type is to be found in England, where the roads are run primarily as a money-making proposition, but where the government has made a strenuous effort to insure the safety of passengers and employes, and where furthermore railroad managers realize that in order to make the roads permanent dividend-producing properties, the public must be given a reasonably satisfactory service; and where though competition in rates exists no longer except in theory, there actually is a good deal of competition in the quality and quantity of service offered to shippers and travelers. This type has more accidents than the governmental type, but decidedly fewer than type number three, which happily is to be found only in America. Here many of our railroads are run primarily for speculative and predatory purposes, secondly for dividends, and as for the welfare of the public, the opinion of entirely too many of our railroad kings on that subject was somewhat bluntly, but on the whole perhaps not so very inaccurately, expressed in the famous and infamous phrase of William H. Vanderbilt, "The public be damned!"

To be sure, Mr. Vanderbilt was a mere dilettante and a bungler at railroad manipulation, as compared with some of our more up-to-date Wall-street artists. These distinguished luminaries of the financial firmament long ago discovered that the legitimate dividends to be made out of railroad properties are but a mere bagatelle as compared with the profits to be gained from the employment of more modern financial methods. Large dividends are sometimes useful as a basis for new issues of watered stock,

but the money to be made in the way of legitimate profits comes too slowly to be at all satisfactory to men of this type of genius. Therefore, the ordinary motives which inspire mediocrity, such as the commonplace sentiment of legitimate business pride and the natural desire to make ample provision for one's old age and for one's family are quite forgotten in the mad impulse to swallow up rival railroad systems, to unload large issues of watered stock, to connive and combine with other corporations and "trusts" in limitless schemes of public plunder, for the purpose of building up those colossal fortunes which are at once the admiration of the vulgar, and the nightmare of the statesman.

Our inexcusable car-famine in the Northwest, the holocaust of death-dealing accidents through which we recently have come, as well as the tendency of all our railroads to concentrate into ever fewer, astuter, and unworthier hands, are but symptoms all of the deep-seated dry-rot which permeates a large part of the corporation business of our time. Effective legislation on the subject not only is imperative, but it must come soon if we are to escape an industrial and political crisis from which may issue we know not what sort of ill-advised and sweeping attempts at social reconstruction. A reorganization of our commercial and industrial life along saner and more ethical lines is certain to be brought about in the near future. If we do not wish this forward movement to be made along the shining grooves of socialism, a concerted and vigorous effort must at once be started to direct it into more normal channels if such can be found. The movement towards reform cannot be stopped. In another decade it may be even too late to guide it. This generation has in its hands a great opportunity and a great responsibility.

CARL S. VROOMAN.

Washington, D. C.

THE STORY OF RIMINI.

BY ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, PH.D.,
Of the University of North Carolina.

I.

EVER since Dante, in Canto V. of his *Inferno*, immortalized the story of Paolo and Francesca, in that brief passage that the world concedes to be the most perfect, in all poetry, of the pity and the tragedy of love, countless writers have been irresistibly attracted to the theme, giving it many and widely differing interpretations. The story itself is not a mere figment of the imagination, but, like all the great stories and romances of world literature, is closely related to historic fact. Indeed, it was only fifteen years after the tragic event recorded in the *Inferno* that Dante went to live at Rayenna in the very house where Francesca had lived, as the guest and friend of Guido Novella da Polenta, own nephew to the Francesca whom Dante had immortalized. It was this same Polenta who ultimately gave Dante a funeral of ceremony and impressiveness, crowning the dead poet with a wreath of laurel.

Certainly, in English literature, no writer takes precedence of Chaucer, in point of time, as an interpreter of the Da Rimini story. Chaucer's treatment of the theme is of interest to us to-day chiefly as an evidence of the remarkable fascination the story has possessed for the poetic mentality of every age. An interpretative reading of the original Chaucer version is recalled with interest and amusement; the odd oaths, quaint language, strange motivation, and stranger ethics kept the audience in a continual roar of laughter:

It was not until the early part of the last century that a second English writer, Leigh Hunt, was attracted by the Rimini story, and it was while he was in prison for libel against the Prince Regent during the years 1814 and 1815, that Hunt wrote his "Story of Rimini." Much of the success

of this long poem of 1200 lines, published in 1816, has been attributed to the fact that it was written in the heyday of the romantic movement in England. Sidney Colvin says that the "personal affection and public sympathy which attracted some of his distinguished contemporaries to Hunt on the one side, and the fierce political rancour which pursued him on the other, gave his poem an undue weight and prominence in its day." It was not without its influence in literature, for the early work of Keats showed its rather unfortunate effect. This poem of Hunt's has latter-day admirers. Mr. William Dean Howells thought to praise Stephen Phillips' dramatic poem when he compared it to Leigh Hunt's.

Almost at the same time that Hunt in an English prison was writing his "Story of Rimini," another poet in Italy (afterwards famous through the tale of his ten years' sufferings as a political prisoner in Austria) was writing a tragedy on the same theme, destined to make his reputation and to create quite a furore in his part of the world. This young poet, Silvio Pellico, only twenty-three years old, submitted his play to a fellow-poet, Ugo Foscolo, for his decision, and the discouraging reply which he received from the gloomy Foscolo was, "Throw it in the fire, throw it in the fire; don't let us call up the damned from Dante's hell, they would only frighten the living; throw it in the fire and bring me something else." Throw it in the fire was just what the young poet did not do, and in two or three years his reward was won. On reading the play, the celebrated actress, Marchionni, recognizing at once its striking merits, accepted it forthwith and in the title rôle aroused unbounded enthusiasm throughout all Italy.

Lord Byron, in passing through Milan in October, 1817, borrowed the manuscript of the then unpublished play from Pellico, and returned it in four days with the statement that he had translated it, but of this translation nothing is known to-day. The charm and potency of the theme made such an impression upon Byron that he wrote to Murray in 1821 that he intended to write a tragedy on the subject. Why it was not written will probably never be known. Byron merely handed the subject on to his countryman, — the poet Stephen Phillips of our own day.

If the poets have been irresistibly attracted by the Da Rimini story, no less have the devotees of the allied arts of music and painting paid their tribute to its fascination. Goetz and Thomas with their operas; Ingres, Liszt and Tchaikowsky with their symphonies; Ary Scheffer, Watts, Rossetti and Alexandre Cabanel with their paintings, are the most distinguished names in the long list that might be detailed.

But to the decade just past belongs the distinction of witnessing the most remarkable revival of the deathless story of Francesca in the history of the drama. That the drama of the American poet, George H. Boker, was recently played successfully throughout this country by Mr. Otis Skinner, that such dramatists as Maeterlinck, Phillips and D'Annunzio have again breathed into the story of Francesca the breath of life, and that one of the most distinguished of our American novelists, F. Marion Crawford, has written a fine play for Sarah Bernhardt on the same subject, — all these events furnish the most striking proof of the vitality and validity of the Da Rimini story as a basis of dramatic construction.

Like Goethe's immortal Faust, the Da Rimini story is a theme of beautiful simplicity, but so incorporated is it in the life and history of the human race that it no longer seems merely a pathetic tale of two long-forgotten lovers, but in truth the epitome of life itself, in all ages and in all

times. In the passion of these ill-starred lovers is concretized and sublimated the immortality of human love and its resistless mastery over the human heart. Despite the bitterness of the lovers' fate, the irrevocability of their choice, the inevitableness and eternity of their sacrifice, is it too much to say that as long as men and women live and love, aye, as long as the world moves westward among the stars, so long will this story be lived out again — enacted and re-enacted upon the broad stage of human life.

Before speaking in detail of the recent literature of the story, it seems fitting, in order properly to orient ourselves, to touch briefly upon the historic and recorded data of the tragic story. The many versions, differing so greatly in detail and treatment, render this orientation doubly necessary. The demands of poetic fitness have led many of the interpreters of the story to cancel or distort the true facts, preserving, however, the main outline of the story. And on the whole it is well that this is so. Dante himself, with the instinct of the divine poet, gave but the bare spiritual essentials of the tragic story.

II.

It was not until about the year 1275 that the Guelphs finally gained the ascendancy over the Ghibellines in that long series of struggles that raged until past the close of the thirteenth century. The two leading families of the Guelphs were "at Ravenna, the great and popular house of the Polenta firmly reestablished in power after the overthrow of their enemies, the Traversari, and at Rimini, the mastiff-brood, as Dante called them, of the Malatesta . . . who had for some time held the upper hand against the Ghibelline faction headed by the Parcitadi." The fierce old Malatesta da Verruchio, the head and guiding spirit of the house of Malatesta, had four sons, Lionciotto (otherwise Giovanni), Paolo, Malatestino and Pandolfo. Giovanni was nicknamed from a deformity, Lo Scancioto (meaning lame at the hip); Malatesta was dubbed the One-Eyed,

while Paolo, on account of his beauty, was styled *Il Bello*. Giovanni, though hump-backed as well as lame, was a magnificent warrior and leader, described in the quaint style of the *Ottimo Commento* as "an open-hearted man, warlike and cruel." Besides being a gallant courtier, Paolo, the Beautiful, was also a brave soldier, serving for a while as captain of the people at Florence. History tells us that Paolo was only four years younger than Giovanni, but the poets for their own ends have widened the difference in their ages very greatly.

The violent feud which (according to Boccaccio) had for some time existed between the two houses, was superseded in the year 1275 by two marriages: first, that of Giovanni Malatesta with Francesca, the daughter of Guido da Polenta, and later, that of a son of the house of Polenta with a daughter of the Malatesta. These two marriages were arranged by Guido da Polenta and the old Malatesta da Verruchio, the heads of the two houses, for the furtherance of their political schemes. It is true that Giovanni sent Paolo to Ravenna to fetch Francesca back to Rimini, but it does not appear from contemporary records that Francesca believed Paolo was destined for her husband.

Boccaccio states, however, that Giovanni's sending of Paolo as his proxy was "part of a deliberate plot for the deception of Francesca, lest seeing Giovanni's deformity she should refuse to wed him." Naturally she fell in love, on sight, with the beautiful Paolo, who was pointed out to her as her future husband, so Boccaccio's story runs, and she was only undeceived on awakening after the marriage night at Rimini. This version of the story was given by Boccaccio in a series of lectures delivered nearly one hundred years after the occurrence of the tragedy, and it is not improbable that this turn was given to the story by the lively imagination of that novelist and teller of tales. Petrarch, a contemporary of Boccaccio, took a

opposite view and in his "*Triumph of Love*" speaks of the lovers as

"The pair
Who, as they walk together seem to plain
Their just but cruel fate by one hand slain."

Mr. Charles Yriate went to Rimini in the year 1883 to examine the records, and the result of his research was published the following year. From it we learn that Paolo was married at the age of sixteen, in the year 1269, to Orabile Beatrice, daughter of Uberto, Count of Chiaggioli, and that this marriage was consummated for reasons of state. Paolo already had a wife, then, when he escorted Francesca from Ravenna to Rimini. Giovanni and Francesca were married for ten years (1275-1285), and she bore him a daughter named for its grandmother, Concordia (sad misnomer of the discord of the union). Francesca was untrue to her husband, loving his brother Paolo, and in the year 1285, when Giovanni was podesta, or ruling magistrate of Pesaro, a town near Rimini, he discovered the lovers alone together and slew them. Amid the weepings and lamentations of the populace, the slain lovers were laid side by side in one grave. Giovanni afterwards married again, had children by his second wife, and died in the year 1304. The record shows that Francesca was given to Giovanni as a reward for the assistance he had given Polenta in subduing the Ghibellines, but nothing is said of any deception practiced upon Francesca.

Before speaking of the various versions of the Da Rimini story that have appeared in recent years, it seems proper not only to acquaint ourselves with the historical facts, as we have just done, but also to turn to Dante's *Inferno* and see how one who was nearest to the characters concerned of all who have ever written about them—to see how Dante himself treated the theme. Dante was only twenty years old when the tragedy occurred, and it was fifteen years later,

in the year 1300, that the *Inferno* was written.

In the fifth canto of the *Inferno* we see Dante, guided by his companion, Virgil, enter the second circle where "dreadful Minos stands." In mournful array sweep before him the unhappy souls condemned to eternal misery because they had deemed all else well lost for love. Semiramis, who made her law the sanction of excess; Cleopatra next, luxurious queen; Helen, for whom such years were passed of toil and woe; and great Achilles, too, with mighty love contending to the last; and Sir Tristram, Paris, and the thousands more whom love has slain.

Dante is seized with compassion and fain would speak with two shades seen flitting near. They approach and Francesca tells the pitiful tale of their undoing thus:

"Love, that in noble heart is quickly caught,
Enamored him of that fair form—from me
So rudely torn—there 's anguish in the thought;
Love, that permits no loved one not to love,
Me so enthralled with thought of pleasing him,
That, as thou see'st, its influence still I prove."

Alas, then Dante said:

"How sweet the thoughts—how ardent the desire,
That to the mournful step these lovers led."

Turning to them, these words he spake:

"Francesca, thy misfortunes fill mine eyes
With sorrowing tears, such pity they awake.
But tell me how, and by what sign confess,
Did love reveal in that sweet time of sighs
The doubtful passion struggling in each breast?"

Then Francesca to Dante:

"There is no greater woe,
Than to remember days of happiness
Amid affliction—this thy guide doth know.
But if how love did first our hearts beguile
Thou fain would'st hear, I will the truth confess
As one who tells her tale, and weeps the while.
One day, it chanced, for pastime we were reading
How Launcelot to love became a prey;
Alone we were, of danger all unheeding.
Our eyes oft met as we that tale pursued,
And from our cheeks the color died away;
But in a moment were our hearts subdued,
For when we read of him so deep in love,
Kissing at last the smile long time desired,
Then he who from my side will ne'er remove
My lips all trembling kissed. . . ."

One has a feeling of surprise in noticing how very little Dante tells of the real story. He has given but the poetic essence, the spirituality of "that great love against which the gates of hell could not prevail." He relates but one external incident, the use of the book of Launcelot du Lac, leaving to the dramatists of succeeding centuries the loving task of constructing from the pitiful story its beautiful and delicate fabric of implication and extenuation. And this dramatic revival in recent years of the tale of those two who "go forever on the accursed air," is in nothing more interesting than in showing the essentially different reactions of national intellect, as well as of poetic genius, from the self-same story, so lightly yet so surely limned by Dante—this tragedy so near to him in life and time.

III.

In speaking of the several dramatists who in recent years have felt the impulsion of the suggestive current from Dante and Da Rimini, one should not omit the name of Maurice Maeterlinck. While "Pelleas and Melisande" carries no allusion to Paolo and Francesca, the spiritual outlines of the two stories are almost coincidental. M. Maeterlinck, it seems, never touches a theme, however incorporated in the history of human culture, that he does not cast upon it a mystic, an other-worldly light. Indeed, so steeped in an atmosphere of mystic detachment and subtle symbolism are many of his plays, that their source of inspiration, their vital significance, quite often, at first, both baffle and elude interpretation.

"Pelleas and Melisande" has all the accessories of Arthurian legend, and the scene is laid in the land of Castle Nowhere, which stretches to the end of the world. The characters are sentient images divorced from the flesh and blood world of actuality, but profoundly alive to the spiritual essence of their problem. Like Francesca, the child princess Mel-

isande, apathetically, innocently, mates herself with a man on the threshold of old age; only when it is too late she discovers that a stranger, her husband's young brother, is lord of her heart. From that time forth the problem works itself out as in the Italian story. Paolo and Francesca are prototypes of Pelleas and Melisande, Lianciotto of Golaud, and Concordia, Lianciotto's daughter, of Yniold, the little son of Golaud. The rôle of unconscious informer is played in each case by the child of the unloved husband,—by Concordia in Marion Crawford's, by Yniold in Maeterlinck's play.

While the mood of "Pelleas and Melisande" is that of new century mysticism, the characters are never mere marionettes pulled by a string. If they seem pervaded by a sort of moral quietism, it is their mystic coloring that gives them this semblance. If they morally acquiesce in the decree of fate, it is because the motive forces of fate, in all their propulsive power, are converging full upon them.

The next play upon the Da Rimini theme was written by a young Englishman, Mr. Stephen Phillips, bearing his blushing honors full upon him from the initial award of the British Academy for his book of poems. This first dramatic effort of Mr. Phillips was dedicated to the popular English actor, Mr. George Alexander, who had asked Mr. Phillips to write a play for him. "Paolo and Francesca" was gorgeously staged in England, and as played by Mr. Alexander and his company was a notable success. It has since been successfully produced upon several of the representative stages of continental Europe.

In "Paolo and Francesca" Phillips has unhesitatingly refuted Boccaccio's "tale of coarse deception and substitution" employed in the dramas of Boker and D'Annunzio. Not only has Phillips plunged his drama in one element, creating for it "an ideal atmosphere of

pure poetry," but he has surcharged the atmosphere with the sense of fatality, the immanence of destiny. Each character is marked out by some broad trait, a method of characterization which the author has revealed in his subsequent plays; consciously or unconsciously each character becomes "the accomplice and the instrument of fate." In this respect the motive and appeal are essentially Greek, revealing all the restraint of classic traditions. As in Greek drama, the act of bloody retribution is done "off the stage," contrary to the practice of Boker, D'Annunzio, Maeterlinck and Crawford.

The play opens in a gloomy hall of the Malatesta castle, all ready to receive Francesca, the bride-to-be of Giovanni, lord of the Malatesta. Paolo leads in the lovely Francesca, "all dewy from her convent fetched." Thus soon, while escorting her hither from Ravenna, Paolo, like Launcelot of old, has realized the immortal peril of her nearness, and has resolved, as his only honorable course, to depart; but Giovanni insists at least on his presence at the celebration of the nuptials on the morrow.

Lucrezia degl' Onesti, Giovanni's widowed cousin, is a new personality connected with the tragic story, a purely fictitious character of Mr. Phillips' invention. She warns Giovanni, whom she passionately loves, against this marriage with Francesca, reminding him of the incompatibility of age and temperament. She breaks forth into a wail of regret over being a childless woman, a burst of passionate confidence which may surprise the auditor by its apparent irrelevance to the action, but which proves to be full of significance in the subsequent development of the plot. The anticipant foreboding and gloomy vaticinations of Giovanni's old nurse, the blind Angela, serve to accentuate still further the play of fatality already begun. Even when Angela prophesies that a lover shall steal in to Francesca—

"He shall be
Not far to seek, yet perilous to find.
Unwillingly he comes a wooing; she
Unwillingly is wooed; yet shall they woo.
His kiss was on her lips ere she was born"—

even after this Giovanni does not understand the implication of Paolo's fateful love.

In the second act, a week later, Paolo resolves at last to tear himself away, but not before his words and actions have inadvertently revealed to Francesca her power over his heart. Meanwhile Giovanni confers with Lucrezia and confides to her his forebodings, started by the vision and prophecy of his old nurse. Step by step, with woman's intuition, Lucrezia leads him to the truth in a scene of marked power, paralleled in D'Annunzio's play by a like situation of tremendous dramatic intensity between Giovanni and his young brother, Malatestino. The implication is complete and unanswerable. The handwriting is on the wall. Giovanni, deeply enamored of his bride of political machination, leaves the stage weakly asking himself if there are not drugs to charm the heart of woman.

In the interim Paolo has started off to resume command of his company, but so irresistibly is he drawn back to Rimini and to Francesca, that he resolves there is but one path for him to take—and that, "a straight path to the dark." The act closes on this line of peculiar loveliness:

"Under some potion gently will I die,
And they that find me dead shall lay me down
Beautiful as a sleeper at her feet."

The scene of the next situation is the shop of a drug-seller in Rimini, whither Giovanni and Paolo have come, each to buy a potion, Giovanni hoping thereby to win, at least for a few infatuate days, his young wife's love; Paolo, resolved to take his own life as the only means to preserve his purity and to shield his honor. Giovanni, masked, recognizes Paolo, hears his accidental confession of love and a vow of intended suicide, and is tempted to kill him then and there, but stays his hand, accepting Paolo's way of averting the doom

foreshadowed in Angela's prophecy.

In the next scene Giovanni is suddenly summoned away to battle, and Paolo, overmastered for the moment by the tyranny of his passion for Francesca, resolves to "see her, hear her, touch her" ere he dies. Francesca, meanwhile, in the hush just before the dawn has come out into her garden with lamp and book, to read the ancient tale of Launcelot and Queen Guinevere. Paolo enters, and in the stillness of that prophetic hour, when one might almost hear

"The sigh of all the sleepers in the world,
And all the rivers running to the sea,"

the two lovers hold sweet converse in lines of surpassing loveliness. Their dialogue is soon exchanged for an alternate reading to each other from the book in a text of quivering, trembling beauty that is Mr. Phillips' own invention. This scene, whose beauty cannot even be suggested, closes upon the fatal kiss.

Giovanni, after his return from the war-like expedition to Pesaro, learns from Lucrezia that Paolo instead of taking his life has returned to Rimini. All pity leaves him, and his one thought is to kill the lovers locked in each other's arms. Lucrezia suggests the pretext of feigned departure, which he eagerly adopts, commending Francesca with a bitter irony to the loyal care of his brother. Francesca, with bodeful dread, begs Giovanni not to leave her, but he is inexorable. In despair Francesca turns to Lucrezia for help, pity and sympathy. With a sudden revulsion of feeling almost incomprehensible in the woman plotting but a moment before for Francesca's death, Lucrezia clasps her in her arms, realizing in Francesca "the late-found child of all her empty dreams and longings." She is in an agony of fear and hurries out, hoping to find Giovanni and prevent the deed he contemplates. While she is gone Paolo enters Francesca's chamber, and there ensues a scene of high-strung, tense and reckless passion, as the lovers slowly pass out upon the balcony, under the shimmering stars. Lucrezia

enters Francesca's room, still seeking Giovanni, and sees him enter from the other side, parting the curtain through which the lovers have but lately passed. Lucrezia notices that there is blood upon his hand, and his words, "T is not my blood," tell her that all is finished.

The slain lovers are brought in on one bier, and Giovanni, shaken with deep emotion, kisses each of them upon the forehead, murmuring,

"She takes away my strength.
I did not know the dead could have such hair.
Hide them! They look like children fast asleep."

Admiration for Stephen Phillips' "Paolo and Francesca" need not imply blindness to its faults. Indeed, it seems to me he has sacrificed too much in his effort to plunge the drama in an atmosphere of pure poetry. The play is purely modern and makes its appeal to the moderns; there is nothing to localize it in Italy, to time it to the thirteenth century, to image in it the psychological traits of medieval

Italians. Lucrezia, the strongest and most virile character, the "only man in the piece," as Mrs. Wharton called her, is transformed in an instant by an unconvincing miracle of the poet's art from a plotting conspirator into a tender and pitying mother. If Lucrezia is informed with the true spirit of modernity, so, too, is Giovanni, for he is always analytical, subjective, introspective.

Taken all in all, "Paolo and Francesca" is the most signal specimen in English of the much-vaunted poetic drama of our day. Not only should we be grateful to Mr. Phillips for every entrancing line, every golden phrase of his "Paolo and Francesca," but in a deeper sense we should be glad that Mr. Phillips is helping to bring the drama of to-day to its literary consciousness, is insisting, as Mr. Howells says, "upon its recognition not merely as drama but as literature."

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INHERITANCE TAXES.

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A FEDERAL inheritance tax law heretofore has been regarded generally as a war-revenue measure—an easy way to produce large revenue quickly in time of urgent need. State inheritance tax laws, however, have been considered in a different light. At the present, in a time of immediate and prospective peace, the enactment of a Federal inheritance tax law is being agitated and one or more bills were introduced in Congress at the last session providing for the imposition of such a tax. In my experience in dealing with the inheritance tax law of 1898 I have found a considerable lack of knowl-

edge on the general subject of death duties, as such taxes were usually referred to by the older law writers.

Such duties, under some name such as succession, death, probate, inheritance, legacy or transfer taxes, have been known and enforced for centuries. They were well known in Roman jurisprudence and perhaps earlier, and were imposed upon nearly all successions to the property of a deceased owner. Gibbons, in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, records the existence of this tax in that empire as early as the days of the Emperor Augustus, it having been then levied to provide for the support

of the army. These laws, with occasional modifications, were in force in that empire during the reigns of many emperors, the rate of taxation averaging about five per centum of the property subject to the tax above a certain value. The law, however, in any of its successive forms, did not exact the tax from the nearest relatives on the father's side. It was very comprehensive, produced a large revenue and was styled the *Vicesima hereditatum et legitorum*.

Death duties have also been collected for centuries by the later European governments. They were introduced into England as a complete system in 1780 where they have been enlarged and changed from time to time. They are now a source of great revenue in nearly all European states, notably in Germany, Austria, France, Switzerland and its cantons, Holland, Russia, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Denmark and Sweden, as well as in the Australian colonies, Canada and some of the South American countries.

The English legacy act of 1780 is said to have been introduced and championed by Lord North, whose attention was first called to the desirability and justice of such a tax by Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*. Prior to the enactment of this law, however, there appears to have been in existence in that country what was substantially a succession tax under the old Feudal system. Under that system the Feudal lords compelled the heir or successor to property to pay them a certain sum or perform a certain service before he could be invested with the estates of his ancestor. Under the act of 1780 only legacies of personal property were taxed, but in 1853 Mr. Gladstone championed a measure, which was adopted, taxing successions to real property also. In practically this form the English succession or inheritance duty act remains at present and it is said to yield an annual income to the state of something like \$40,000,000.

Inheritance taxes were not known in this country until July 5, 1797, when Congress imposed a graduated legacy tax to be paid by stamps placed upon the receipt or other discharge for or on account of any legacy or distributive share of property. This law was in force until June 30, 1802, but for obvious reasons produced only a small revenue. The next Federal law of this character was the act of July 1, 1862, laying a tax upon the transmission of personal property by will or by intestate law. In 1864 this law was amended and reenacted and on July 13, 1866, a further amendment was adopted, extending its provisions to successions to real property. The whole law was repealed to take effect October 1, 1870, but during its continuance it produced many a million of much needed war-revenue. On August 27, 1894, the famous income tax law was passed, which also embraced an inheritance tax feature. This law was most viciously and vigorously attacked, and in the celebrated case of *Pollock versus the Farmer's Loan and Trust Company* (157 U. S., 429), the Supreme Court of the United States, on a re-hearing, declared the income tax unconstitutional, and intimated very strongly, at least, that as all the provisions of the act were so bound together as to be inseparable the inheritance tax feature could not be enforced. Hence no real attempt was made to collect the inheritance tax and it remained a dead letter until the law expired by its own terms in 1900. Then in the Spanish war-revenue act of June 13, 1898, an inheritance tax was imposed upon the transmission of personal property, this law remaining in force until July 1, 1902, when it was repealed.

Pennsylvania was the first of the United Commonwealths to enact a law of this character. That was in 1826. Since then a considerable number of the States have enacted such laws in the most of which they are still being enforced.

A full understanding of the theory

upon which inheritance taxes are based, renders it more easy to comprehend their justness and equity. It is the usual thought among laymen that the heirs of a deceased person, and particularly the heirs of the body, have a natural, inherent right to the property accumulated by that deceased. Or, to state it in another way, that each person who owns property not only owns the property itself, but has a natural, inherent right to control its disposition after death. This erroneous idea has caused much of the opposition to death duties, for having this idea it is hard for one to conceive the justness of taxing property when it changes ownership by reason of death. But it is a proposition fully recognized in law that in a state of nature property rights last just so long as possession continues and no longer, and that when possession ceases, either voluntarily, by force of arms or by death, all rights of ownership cease. In a state of nature there is no such thing as heirship or as the transmission of any property right from the dead to the living. This is a proposition recognized by the great majority of the earlier writers including Christian, Puffendorff and Grotius, although some demur to the position taken. Nearly all later writers seem to agree with the early majority, Mr. Justice Sharswood, however, an eminent authority, claiming that heirship in children is founded on natural law. Blackstone in his *Commentaries* sets out very clearly the recognized law on the subject and I quote his language:

"Naturally speaking, the instant a man ceases to be he ceases to have any dominion; else if he had a right to dispose of his acquisitions one moment beyond his life he would also have a right to direct their disposal for a million of ages after him; which would be highly absurd and inconvenient. All property must, therefore, cease upon death, considering men as absolute individuals and unconnected with civilized society, for then, by the principles before

established, the next immediate occupant would acquire a right in all that the deceased possessed. But as, under civilized governments, which are calculated for the peace of mankind, such a constitution would be productive of endless disturbances, the universal law of almost every nation (which is a kind of secondary law of nature) has either given the dying person a power of continuing his property by disposing of his possessions by will, or in case he neglects to dispose of it, or is not permitted to make any disposition at all, the municipal law of the country then steps in and declares who shall be the successor, representative or heir of the deceased; that is, who alone shall have a right to enter upon this vacant possession in order to avoid that confusion which its again becoming common would occasion. And further, in case no testament be permitted by the law, or none be made, and no heir can be found so qualified as the law requires, still to prevent the robust title of occupancy from again taking place, the doctrine of escheats is adopted in almost every country; whereby the sovereign of the state and those who claim under his authority are the ultimate heirs and succeed to those inheritances to which no other title can be formed.

"The right of inheritance or descent to the children and relatives of the deceased seems to have been allowed much earlier than the right of devising by testament. We are apt to conceive at first view that it has nature on its side; yet we often mistake for nature what we find established by long and inveterate custom. It is certainly a wise and effectual, but clearly a political, establishment; since the permanent right of property, vested in the ancestor himself, was no natural, but a civil right. Wills, therefore, and testaments, rights of inheritance and successions, are all of them creatures of the civil or municipal laws and accordingly are in all respects regulated by them."

The theory upon which inheritance

tax laws are based is founded upon two legal propositions: First, that the tax is not one upon property, but upon the right or privilege in the one possessed thereof to control its disposition after his death, or the right or privilege given to others to inherit or take from the one who dies so possessed; and second, that the right to take property by devise or descent is a creature of the law and not a natural right—a privilege and therefore the authority which confers that privilege may impose conditions upon its exercise. Not being a tax imposed on property as such, but upon an intangible thing—the abstract right to dispose of or to inherit property—the tax has never been regarded by the courts as a direct tax. On the contrary in many decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States the tax is defined as an impost duty or excise, levied by the government, upon the privilege secured by law to devisees, legatees, grantees, heirs and personal representatives, of taking, holding and enjoying all property, real and personal, or any interest therein, passing by will, by intestate law, or by any grant or gift made during life and intended to take effect at or after the death of the grantor. So a succession to or an inheritance of property may be taxed as a privilege, notwithstanding the property of the estate is taxed, and there is by reason thereof no double taxation.

Now since the right to take property by will or by intestate law is but a mere privilege created by the municipal law which may be changed, modified or repealed in the discretion of the State, and is not a natural right, it appears just and equitable that, in consideration of this privilege given by the state, the beneficiaries should contribute to the State a certain percentage of the value of the property subject to the exercise of the privilege. This is particularly true as to the privilege thus extended by law to collateral kindred, remote relatives, strangers in blood and corporations, although the inheritance of property by

lineal descendants is a privilege and not a right just the same as the inheritance of property by those of more remote relationship or of none. In other words, when the State relinquishes its right to again take to itself upon the death of the occupant or owner the property possessed by him during his life-time, the individual in whose favor the State's natural right of succession is waived, ought not to complain when called upon to pay a small amount for the valuable privilege thus granted to him.

Starting with the well-established basic proposition that the transmission or receipt of property by death is a privilege originating in the municipal law and governed by it, it follows that the State, as the sovereign, has the constitutional power to amend, modify, extend or wholly repeal such law. This premise and deduction are recognized by all law writers and have been sustained by many hundreds of decisions of courts in this and other countries. From this viewpoint an inheritance tax simply modifies the laws of descent and distribution; for if the tax be five per centum of the value of the property inherited the effect is to give the heirs or legatees of an estate ninety-five per centum of the property granted to each, and to escheat to the State the five per centum. If the State has the right and power to relinquish all its rights of succession to certain persons, no one can logically contend that it has not the equal right to relinquish only half its rights of succession or ninety-five per centum of such rights. So that while that which the legatee or beneficiary pays to the State under an inheritance duty act is called a tax and is treated legally as such, it is, fundamentally considered, simply a partial escheat to the State of the property of a deceased.

This legal situation has always been recognized in this country. In an early Virginia case (*Eyre vs. Jacob*, 14 Grat., 427), which has been quoted with approval in decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, Judge Lee said:

"The intention of the Legislature was plainly to tax the transmission of property by devise or descent to collateral kindred; to require that the party thus taking the benefit of a civil right secured to him under the law, should pay a certain premium for its enjoyment; and as it was thought just and reasonable that the amount of the premium should bear a certain proportion to the value of the subject enjoyed, it was fixed at a certain percentage upon the value of the whole estate transmitted. . . . The right to take property by devise or descent is a creature of the law and secured and protected by its authority. The legislature might, if it saw proper, restrict the succession to a descendent's estate either by will or descent to a particular class of his kindred, say to his lineal descendants and ascendants; it might impose terms and conditions upon which collateral relatives may be permitted to take it, or may to-morrow, if it pleases, absolutely repeal the statute of wills and that of descents and distributions and declare that, upon the death of a party his property shall be applied to the payment of his debts and the residue appropriated to public uses."

Thus was announced what always has been and is now the power of the State regarding property rights as affected by death. The extent to which this power may be carried depends absolutely upon the will of the people to whom legislatures are accountable. These principles have been sustained by an unbroken line of decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States. Thus in the case of the *United States vs. Perkins* (163 U. S., 625), the court said that: "While the laws of all civilized states recognize in every citizen the absolute right to his own earnings and to the enjoyment of his own property during his life, except so far as the State may require him to contribute his share for public expenses, the right to dispose of his property by will has always been considered purely a creature of statute and within legislative control. . . . Though

the general consent of the most enlightened nations has, from the earliest historical period, recognized a natural right in children to inherit the property of their parents, we know of no legal principle to prevent the Legislature from taking away or limiting the right of testamentary disposition or imposing such conditions upon its exercise as it may deem conducive to public good."

And in the case of *Plummer vs. Coler* (178 U. S., 115), the Supreme Court again said: "A State may deny the privilege of inheritance or transmission by will altogether."

From the above it must be clear that the right to tax the transmission of property from the dead to the living is based upon the fundamental proposition that the State has the right to claim all property or any portion thereof which passes out of the possession of an individual by reason of death, unless waived by statutory expression, and that when that right is waived the waiver may be upon such terms as the State may determine. Herein is pointed the road which legislative bodies may travel in the future, in meeting a growing demand among the people for legislation attempting, at least, to control or limit the accumulation of wealth.

The constitutionality of succession or inheritance tax laws has been questioned in nearly, if not quite, all the States in which they have been enacted. With few exceptions their constitutionality has been affirmed, and it is now generally recognized that under the ordinary State constitution the State has the right to impose or provide for inheritance taxes.

The constitutionality of the Federal inheritance tax laws has also been much in question, on the ground that, while each State can legally enact such laws on the theory that the State has the exclusive right to legislate upon property rights and concerning descent and distribution, the Federal government cannot legally enact them since it has nothing to do with the devolution or passing of property at death, —the control of such matters being

retained by the States inasmuch as it was not specifically delegated to the general Government. The validity of the Federal tax has also been attacked on the ground that it is a direct tax and must be apportioned among the various States. But the Supreme Court has held this contention untenable inasmuch as the tax is an excise or indirect tax the only requirement as to which is that it must be uniform.

Upon the contention that the general Government has no right to impose a death duty because it has no power to regulate the transmission of property by will or descent, there is nothing clearer and more to the point than the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Knowlton v. Moore* (178 U. S. 41), the opinion having been given by Mr. Justice White. The particular contention of counsel for Knowlton, the plaintiff, is stated in this wise: If the taxes were not direct they were levied on rights created solely by the State law, depending for their continued existence on the consent of the several States, a volition which Congress has no power to control, and as to which it could not, therefore, exercise its taxing authority. In the opinion of the court, after referring to the centuries of time during which death duties have been exacted, Mr. Justice White disposes of the question in these words:

"This proposition denies to Congress the right to tax a subject matter which was conceded to be within the scope of its power very early in the history of the government. The act of 1797 which ordained legacy taxes was adopted at a time when the founders of our Government and framers of our Constitution were actively participating in public affairs, thus giving a practical construction to the Constitution which they had helped to establish. . . . Courts which maintain this view have, therefore, treated death duties as disenthralled from limitations which would otherwise apply if the privilege of regulation did not exist. . . . All courts and all governments, however, as we have already shown, conceive that the

transmission of property occasioned by death, although differing from a tax on property as such, is nevertheless a usual subject of taxation. Of course in considering the power of Congress to impose death duties we eliminate all thought of a greater privilege to do so than exists as to any other form of taxation, as the right to regulate successions is vested in the State and not in Congress. It is not denied that, subject to compliance with the limitations in the Constitution, the taxing power of Congress extends to all usual objects of taxation. Indeed, as said in the *License Tax* cases (S. Wall. 462), after referring to the limitations expressed in the Constitution, 'Thus limited and thus only it (the taxing power of Congress) reaches every subject and may be exercised at discretion.' The limitation which would exclude from Congress the right to tax inheritances and legacies is made to depend upon the contention that as the power to regulate successions is lodged solely in the several States, therefore Congress is without authority to tax the transmission or receipt of property by death. . . . But the fallacy which underlies the proposition contended for is the assumption that the tax on the transmission or receipt of property occasioned by death is imposed on the exclusive power of the State to regulate the devolution of property upon death. The thing forming the universal subject of taxation, upon which inheritance and legacy taxes rest is the transmission or receipt, and not the right existing to regulate. In legal effect then, the proposition upon which the argument rests is that whenever a right is subject to exclusive regulation by either the Government of the United States on the one hand or the several States on the other the exercise of such rights as regulated can alone be taxed by the Government having the mission to regulate. But when it is accurately stated the proposition denies the authority of the States to tax objects which are confessedly within the reach of their taxing power, and also excludes the national Government from almost every

subject of direct and many acknowledged objects of indirect taxation. Thus imports are exclusively within the taxing power of Congress. Can it be said that the property when imported and commingled with the goods of the State cannot be taxed because it had been at some prior time the subject of exclusive regulation by Congress? Again inter-state commerce is often within the exclusive regulating power of Congress. Can it be asserted that the property of all persons or corporations engaged in such commerce is not the subject of taxation by the several States because Congress may regulate commerce? Conveyances, mortgages, releases, pledges and, indeed, all property and the contracts which may arise from its ownership, are subject more or less to State regulation, exclusive in its nature. It cannot be doubted that the argument when reduced to its essence demonstrates its own unsoundness, since it leads to the necessary conclusion that both the National and State Governments are divested of those powers of taxation which from the foundation of the Government admittedly have belonged to them."

The same Court in a number of other cases has affirmed the constitutionality of such laws from every view-point, these decisions going back to an early period in the existence of this Government.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the right resting in the National Government to impose and collect legacy taxes is based upon a different ground than that which sustains the right of the State to impose and collect a similar tax. But the right to impose such a tax being admitted, it follows then from the decisions of the courts that the general Government has this right because of the fact that the tax is a usual one and one of long standing.

The constitutional provision for the levy and collection of inheritance tax is found in Section VIII. of the Constitution of the United States which gives Congress "power to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises . . . but all taxes, duties, imposts and excises shall be uni-

form throughout the United States." So, while the general Government cannot legislate to change the Law of Succession in any State, it can tax the succession as being one of the usual objects of taxation.

The Inheritance Tax Act of 1898 was in force for four years, and since its enactment there has been collected the sum of \$22,378,053.61 as tax. Part of this has been refunded, however, following legislative and judicial constructions of the original law.

While, as first stated, a Federal inheritance tax law has been regarded, generally, as a war-revenue measure, it is now being widely discussed as a means of producing revenue for the ordinary expenses of the Government, to the end that changes in the taxing system may be made, when necessary, to accommodate the changing needs of this rapidly developing country, without decreasing the revenues or causing disturbances in the business system; and many economists regard this tax highly because of its tendency towards the distribution of wealth and because of the power which rests in the Government, through such a tax properly graduated, to regulate or prevent the undue concentration of capital through the practical entailing of fortunes for generations.

The inheritance tax has been approved generally by writers upon political economy and systems of taxation, and it is almost universally held that no tax can be less burdensome, or interfere less with the productive and industrial agencies of society.

Such tax laws have demonstrated thoroughly their utility as a successful means of raising revenue, and many eminent economists urge them in their utmost severity as conducive to the public good.

Mr. Cooley appears to be the only eminent law writer who has objected to legacy taxes, and his objection was against them because they might be made so heavy as to increase the embarrassments which usually come, at death, to the relatives of the deceased.

Under the Tax Act of 1898, exempting

legacies or distributive shares of less than ten thousand dollars, that objection would not apply. Neither would that objection apply to a graduated legacy tax with an exemption taking out of the taxable list legacies of less than three or five thousand dollars each.

Mr. Dos Passos, one of the greatest authorities on inheritance tax laws, in his work on this subject, after stating that real property bears the brunt of direct taxation, says:

"Personal property, however, in proportion to its immense value, generally escapes the hands of the collector, and in some localities, especially in large cities, to an alarming extent A collateral or direct inheritance, legacy or succession tax, it seems, presents the most complete system for reaching the class of personal property and privileges which it is framed

to embrace, because its collection is aided and facilitated by the requirement of the law, that the dead man's property, so to speak, shall somewhere and at some time pass through, either a Surrogate or Probate Court, as the case may be, for settlement and distribution."

Experience has demonstrated the comparative ease with which this tax can be collected, and the exceedingly small percentage of cost in its collection.

Although a tax of this character is opposed by some individuals of large wealth, apparently from selfish motives, there has yet to be made a sound legal, moral or economic argument against the enactment and enforcement of such a tax law. Expediency and political good judgment all seem to be in its favor.

ARTHUR B. HAYES.

Washington, D. C.

THE PERSONALITY AND THE ART OF MINNIE MADDERN FISKE.

BY KENYON WEST.

IN THE history of the English stage—a history enriched by many illustrious names and memorable achievements, the name of Minnie Maddern Fiske will be written with that select company of great dramatic artists who take the highest rank. She has done notable work—work distinguished for brilliancy, for finish, for intellectual power, subtle perception of character and a wide range of interpretation, sounding as it does the depths of tragedy, and sparkling with most delicate, vivacious comedy—work distinguished for strength and depth of original thinking, for sincerity and earnestness of feeling, and most potent sympathetic appeal; above all, manifesting in every phase that imaginative fire and glow, that subtle, illusive quality which can be described by no other word but "genius."

Mrs. Fiske's genius is unique and individual. She is distinguished for qualities of mind, of artistic method, and of personality and temperament which make it impossible to do justice to her by comparison with any actress of the past or with any famous contemporary. We may compare others to her, for she has many imitators, but the top of the mountain where she stands is not peopled by many companions. Greatness is always solitary.

The most superficial observer of the conditions of our stage must acknowledge that Mrs. Fiske's work as it stands to-day, and as it gives promise of the future is something to be reckoned with as a force in American art.

The explanation of this is to be found in her personality; her influence upon other



MRS. FISKE AS TESS.

actors; her faculty for leadership; her courageous fight against commercialism in art, as well as in her own artistic work during her long career upon the stage.

No one can meet Mrs. Fiske without acknowledging that he is in the presence of a great personality. There are no affectations about her manner, there is no posing, no talking for effect, no aggressive enforcement of strong opinion; but one feels that her opinions have weight and authority. Her dignity and earnestness win respect, and she possesses that simplicity and absence of self-consciousness which are only possessed by one who has high standards.

In talking with Mrs. Fiske you feel as if you knew what her work would be—work permeated with intellect, yet full of spiritual beauty, sparkling with brilliancy of with irradiated with delicate, alluring humor, touched with the fire of imagination, instinct with tragic power, softened wit, true and tender feeling. In the woman herself is the artist. Her artistic method is the visible expression of a peculiarly rich mental and spiritual equipment.

And in the versatility of her work, its wide scope, we have an index to her character. No one whose nature was not many-sided, whose intellect was not broad as well as deep, and whose tastes were not cultivated in many directions could give us such versatile work in the drama.

Mrs. Fiske's life naturally divides itself into two parts. Her career before her retirement at the time of her marriage to Harrison Grey Fiske, and her career after she once more took up her dramatic work. The second period is, of course, the more important, because to it belong her memorable portrayal of Ibsen's Nora, and her three great impersonations of Tess, of Becky Sharp and of Mary of Magdala; but the power, the finish, the authority of her later work could not have been possible without the long and arduous training, the wide and varied experience, the strenuous industry of her youthful years. This early apprenticeship taught her the technique of her art, but it did more. It broadened her thinking, enlarged her capacities for feeling, deepened her powers of sympathy. She had fought, been con-



MRS. FISKE AS BECKY SHARP.



Photo. by Morrison, Chicago

MRS. FISKE, AS, MARY, OF MAGDALA.

quered, and had conquered. The experiences of her youth had enriched her life as well as her art, had been most fruitful in their ministry.

By inheritance as well as by training, Mrs. Fiske belongs to the mystic order of artists. Her mother's father, Richard Maddern, was an English musician who came to this country with a traveling company made up of his own children. Her mother played the first cornet and afterward became an actress. She married Thomas Davey, a well-known theatrical manager of the South and West. It was at New Orleans in 1867 that Mary Augusta Davey was born. The pretty story has been told of the little child's cradle being her mother's big trunk in her dressing-room. Mrs. Fiske says: "I wish I could give you some glimpses into the life of the child brought up from babyhood in in the theater. It is picturesque and in a way pathetic. Just think of the little child who from infancy up to twelve years of age has known nothing but the life behind the scenes! Then the unceasing going from place to place—it is a strange life for a child." Mrs. Fiske adds that she would like to write a story of the "theater child."

The little girl had certainly no natural childhood. Before she was three she was dressed in a tiny Scotch costume and sent out to sing Scotch songs and dance the Highland Fling. When only three she made her début on the stage in the character of the Duke of York in "Richard III." Then followed a long period in which she acted many child's parts in standard plays: in "King John," "Macbeth," "Richelieu," "Rip Van Winkle," "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "Ten Nights in a Barroom," Boucicault's "Hunted Down," etc. She was the original "Little Fritz" with J. K. Emmett, was Louise in "The Two Orphans." With Barry Sullivan she was long associated, then was with Laura Keane, Mrs. Scott Siddons and E. L. Davenport. In old women's parts she was especially successful, when fourteen winning a triumph as the Widow Melnotte.

During these busy years of childhood and youth Minnie Maddern attended school at different convents at different periods. But she learned as much from life as from books. Her mind was active, she learned quickly, she was observing and receptive. Even at school she showed an inclination to write, and her school writings were made attractive by humor, for she has in large measure that most glorious gift of the Gods, the humorous temperament.

At the early age of fifteen Minnie Maddern appeared at the head of her own company. Such dramatic precocity is not common. Her first appearance as a star was on May 20, 1882. The play was "Fogg's Ferry." Then came "Caprice," one of her notable plays; "In Spite of All," in which she had the support of Richard Mansfield; and "Featherbrain," supported by Wilton Lackaye.

She was charming in these plays. She infused into them the spirit of youth, the blitheness and gayety of her own vivacious temperament, the warmth of her own sunny nature.

At the age of twenty-three she married Harrison Grey Fiske. For three years after her marriage she lived quietly, busy with her books and her writing. If Mrs. Fiske's genius had not by force of circumstance, heredity and environment found expression in acting, we might know her as novelist or poet, for an ardent, original mind like hers must find an outlet for its activity in some tangible form of gracious, benign art.

During these years of retirement she wrote several plays. "The Rose," played with success by the late Felix Morris and the Lyceum Company; "Not Guilty," accepted by the Kendals; "Fontenelle," played by James O'Neill; "Common Clay," a comedy of American life; several plays were written for the lamented Rosina Vokes; "Countess Roudine" was written in collaboration with Paul Kester. She also produced some clever translations and adaptations.

There is a strain of melancholy running



Photo. by Byron, New York.

"A DOLL'S HOUSE," ACT 1.

Mrs. Fiske

Max Figman.

through much of Mrs. Fiske's work, though it is whimsical, witty, sparkling with humor. "A Light from St. Agnes" deepens into the glooms of tragedy.

Puccini has the intention to take this play of Mrs. Fiske's as a basis for an opera—Roberto Bracco to write the libretto.

When in 1893 at a matinee for charity Mrs. Fiske consented to appear as Nora in Ibsen's "Doll's House," her success was so inspiring that it determined her return to the stage.

The beauty of Mrs. Fiske's portrayal of Nora will never be forgotten by any one who was fortunate enough to see her. It was remarkable for variety of shading, for tender, melancholy charm, for thorough identification with the character.

It was a living, breathing portrait, rendered with a masterly force and conviction. For in this rôle, as in Mrs. Fiske's later masterpieces, it was not the outward semblance which she represented with so much reality. She was indeed careful of all the little details of manner, gesture, facial expression. But she did more. She gave the mind, the very soul of the character. The spectator did not feel that he was witnessing "acting." He was in the presence of life.

In her first tour as "Mrs. Fiske" she used "A Doll's House," "Cæserine," "Divorçons" and "Marie Delroche." In her second season when she produced "Tess," she captured New York, established her footing unassailably.



MRS. FISKE IN "LOVE FINDS THE WAY."

In looking over a large mass of criticisms in regard to "Tess" we are impressed with the universal tribute of praise which was accorded Mrs. Fiske—the universal recognition of the power, the pathos, the beauty and the authority of her portrayal. She was called "America's pride," "our greatest actress," the "peer of Duse and Bernhardt"—in fact, the critics agreed that her interpretation of Tess was one of the highest and most artistic forms of emotional acting ever given on the American stage.

In this play Mrs. Fiske showed herself to be a master of suggestion, her artistic method taking as much account of the repression of emotion as to its powerful manifestation. Her methods were not familiar. As Edith Wharton said, she swept away a mass of superannuated conventions, and in the most direct and simple terms of which dramatic interpretation is capable she gave a superbly living presentment of Hardy's heroine.

Mrs. Fiske's "Becky," showing her genius in a totally different phase, was received with almost equal enthusiasm.

In "Mary of Magdala" her delivery of the poetical text was the revelation of a new vocal faculty. In "Tess" the matchless sincerity as well as music and pathos of her voice was what moved us so. Mrs. Fiske has a most beautiful voice, full of variety in shading and modulation, flexible, sympathetic. It is her theory that there is a different intonation for each different emotion. She can put tears into that voice. She can make it cut with sarcasm, become brittle and hard with restrained and intense passion; incisive, biting with cynical impatience. In "Mary of Magdala" she showed more fully than in any other play the nobility, the majesty, the passionate eloquence of her voice. Of late, Mrs. Fiske's rôles have called for what she thinks should be occasionally very rapid utterance. Sometimes the audience misses the full force of some of her brilliant speeches. Mrs. Fiske's every-day speech is beautifully cultivated, but it has not one trace of affectation either in pronunciation, enunciation or inflection. It is a voice which ought to please exacting English critics of the American voice.

After the notable success of "Tess," Mrs. Fiske appeared in "Love Finds the Way"—a play which contained an act of great and thrilling power, and it was superbly done. "A Bit of Old Chelsea" and "Little Italy" were one-act dramas which again vindicated Mrs. Fiske's versatility. In the Italian woman of Horace Fry's intense and vivid tragedy Mrs. Fiske's personality was wholly lost. In make-up, gesture, gait, she was the living, breathing character. She showed as fine and powerful art as one sees in a decade. The innocent flower-girl of London was a subtle contrast.

In her portrayal of Magda she went deep into the manifold phases of the character, was very effective in the representation of bitter scorn and satirical mockery, but was particularly happy in the denotement of the more buoyant and whimsical of Magda's moods. Mrs. Fiske's interpretation of the complex emotions of

the character far surpassed any interpretation given in America, before or since.

"Frou-Frou" gave Mrs. Fiske some fine opportunities to show her powers in repressed emotion. Her fine imagination, her genius for understanding the soul of a character and making it vital and real to the spectator, her spontaneity of style, her perfect technique made "Becky Sharp" a notable production, not only because of the graphic portraiture of the central character, but because of its historical fidelity, being a wonderful portraiture of manners, showing comprehensive knowledge, full of life and movement, of brightness, of keen satire and wit; and in every detail of absorbing interest. Mrs. Fiske's "Becky" will live in the annals of the stage as a portrayal of wonderful mastery and delicate skill.

"Becky Sharp" was followed by "Miranda of the Balcony," "The Unwelcome Mrs. Hatch," "Mary of Magdala" and "Hedda Gabler."

Mrs. Fiske's natural temperament is sunny. She has that sympathy with joy and brightness, that whimsical humor and sparkle of wit which make her a comedienne of the first rank. As we all know, the humorous temperament has also sympathy with and insight into the tragical. That is why Mrs. Fiske moves us so profoundly when she strikes the deep, tragic note. She plays upon our very heart-strings. It is the very truth of her own perception of the tragical that gives her this power over us. But in "Hedda Gabler" she does not strike this deep, poignant note. Her Hedda is an interesting study, but it is not a spontaneous and natural expression of her genius,—there is nothing in it to move the heart or liberate the mind.

In 1905 Mrs. Fiske produced "Leah Kleschna" and a one act play of much value called "Dolce." After two seasons of great success with "Leah" she produced "The New York Idea."

In reviewing this long list of plays, we are struck with the fact that they are as

a rule modern. She has never been a Desdemona, a Rosalind, a Lady Macbeth, an Imogen, a Beatrice or a Katherine. But she could be successful in all these. Her Nora, her Tess, her Becky, her Mary will be remembered with admiration and gratitude. These impersonations would be difficult to equal or to surpass. Nevertheless it is a cause for regret that many of Mrs. Fiske's plays do not call into action her highest powers. She always gives the thoughtful spectator the impression that she has an immense fund of reserved strength, that there is scarcely any character which she could not fit herself to portray if she were willing to spend upon it the fullness of her intellectual and emotional equipment. She is young yet and the future may hold rôles for her which will give to her lovely and gracious art its richest and most satisfying expression. She says that she is "hopelessly and intensely modern" in her tastes. Certainly she is most sympathetic to all the new ideas, recognizes the trend of modern art, that there is a great future for the drama of



MRS. FISKE IN "DIVORCONS."



MRS. FISKE IN "A BIT OF OLD CHELSEA."

ideas; but she also recognizes that an extreme devotion to the intellectual may paralyze the expression of those large human emotions which are the richest material of dramatic art.

It was because the last act of "The New York Idea" appealed to universal human sympathy that this brilliant, clever play was received so enthusiastically by the public. In this Mrs. Fiske returned to her earlier manner of bright and sparkling comedy, that comedy with its masterly deft and delicate touches, its swift transitions. "She changes her mood as lightly, with as little effort as a cloud-flecked summer sky, merriment at the memory of past happiness is never far away, and tears are ever following in the wake of smiles." The final moments of reconciliation, of restoration of lost happiness are very beautiful and touching.

We all must acknowledge that Ibsen is a force to be reckoned with. We cannot ignore his revolutionizing power nor make light of his influence. Mrs. Fiske is no worshiper of Ibsen as a moral philosopher, but she admires his powers

as a craftsman and builder of plays. She deplores the fact that his "wonderful gifts are not enlisted on behalf of the beautiful and the noble things of life." For as she herself says art is of no real consequence unless it is the messenger of spiritual hope, unless it reveals the things that lift humanity.

In her opinion Ibsen at his worst is better than the inanity of the average modern dramatist.

"But the plays I would like to play best I fear have not yet been written. I don't like the morbid in the drama, but, unfortunately, the better of the modern plays are morbid. A good play is difficult to find—a play that embodies good literature and technical excellence. My favorite play is 'As You Like It.' The philosophy of the banished duke is a delight. And into this play Shakespeare has put so many exquisite things; it moves in so spiritual an atmosphere."

In Mrs. Fiske's Harvard address she gave interesting expression to her views in regard to the ethics, the craftsmanship and the requirements of dramatic art. This address and others which she has delivered in the course of the last few years, show that she has a prose style of much felicity, and that if she had time to devote to it she would do able literary work in the essay form.

Oh! that a great dramatist might arise in America to fit this woman with a rôle that is worthy of her! A rôle which will furnish scope for the loveliest phases of her most lovely art.

She intends to produce "Rosmersholm," which she considers the best of Ibsen's plays. One awaits with interest her interpretation of the modern Lady Macbeth. Her future may "copy fair her past," but the "thrill and the art" of her most masterly and skilful interpretations which have passed into history may be difficult to match.*

*Since this article was written, Mrs. Fiske has produced Rosmersholm at the Lyric Theater, New York. Her Rebecca West will rank in dramatic history as one of the great interpretations. It has a peculiar, fascinating and moving power. It is a masterpiece.

But it is not alone the personal work of Minnie Maddern Fiske which must be taken into consideration in order to arrive at an estimate of what she has done for the American Drama. It is her influence upon others: her work as a stage manager, as a director of her company.

She was among the first, perhaps the first, to anticipate the "play of the future": that which is to be not the star piece, but the play for an entire company. Her whole aim has been to give a full, well-rounded, polished performance in which every member of her company has been trained adequately and thoroughly, in which she herself does not shine at the expense of anyone else. Her work has been a most unselfish devotion to symmetry, and how well she has succeeded is attested by the unsurpassable brilliancy and polish of the work of the many sterling artists who have supported her. She has indeed the faculty for leadership, for organization; patience in working out details, quickness of observation, indomitable energy and will-power. Added to this intellectual equipment is the stimulating power over her comrades, so that she brings out the best that is in them. She has that broad and clear vision which makes her wise in her appraisal of the work of others; she is generous of her praise, yet firm in her government.

Those who work under Mrs. Fiske are animated by affection for her. From her youth she has had the power to win loyalty and affection, for she possesses that

"Subtle grace of heart and mind
That flows with tactful sympathy."

Mr. Wilfrid North has given me some interesting details in regard to Mrs. Fiske's methods in drilling her companies. It is at rehearsal, he says, that her genius shines with far greater brilliancy than at any other time. Before an audience she gives but one interpretation, but at rehearsal she plays every part in the play—suggesting to the

more capable members of her company an altered reading or a piece of stage business that illumines the lines, but where she finds originality, she gives full opportunity for its display. When she finds any individual rôle deficient, she "works and strives and drills till she obtains the effect desired." The most subtle part of Mrs. Fiske's work at rehearsals is the masterly way in which she "evolves harmony"—for it is Mrs. Fiske's theory that a play should be as harmonious as a symphony. A well-made drama has its arias, its cadences, its solos, its chorus. Then, too, the actors as well as their work must be in harmony, there must be no friction, no individual jealousy, no jarring tones used in the theater. Her own dignity and courtesy furnish a fine example to all her subordinates. "I never wondered," says Mr. North, "when I heard comments passed upon the excellence of Mrs. Fiske's performances, because I knew the harmony the master-mind demanded from her players, from the orchestra, from the



MRS. FISKE AS HEDDA GABLER



MRS. FISKE AS GUILIA IN "LITTLE ITALY."

stage hands, and from her corps of assistants, must produce upon the minds of her audience the great perfect note of completeness she strived for and attained."

The famous ball-room scene in "Becky Sharp"; the wonderful effect of the attack upon Mary of Magdala by the fanatic Jews; the drawing-room scene in "Miranda of the Balcony" prove that Mrs. Fiske has as much skill in the management of large numbers of subordinate actors as well as in drilling the more prominent members of her companies.

It is much to be regretted that owing to certain unfortunate methods in dramatic criticism in New York, Mrs. Fiske has abandoned her plan to establish a permanent stock company for the production of plays by unknown authors as well as for her regular productions.

This plan would be of incalculable value to American art; American authors would not only get a hearing but they would have the benefit of the criticisms of a woman of wide experience in stage

management, of discriminating literary judgment, of fine and catholic tastes. It would also be very helpful in the establishment of a national drama.

There is no one in America so able, so well-equipped as Mrs. Fiske to be at the head of a National Theater, but she is unfortunately handicapped by being a woman!

About ten years ago Mrs. Fiske was in the thick of the fight against the Theatrical Trust. Among all the leading actors of America she has stood practically alone in this struggle to maintain the freedom of art; to emancipate it from the tyranny of the commercial spirit.

Mrs. Fiske has been unflinching in her determination to maintain her independence, and by her brave attitude she has won the respect of every one whose opinion is to be valued, and the very annoyances and hardships which hampered her tours have made her success all the more admirable

Many dramatic critics have been bound hand and foot by subservience to the



MRS. FISKE IN "DOLCE."

Theatrical Trust. From them, Mrs. Fiske has had occasionally to endure criticism which was neither sincere nor honest; worse than that her work has sometimes been ignored, while productions of far less dramatic value have been praised at length.

Of late years, Mrs. Fiske has conquered the good-will and admiration of every critic of any standing and scholarship, and her struggles with the "Trust" are practically a thing of the past.

Her refusal to give up her independence has been of great help to the rank and file of the profession. Indeed, her whole influence has been potent in awakening other actors to a sense of the dignity and responsibility of their work.

When Mrs. Fiske owned the Manhattan Theater, New York, her plays had long runs there. She drew to the theater the most cultivated, the most thoughtful people. As it is in the "entire unobtrusiveness of her art" that Mrs. Fiske's great art lies, those people who are so dull that they cannot appreciate her *finesse* depress and affect her unfavorably; as she appeals most strongly to the trained artistic sense, those among her audience who have cultivated this sense are to her an inspiration, putting her on her mettle and bringing out the best that is in her.

In nature as well as in books Mrs. Fiske finds relief from the strenuous work of her professional life. She has spent many of her vacations in the Adirondacks; but of all America she likes best California and the extreme Northwest. She is very fond of Italy, particularly the old places surrounding Naples. But of all places in Europe she prefers the old medieval town of Rothenberg, not far from Munich. It is a little town of towers, battlements and turrets, that rests quietly in the hills exactly as it was hundreds of years ago.

Mrs. Fiske has had little time to broaden out her social relationships, and yet she has many interests and activities aside from her work on the

stage. The art of the theater is not to her of supreme importance. "Art," she says, "seems often very little when contrasted with the actualities that surround us." She is a student of literature, but even more eagerly a student of life, and as the years pass, her observation of the suffering and misery of the world deepens her earnestness and seriousness of thought. "The contemplation of man's inhumanity to man often taxes one's credulity," she says, "but there is one thing more monstrous,—that is his almost complete inability to perceive or understand his duty towards the dumb beasts of the earth who are placed at his mercy." Ever since she was able to think, the suffering of dumb animals at the hand of man has seemed to her the most terrible fact of life, and the work to improve their condition the most worthy of her devotion. Her work has not alone been the giving of money in abundance, but it is one of organization, and with all the earnestness of her nature, the force of her eloquent logic she has used her influence against the abuse of



MRS. FISKE AS LEAH KLESCHNA.

vivisection; against the cruelties of transportation, the cruelties of trapping, and against what she calls the darkest stain on our American civilization—the treatment of the cattle on the great ranges. She has collected a mass of information, much of it from personal observation, and all the weight of her influence is being used to stop or lessen the cruelty and dishonesty practiced by the owners of the vast herds that roam the wide plains of the West. She is working to induce Congress to pass laws to better the deplorable state of affairs which she describes with painful and vivid minuteness. She is doing much to enlighten the people of the West, and to stir up public sentiment.

The Humane Organization recently established in Mexico has also engaged her sympathy. She has spoken fearlessly and to the point against the bull-fights practiced there. Then the countless cruelties practiced upon the streets of

Naples and Rome have aroused her indignation, and this has resulted in practical work to change these painful conditions.

It is Mrs. Fiske's creed that we should all be *unresting apostles of discontent until man's cruelty to man and man's cruelty to dumb animals is obliterated*. In this effort to make her own discontent of practical use, Mrs. Fiske finds much happiness. "I do not see," she says, "how the achieving of success as an artist can give complete and permanent happiness to an intelligent human being."

Ten years ago Mrs. Fiske said: "Till we have suffered we can never do very good work. To be a great actor one must have had a wide experience in suffering." Certainly her own work in the behalf of dumb sufferers of the world has enlarged her own sympathies, broadened out her own nature. It will inevitably react on her art and widen its scope.

When I asked Madame Modjeska her opinion in regard to Mrs. Fiske, she replied: "She is one of the most intellectual artists on the American stage and I always see her with delight." She spoke of her as remarkable, and gave especial and enthusiastic praise to her "Tess."

Now that Richard Mansfield is gone, our hopes rest upon Mrs. Fiske. She has a great responsibility and a great privilege.

Let me close with these words from William Winter:

"Mrs. Fiske is one of the most intellectual women upon our stage, and her dignity of mind, strength of character, and inflexible stability of worthy purpose make her an object of unusual interest, and have gained for her the respect and admiration of all persons who wish for the prosperity of a respectable, useful and influential stage."

[KENYON WEST.
"New York.



MRS. FISKE AS CYNTHIA IN "THE NEW YORK IDEA."

THE PROBABLE SELF-DESTRUCTION OF THE TRUST.

BY PHILIP RAFFAPORT.

IN AN article under the head of: "The Sweep of Economic Events in the light of History," in the August number of **THE ARENA**, I said: "Every phase in the political or economic development of society contains the elements of self-destruction. Every social, political or economic system will in the course of its development reach a point where the elements of self-destruction commence to move and show their presence. From this on the system will gradually be undermined and slowly collapse by its own force. From this on the effect of its own force becomes inimical to its own purposes and a hindrance to its further development."

To show the truth of this theory I illustrated it by describing the outgoing of the guild system and the incoming of the competitive system, and also the present gradual decline of the competitive system and its making way for the combination and concentration in industry, commerce and transportation, or that which is commonly called Trust.

If what I then said is true, I think it should be possible to point out the elements of self-destruction in the Trusts, and their probable movements and manifestations, because the Trust has, in my opinion, advanced in its course of development to the point at which these elements must show their presence and activity.

It is the object of the following lines to show that the course of the Trust is self-destructive and that it cannot deviate from this course and escape destruction, though it is constantly endeavoring to do so.

If it were possible for any combination to cover the whole industry, it would, of course, so far as that industry is concerned, eliminate entirely the influence of supply and demand; in other words, abolish the market, as a price maker. But no combination is able to do that. Even the

Standard Oil Company does not cover the whole domestic field, not to speak of foreign countries. Its life depends upon the killing of all competition. This, it can never completely do, and it must continually fight for its own life. At the same time its efforts to absorb rival concerns have the effect of creating new ones. The large profits lead to the establishment of rival concerns, sometimes for the only purpose of compelling the combination to acquire the new establishment at an enormous price, for absorption is mostly less expensive than destruction.

It is impossible for the combination to leave rival concerns undisturbed. If it would allow them to grow and expand, it would not any longer be able to control the market and reap enormous profits which is the object of its existence. It would itself become merely one of a number of competing rival concerns, but not a trust, not a powerful, controlling combination. To continue as such it cannot allow the existence of rival concerns but must destroy or absorb them in one way or the other.

This is even the case where the combination has reached the highest state of development, that of the one large corporation, as the Standard Oil Company, the United States Steel Corporation, etc.

In its course from mere trade agreements between a number of independent firms to their consolidation into one large corporation and by process of destruction and absorption the combination drives many independent business men out of business and unquestionably reduces the consuming capacity of a part of them.

In its efforts to control the business in all its stages and to reap every possible profit that is in it, it is one of the policies of the combination to eliminate as far as possible the middle man. It sells directly to

the retailer, and the wholesaler and jobber are gradually disappearing. But some of them, as, for instance, the Standard Oil Company and the Tobacco Trust, go even further and eliminate the retailer, by either peddling their goods or monopolizing the retail business. Thus it destroys the sources of income for hundreds of thousands of people and reduces their consuming capacity.

Combination reduces the number of necessary employees, in the shop as well as in the office, but more particularly the number of those employed in selling goods. The drummer, for instance, so necessary an individual under a system of competition, becomes unnecessary under a system of combination. If the buyer has no choice it is not necessary to make efforts to win him. Thus, combination reduces or destroys altogether sources of employment and again reduces the consuming power of hundreds of thousands.

It is, of course, one of the principal objects of the trust to control and fix prices, and to drive them as high as conditions permit, with a view of making the largest possible profit. The consequence, naturally, is an increase of the cost of living. Increase of living expenses is always one of the causes which call forth energetic efforts on the part of the labor-organization to obtain better wages, so as to prevent a sinking of their standard of life. It stands to reason that the combination is able to resist these efforts with much greater strength than a number of individual competing concerns, and the Trust is, generally, strong enough to secure a proportionately higher rise of prices than of wages. That this again reduces the consumptive power of the people needs no explanation.

In my former article I explained combination as forming an element of progress in so far as it is a means of increasing the power of production. Now I have shown that the methods which the combination uses, and which it is bound to use result in a reduction of the power of consumption.

It is evident that this is a self-destroying course, but none other is open to the Trust. If the power of production constantly grows, or even if it remains stationary, while the power of consumption diminishes, a point must eventually be reached when production becomes useless or unremunerative, and must be stopped or suspended. A reduction of the consumptive power prevents the full use of the productive power, but as production and profit-making is the object and purpose of the Trust, it must in the end become a hindrance to production and its methods inimical to its own purposes.

Nevertheless the Trust cannot deviate from this course without destroying itself more rapidly; because this course is necessary to prevent competition, and deviation from it would mean the return of competition, and competition and combination are, of course, antagonistic and cannot exist together.

Therefore, in order to avoid the results of the reduction of the consumptive power of the people, and to prevent the calamity of stopping production, or reducing productive capacity, the combination is compelled, or will be compelled, to seek foreign markets. But here it meets the competition of other nations. To meet this effectually and also to ward off the competition of foreign industry at home, it needs tariff-protection which enables it to sell at high prices at home and to dump upon foreign markets the surplus of its products, which the home market is not able to absorb, at much lower prices, sometimes even at a loss.

Of course, the throwing of goods upon foreign markets at very low prices is not possible without high prices at home. But, as said before, the high prices and big profits are dangerous to the combination because they form a stimulus for new enterprises. Thus a ring is formed through which the combination is unable to break, and a condition is created which the combination is powerless to change.

The foreign markets must necessarily, in course of time, become satiated: the subjugated islands or colonies, generally

in tropical countries, and inhabited by barbarous, or semi-barbarous people have no great consumptive power, and even the tariff cannot prevent the arrival at a stage where the consumptive power remains so far behind the productive power that the system must completely break down.

That moment has, of course, not yet arrived, and protective import duties are still the most useful means of protection for the combinations. To influence tariff legislation, or, as the case may be, to prevent it, is, therefore, a necessity for the combination.

But not this alone. Its methods are such that they must necessarily arouse enmity and opposition and a widespread and popular demand for legislation against it. To prevent such legislation, or to keep it, at least, within certain bounds, becomes necessary for the life of the Trust.

Laws require enforcement to become effective, and their interpretation is in the hands of the judiciary. It is not necessary to describe the part which politics play in the making, the interpretation and the enforcement of the laws, all of it lying in the hands of officers nominated by their parties and elected by the people. To control, or influence these public functions requires political power. The Trust must control or at least influence legislation, the application and the enforcement, and to a certain extent the construction, of the laws. This is indispensibly necessary for success in its struggle for existence. The exercise of political power with whatever means that are at its command, be they good or evil are an unavoidable element of the warfare of the trust or combination. The selection of the means depends only on the form of government and the political institutions of the country.

Here now is the point where the more or less rational, systematic and wilful action of man comes in. The Trust, or combination being politically active becomes itself the subject of politics.

Its effect on the distribution of wealth, the concentration of wealth in constantly growing and gigantic proportions in the hands of comparatively few, who become more and more conspicuous as a class, must necessarily awaken and strengthen class-consciousness and class-feeling, and those of common class-interests will more and more rally together in political parties which represent their class-interests, and the political fight will, with growing clearness and distinctness and increasing consciousness, become a class-fight.

In a certain sense the political fight is always a class-fight, but as long as the masses are not conscious of that fact, its effect is always favorable to the possessing and ruling class. But when the people consciously organize themselves into class-parties, then the results will commence to turn against the dominant class. In the end the ruling class will be vanquished, and the system by which it exploits and rules the other class will be destroyed.

Modern governments are governments of and for the bourgeoisie, the class which makes and owns the Trusts. It makes little difference whether the chief of the nation has inherited his throne or has been put into it by election. The bourgeois class rules and as long as it rules, the Trust has to fear nobody but itself. Eighteen years ago the Sherman Anti-Trust Law was passed. It has not harmed even a Baby-Trust, not even scratched one. It has caused some changes in the form of organization, it has strained the ingenuity of lawyers in making and finding snares and loopholes, but it has not done more and never will do more. Yes, it may. It may some day be used by a desperate bourgeoisie to destroy labor organizations, for there is no great legal difficulty in applying it to them. In the eyes of the law, labor force is property. It is bought and sold. It is a commodity. Is it difficult to declare a combination for the purpose of obtaining higher wages a conspiracy to influence prices, to

monopolize a commodity, to destroy competition in labor?

The war apparently waged against the Trusts in the halls of Congress and State legislatures will never kill it, and is not intended to kill it.

It is waged by the poorer part of the bourgeoisie which is in danger of being crushed by the other part. Or it is waged between the different interests of different parts of the bourgeoisie: industry, commerce, transportation, finance.

The laboring class has little or no interest in discriminating freight rates or passenger rates. It neither travels nor ships much.

Pure food law? If the bourgeois were not in danger of being poisoned, he would no more care for the laborer being poisoned, than he cares for the laborer being killed in the mine.

But the time is not far when the large mass of the people will become conscious of their class-existence. Then the real fight will begin, but not before that. It will not end in the restoration of competition with the consequent repetition of past evils, but in turning over the Trusts to the uses of the people.

PHILIP RAPPAPORT.

Washington, D. C.

THE RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR DISTINGUISHED.

By THEODORE SCHROEDER.

[*Editorial Note:* THE ARENA has recently published papers setting forth the religious views of liberal orthodox churchmen who hold to what is known as the higher criticism, in the contributions by Dr. Crapsey and Rev. A. R. Kieffer. Those of conservative churchmen have been admirably presented by Rev. William R. Bushby. The teachings of Christian Science have been presented by W. D. McCrackan and philosophical opinions against and for Christian Science have been discussed by Edward C. Farnsworth and John B. Willis. In the following paper we present a contribution on "The Essence of Religion" from the rationalistic view-point. It has been prepared by Mr. Theodore Schroeder, one of the strongest and clearest reasoners among the radical thinkers. Personally we do not think Mr. Schroeder's stand is well taken in regard to God,—at least we think that his illustrations are in some instances unfortunate in that they do not fairly represent the views of those with whom he is dealing. If the writer had limited his conception of God to that of an anthropomorphic being, he would have been justified in classing the Brahmins, the Christian Scientists, and for that matter, the master-thinkers among liberal evolutionary Christians of the present day, as not believing in such a God. But the anthropomorphic concept of God is by no means the only concept, and indeed, in the Christian world it is doubtless true that this old-time idea is rapidly giving place to the concept of a God that is all-pervading Life and the supreme embodiment of those attributes which are instinct in the fullest and noblest forms of life of which we have any conception. Now to the Brahmin, who believes that the universe is one vast, throbbing

entity and that man in his cycles of existence is merely moving onward and upward through a series of dream-lives, being purified and refined until at last he is at one with the great source of life and being, Brahm is Deity, quite as much as the God of the old colored man who conceived Him to be a great black man sitting on a gold throne with a long gold stick in His hand. Likewise the great evolutionary school of liberal Christian thinkers to-day who hold with the ancient poet that God is everywhere, are none the less believers in Deity than the peasant whose conception of God is that of a magnified man. So also with the Christian Scientists. Their conception of God is that of all-pervading conscious energy—the sum total of intelligence, of life, of love, of truth, so perfect in manifestation of each of these that it is proper to characterize Deity as the incarnation of each attribute, whether it be truth, or love, or intelligence. It is doubtful whether Deity is so real to any modern body of religious believers as He is to the Christian Scientists.

We are not arguing for any special concept of Deity, but stating facts which it seems to us in fairness should be stated in this connection. Much of the misunderstanding and intellectual warfare over religious, philosophical and various other theories that have commanded the attention of thinkers, has arisen from writers employing terms in such a way that their scope is more limited than the terms warrant, or by their giving to terms a special meaning which is not the meaning that the same term conveys to other minds. To us it seems clear that the Brahmin, the liberal evolutionary Christian and the Christian Scientist believe in Deity quite as profoundly as those who hold to the

anthropomorphic idea of God. In regard to the latter, perhaps the best answer to Mr. Schroeder's claim that Christian Scientists do not worship God, is found in the following extract from *Science and Health*, in which Mrs. Eddy gives in a brief compass the teachings of Christian Science:

"1. As adherents of Truth, we take the inspired Word of the Bible as our sufficient guide to eternal Life.

"2. We acknowledge and adore one supreme and infinite God. We acknowledge His Son, one Christ; the Holy Ghost or divine Comforter; and man in God's image and likeness.

"3. We acknowledge God's forgiveness of sin in the destruction of sin and the spiritual understanding that evil is unreal, hence not eternal. But the belief in sin is punished so long as the belief lasts.

"4. We acknowledge Jesus' atonement as the evidence of divine, efficacious Love, unfolding man's unity with God through Christ Jesus the Way-shower; and we acknowledge that man is saved through Christ, through Truth, Life and Love as demonstrated by the Galilean Prophet in healing the sick and overcoming sin and death.

"5. We acknowledge that the crucifixion of Jesus and his resurrection served to uplift faith and understanding to perceive eternal Life, even the allness of Spirit and the nothingness of matter.

"6. And we solemnly promise to strive, watch and pray for that Mind to be in us which was also in Christ Jesus; to love one another; and to be meek, merciful, just, and pure." (*Science and Health*, page 497.)

Editor of THE ARENA.]

ONLY very stupid persons would assume that everything can be made a matter of religion merely by calling it religion, or that everything is religious which is so labeled. The moral quacks, vendors of reform cure-alls, the sociological astrologer, the political theologaster, as well as the mystic degenerate, usually appropriate the religious trademark, thinking thereby to secure for themselves a "respectable" rating, and for their wares a more ready market.

Since we cannot find the essence of religion where religion is not, it follows that we must exclude from our study all of the foregoing classes, and those numerous others who exercise only the parrot-like function of imitating such as are truly religious.

We must also exclude from consideration those well-meaning persons who for want of clear vision, and the consequent inherent timidity of conscious weakness, carefully plan their intellectual destination along the line of least resistance, because it is easiest. These gather a large following by their superficially plausible, and intellectually dishonest use of words with which they appear to harmonize religion and science. These weaklings of science and weaklings of religion, and their following of pseudo-scientists and pseudo-religionists, have made dust enough almost to obliterate the essential difference of source of authority, of method, of scope and of

aim, which must ever separate real science from real religion. Partially to restore this line of partition for the small thinking portion of the public is the mission of this essay.

Here we are not concerned with the difference between true and false religion, nor with the success or failure in the attainment of religious ideals. What we seek to discover is those characteristics, the absence of which is the negation of all religion either true or false, and the presence of which distinguishes even the errors of false religion from secular error.

Unquestionably, religious men, often even in the name of religion duplicate every crime committed by others. The religious profess convictions which others may also profess, both with and without honesty. The religious perform ceremonies which others also perform with joy to themselves. In common with the non-religious persons they entertain opinions and hopes, all of which some other religious persons repudiate. From these facts of common knowledge we must conclude that the religious man cannot be differentiated from the non-religious by any indispensable conduct, credal statement, or aspect of the outer world. None of these things are essential to religion as such, though any of them may be, and almost everything has been, deemed indispensable to some particular religion. We can make this a little clearer by a few concrete illustrations, of

the most conspicuous non-essentials of religion.

BELIEF IN GOD A NON-ESSENTIAL.

Belief in God or gods is not an indispensable element of religion. Buddhists are unquestionably religious, yet admittedly believe in no God. It is doing violence to language to say that the founder of "Christian Science" believes in a God, when she writes, "the allness of mind and the nothingness of matter," and "God is love and love is God," it is because, for the moment, as one under the influence of an opiate or in a trance, she has suspended relations with the non-ego, and therefore denies the existence of objective realities. She is without a God-concept, and without a belief in an unknowable reality, as an objective stimulus of her religious sentiments. She apotheosizes only love-emotion, not a concept, nor an objectivity. Her efforts at describing her emotional states in terms of objectives, lead her unavoidably into that verbal fantasticism, which so successfully eludes all our efforts at translation into concepts, not mutually destructive.

No proper use of the word "God" in any literal sense will allow the assertion that Mrs. Eddy believes in a God. She has a subjective condition which she describes figuratively as God-like; it is an emotional substitute for the God-concept of others and not a "feeling background" for it. Yet we cannot deny her religiosity. In one aspect, she is even more religious than many of her contemporaries, since she—more than they—exemplifies the truth that "the kingdom of God is within you," is subjective.

Berkeley's idealism was the product of an analysis of consciousness, an inquiry into the existence of an objective cause for our concepts, with a view to determining the sufficiency of the warrant for our belief in the existence of objective realities. Not so with Mrs. Eddy. She scorns "the erring testimony of mortal

sense," and an analysis of it is beneath her. She has no need of its help, for "By our faith are we justified." Berkeley's idealism was reached by the more or less accurate use of the scientific method and was the expression of a belief within the domain of science or philosophy. Mrs. Eddy's idealism, without even a pretense of scientific processes, is the mere misinterpretation of subjective emotional states, the apotheosis of love-emotion. Her idealism is religious.

Likewise the Brahmin has nothing which can properly be called a God. What we carelessly designate his God, is, in fact, but a substitute. He calls it: "The highest self," which again shows its subjective origin. The Vedantist believes in a self within the person, which is the carrier of his personality, and a self without a person, which is the carrier of the world, "God the highest self,—and these two selves are ultimately the same self." In its adaptation to modern mystic cults, man sometimes comes to be described as "a conscious center of the all-mind," etc.

The religio-idealistic speculations are but different explanations of the same subjective states—love-emotions—which accompany and induce the thought of God, with those who religiously believe in God. It is this wholly subjective source for the presence or absence of a belief in God, and the longing to put one's self into agreeable relations with him, or His substitute, an infinite self, which distinguishes the religious from its corresponding scientific or philosophical belief.

SCIENTIFIC BELIEF IN GOD.

Since belief in God is not an indispensable phenomenon of religion it follows that mere belief in God cannot constitute one a religious person. When a scientist using the materials and methods of the physical sciences reached the conclusion of Professor Hæckel that there is no God, he is not engaged

in religious exercises. He simply has a more or less logical conclusion within the domain of science about a religious subject-matter. If by using similar materials and the same scientific method he reaches a contrary conclusion, as did the Duke of Argyle, this still is not religion, and again he has only a more or less logical conclusion within the domain of science about a religious subject-matter. This is no more a matter of religion than belief in the multiplication table.

The methods and generalizations of science may verify or modify our religious convictions, but standing alone, are not, and cannot initiate religion. Something must be super-added or precede a scientific process or conclusion, before it becomes religion.

The Rev. Jonathan Edwards announces the same conclusion in these words: "He that has doctrinal knowledge and speculation only without affection, never is engaged in the business of religion." The Rev. G. W. Allen points out his conception of the difference between the religionists' and scientists' attitude toward the idea of God, by the following words: "Can a man by searching find out God? The presumed answer is 'No.' Mark now the different attitude with regard to this answer, taken by the materialist, the mystic, and him who stands between the two, the intellectual theologian. The materialist says at once, 'Then let us devote our efforts to what we can find out.' The intellectual theologian says, 'If we cannot find God, we can perhaps find out something about Him.' The mystic says, 'If I cannot find God, perhaps God can find me.'"

This again makes plain the fact that belief in God is not of the essence of religion because such belief to be religious must have the subjective warrant of an "indwelling God," without which it is a mere conclusion of science.

IMMORTALITY NON-ESSENTIAL.

One need but examine some historic

religions to know that belief in an individual post-mortem "spiritual" existence is not an indispensable element of religion. The Buddhist is a demonstration. He believes only in Nirvana. There is a state of blissful repose, which the Hindoo devotee realizes when, through the prescribed discipline of his religion, he has extinguished Karma, or the principle of individual existence within him, and has thereby obtained deliverance from the doom of the Samsara, or unending temporal cycle of deaths and reincarnations. Nirvana in its primary meaning has no temporal reference, and hence is not a state to be attained only after death. The whole world of individuality, including death, is a sphere of Maia or illusion; hence, Nirvana is but a cessation of the useless striving after individual existence.

Vedantism, whose most distinguished European disciple was Professor Max Müller, also proves the point. According to this doctrine of Brahmanism, death is but the merger of self into the "all-self." Very similar to this are several familiar Western mystic cults recently organized, according to which death is an absorption into "the all-mind," etc. These, of course, are each but an idealistic counterpart to the materialistic view that death ends all, which latter with equal accuracy could be described as a dissolution of the physical body into the "all-matter." The former is based upon a denial of the reality of matter, the latter upon a denial of every existence except matter.

The Samaritans held with the Sadducees, that there was no resurrection nor life eternal. Wu Ting-Fang, the Chinese Ambassador to the United States, says: "It must not be said that Confucius denies the existence of these things [relating to the immortality of the soul], but regards all speculation upon them as useless and impracticable. He would be called an agnostic in these days. 'What is death?' asked a disciple of him; and he replied, 'You do n't

know life yet, how can you know about death?"

"The fact is that only in Christendom and Islam is the essential immortality of the individual spirit assumed. To the contention that belief in eternal life has been held always and everywhere and by all men, the only reply is that the facts are not so."

If belief in a spiritual life, after physical death, is not an indispensable prerequisite to religion, it follows that the affirmation of such belief, standing alone cannot constitute one a religious person. We may apply purely scientific methods to the testimony of others (spiritualists, for example), or to the facts of the physical universe, and reach the conclusion (more or less logically) that there is such a post-mortem life. But that conviction, thus reached, is a conclusion within the domain of science or philosophy, not a conviction of religion. It is a scientific conviction upon a religious subject of contemplation; it is not religion. As well might one say that a table of logarithms, or the statement of the law of gravity, presents a religious conviction, simply because innumerable religious persons believe them to be true and useful. Belief in a future existence must be classified as secular or religious, according to its source—its reason for being.

This same method of analysis can be applied to every article of every religious creed, and no matter how essential any dogma may be to some particular religion, it will always clearly appear not to be of the essence of religion in general.

RELIGION ALWAYS NON-SCIENTIFIC.

Strauss somewhere says, that: "None but a book-student could ever imagine that a creation of the brain, woven of poetry and philosophy, can take the place of religion." To demonstrate this, we have only to substitute for the familiar terms of personal piety, which speak of the "human soul" and a humanly responsive "God," any of their

modern scientific equivalents, when the metaphysics are discharged.

Will the Benedicite swell with the same tones of joy when it has sung, "Bless the Eternal Law, all ye its works, Bless the Eternal Law, O my synthesis of organs": Will the contrition which now cries, "A broken heart thou dost not despise," pour out its sorrows to a deaf ideal, and shed its passionate tears on an abstraction that cannot wipe them away? Will any moonlit form be seen kneeling in our Gethsemanes, and rise from prostrate anguish to sublime repose through the prayer, "O, Thou Eternal, not ourselves that makes for righteousness, if it be possible, let the cup pass from me; nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt." Will any crucified one lose the bitterness of death in crying: "Oh, stream of tendency, into thy hands I commit my synthesis of mind"? And to the martyr, stoned to death, will the "Religion of Monism" offer any satisfactory heavenly vision of celestial reward, when he exclaims: "Great Eusamble of Humanity receive me!"

These illustrations can hardly leave any doubt upon the question that no religion can ever be constructed upon any mere scientific abstractions or generalizations. It might be contended that a clear and unified view of the Universe will some day remove in individuals the necessity for a religion, but it can never perform religious functions for those in whose nature religion is still a necessity.

It is the scientists who have most often sinned in the matter of unwarrantedly coupling religion with science, as a means, perhaps unconsciously employed, of retaining for themselves and their convictions, classification with "respectable" orthodoxy, such as could not be otherwise attained. Thus we have innumerable cults designated by such titles, as "The Religion of Science," "Cosmic Religion," "Monistic Religion," "The Religion of Nature," "The Religion of Ethics," and "The Religion of Humanity," etc., etc.

Space limits will not permit me to indulge in an exhaustive analysis of religious essence, but enough has been said, I believe, to warrant my indicating the following conclusions as to the essential difference between religious and scientific or secular factors.

In religion the source of authority for its beliefs and activities is subjective experiences believed not to be dependent for their existence upon material objective stimuli. To describe these subjective processes for the acquisition of religious knowledge such phrases are used as *an act of faith, an assurance of the heart, the inward miracle of grace, and the inward monitions of the spirit.*

Science, on the contrary, deals only in objectives, and in our relation with them finds its only source of knowledge. Even when psychic phenomena are being studied the scientist must consider the mental phenomena objectively.

From this difference in the source of religious and scientific knowledge, comes an unavoidable difference of method to be pursued for the acquisition of their respective truths. The religionist resorts to faith, to prayer, to spiritual exercises, to silent communion with unseeable powers, superhuman intelligences, or extra-physical personages, as a means of securing those subjective experiences from which "he knows because he feels, and is firmly convinced because strongly agitated." The scientist on the contrary can sum up his method in an application of the processes of synthesis and analysis to our human experiences with our material environments.

From these differences of source and method comes also a difference of aim. The scientist is concerned with the laws of nature, under which are included not merely things and their forces, but men and their ways, to the end that human happiness here and now may be increased by a more perfect adjustment to the conditions of our present material well-

being. On the other hand, religion is primarily concerned with the laws of our "spiritual," that is our super-physical nature, to the end that man's happiness in some other existence may be increased through the individual's adjustment to the conditions of "spiritual" growth and "spiritual" well-being, especially for some other time and place.

The scientist, or secularist, never subordinates the human happiness of this existence to that of any other. The religionist, on the other hand, whenever a conflict arises between the joys of this life and those of some other kind of existence, always must sacrifice the present for the advancement of that other super-physical existence. These distinctions are of the highest practical importance, and always to be observed by a secular state, when making laws for its citizens.

Where a union of church and state is forbidden there cannot properly be any statutory enforcement of religious edicts on morality or anything else. The secular state can and must deal only with the social relations of man according to their social utility, as that is discovered in nature's moral law and never as it is read into natural law from the ethical sentimentalizing of those whose sources of authority in matters of morals are not primarily based upon secular considerations, and whose methods of arriving at moral truth are not the methods of the scientist and whose objects, because religious, are such as are not entrusted to the accomplishment of a secular state.

By thus clarifying our vision as to the essential difference between the religious activities of the individual and the functions of a secular state, much improper legislation and unseemly controversy can and should be avoided.

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ZIONISM OR SOCIALISM: WHICH WILL SOLVE THE JEWISH QUESTION?

BY SAUL BEAUMONT.

AMONG the divers questions of general importance that have of late arisen in the arena of social activity, the question of the reëstablishment of an independent Jewish state, commonly known as "Zionism," has also taken its place; and although at first insignificant in its scope, and ignored by the rationally thinking Jews themselves, it is now assuming considerable proportions, and therefore it begets recognition as a social factor to cope with. As the dream of philosophers and aspiration of fanatics, this desire to reconstruct Judea was harmless enough; but when it is beginning to develop into a general aggressive movement, which, if not checked may somewhat hinder the solution of problems exceedingly greater—a word of warning must be sounded. Moreover, as in the onward march of social forces every retarding factor must be avoided, and as Zionism may develop into a formidable obstacle in the progress of mankind, it therefore must be dealt with as must every other social infection, in order to clear the way for the general movement of economic emancipation. Then, again, it is regrettable that so many idealists should exert their energy on mirages in the skies of Judaism, while there is much greater need of their services among the progressive forces of to-day. And because of this retrogressiveness of the sons of Israel, an analysis of their aspirations forces itself to the front. To begin with: What is this Zionism, and what are its objects?

Zionism is the highest ideal of the orthodox Jew. It is inborn in him from times bygone, and in it he sees the restoration of his national independence. Zionism means to him the repossession of the Holy Land and the resurrection of its once famous capital—Zion. And since its destruction, his heartrending lamentations reëcho in all the corners of the earth. Nothing can appease him in his age-long sorrow for the lost glories of Jerusalem.

"Lishunol haboh biirushulaim"—"Next year we will be in Jerusalem"—is the cry of the orthodox Jew at the culmination of his prayers on every Passover night since the downfall of Judea and the scattering of its inhabitants all over the world.

Groanful is this outcry of the sorrowing Jew. From year to year he repeats his inspiring slogan, hoping that some day he will return into the land of his forefathers, out of which he was driven by the resistless forces of social evolution; that some day he also will take his place among the independent nations of the earth; and then an end will come to his centuries-long suffering and ceaseless persecution.

Such is the conception of the orthodox Jew of the word Zion, which was in recent years clothed in a more befitting mantle by his "liberal" compatriots and surnamed Zionism.

Zionism, then, is a theory of renationalization of the Jewish race and its sole aim is the reëstablishment of an independent Jewish state in Palestine or thereabouts. And amongst its advocates, from the late Dr. Herzl to its present supporters, can be found a number of intelligent men, who are endeavoring to mold it into existence, and in that direction are expending considerable time and energy.

To the ordinary observer the activity of these leaders of Jewish nationalism would seem quite rational. "Let them organize their race, buy Palestine from

the Turks, and settle them over there," may undoubtedly be his comment.

But to the student of social phenomena this new Utopia presents an entirely different aspect. He looks at it seriously, carefully considering every point, and his conclusions usually attain some basis to stand upon. He begins at the beginning and proceeds systematically at his task.

Therefore one more glance at the past of the Jewish race is essentially necessary to strengthen his assertion.

Ever since the downfall of Judea the Jews have spread all over the earth. They, it seems, were the first ones to perceive—whether instinctively or otherwise—that empires come and go, and nations, as well as individuals, must undergo the same fundamental laws of physical and social evolution. And the reason that they scattered everywhere was, most assuredly, the logical abandonment of a forlorn cause; otherwise they would undoubtedly have remained in Palestine and earnestly endeavored to resuscitate their national corpse—Zion. Presumably, the economic and social conditions of their fatherland were no more tolerable in those dark days of Judea, and a general exodus followed. It must also be remembered, that at the time of its destruction (through internal strife and Roman aggression), the Jewish empire was at its highest stage of development, and, if history is at all trustworthy, the masses of the people were then over-run by the all-powerful clerical oligarchy, and, after that great and noble champion of their cause, Jesus, was so brutally disposed of, they lost all hope of ever regaining their rights and position. The result is well known—Judea fell to pieces. Our forefathers began to wander again; this time not through the deserts of Africa and Arabia, but between the semi-civilized and semi-barbaric peoples around the Mediterranean.

Eighteen centuries have since elapsed. The Jews settled down amongst other nations, endeavoring to forget the past.

But social events willed it otherwise. And hard and painful have been the sufferings of our forefathers since that time. The Inquisition of Spain, the persecution and oppression in many other lands, the recent massacres in Roumania and in the domains of the Czar, have impressed upon us a mark so deep as never to be forgotten.

In the meantime, what is to be done? What must we do to save ourselves from persecution and oppression? And how shall we attain the rights of man amongst men?

"Zion, build a new Zion," hasten the Zionists to reply.

With all respect to my distinguished compatriots, will I say: that the time has not yet come for progress to retrograde. And the reason is obvious, simply because Zionism, from whichever side it is looked upon, appears as a Utopia full of unpardonable fallacies, which owes its appearance in the modern social arena solely to the great sympathy of some of the progressive Jews, living under more favorable conditions, towards their less fortunate brethren, who are from sheer necessity compelled to linger under the yokes of ignorance and autocracy,—but it has not evolved from the natural nor sociological development of human society.

From a humanitarian point-of-view, the existence of the Zionist movement is somewhat commendable, but from the practical side of it, it has no lease of life.

Why?

Because in the first place, what is this movement proposing to accomplish? What are its aims and objects? Is it the establishment of a new Judea? Will it be a monarchy or republic? If so, where? Is it to be in Palestine, in Uganda, or perhaps somewhere amongst the lost tribes of Israel? And, on the other hand, can that really be accomplished? Can a nation actually be "made to order" in a day or two or thereabouts? Or is it possible for the

Jews to isolate themselves somewhere in a "chosen spot" and entirely ignore the events of social progress? Or the Uganda scheme—is it a practical one? Can it be materialized beneficially? Can the colonization of the Jews there benefit them to any extent? Is it possible to develop that wilderness into an independent Jewish state? Can that be accomplished? Even if accomplished, will that relieve the situation? If so, how?

At its congress held in Basel, Switzerland, the failure properly to consider some of the above questions caused the split of the Zionist movement into two rival factions—the Palestinites and the Ugandists.

The project of the Palestine faction of the Zionists is to purchase from the Sultan of Turkey the land of their ancestors; to induce as many Jews as possible to emigrate there; to assist them in the process of colonization; and to establish an independent government of their own under the protectorate of the European powers.

This project is thoroughly fallacious. It can never be accomplished under the present competitive social system, and there will be no need of it under the future coöperative *régime*. The reason is a simple one: It is futile to expect that the rulers of the world will ever consent that that strategic point of commercialism in the eastern hemisphere shall be taken possession of by the Jewish financiers. They, the Gentile "Captains of Commerce" and their political lackeys, realize only too well that Palestine, and all the other lands adjoining the Suez Canal, will soon be (if they are not already) the key to the markets of Asia, which they themselves are only too eager to seize, hold and exploit to the limit. The law of competition comes in here too sharply not to be understood by them. The men on top of the heap of gold nowadays are too shrewd to be diverted from it. They will hold onto this golden vein and will reject any and all projects and propositions that are in the slightest

degree antagonistic to their private interests, even if they do come from the "leading" sons of Israel.

The Palestine wing of the Zionist movement is therefore knocking against impossibility itself, and for this very reason it is unquestionably doomed to go down to oblivion. There lies, therefore, no hope in this direction.

The Uganda project can be summed up as follows. A large tract of wild territory in East Africa, uncultivated and in primitive condition, claimed as their "legal" possession by the rulers of Great Britain, and of no earthly use to them for the time being, is offered to the Jews for colonizing purposes—with the provision that England shall have the suzerainty over it.

This scheme, which on the surface has some semblance of practicability, resembles, under closer examination, nothing but a false illusion, because of the plainly visible, although deep laid, plan of the shrewd British and Jewish financiers to again exploit a large part of our unfortunate brethren—this time under the mask of hypocritical "philanthropy."

How so? Simply because for a considerable number of propertyless Jews to get to Uganda (the propertied ones will most assuredly stay where they are) a vast sum of money will be required—and it will be furnished by the Kings of Finance. Once there, homes will have to be built, roads laid out and the land cultivated, and to do all these things a large amount of material, tools and machinery will be required—and that will also be furnished by the Knights of Mammon. Then, again, food, clothing and shelter (until things shape themselves), medical men and medicine, civil administrators, police and military protection, border guards to protect them against hostile attacks of their savage neighbors, constables, lawyers, judges, jailors, general managers, governors-general, etc., will also be required—and all these will be furnished by the moneyhe "lovers" of mankind. In a word, ted

whole paraphernalia of a modern "civilized" state would have to be put into operation, backed by the "great men" of Great Britain and their Hebrew colleagues,—and all that for just one "humanitarian" reason—the trinity of rent, interest and profit. Then add one of the scions of the House of Rothschild, as Viceroy of Uganda, and you will have a ready-made Zion.* And once more would Mammon reign in the "new" land of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

And is not this a fallacy of fallacies, that even the "leading" Jews of modern times have not as yet succeeded in opening their eyes and keeping them open, so they could see what is taking place around them!†

But "leaders" or no leaders, the destiny of the Jews is to march forward, not backwards. There is no more room on this planet for an independent Jewish state. Mother earth is big enough for all of us. Let us not be enthused by antiquated illusions of insignificant nationalism. Internationalism is the thing for us. We live to-day in an age of reason, and reason we must use. At present we are confronted with questions of far greater importance than ours that must be speedily solved. They involve not only us, but the whole of mankind, of which we are but a small part. To solve these questions is the problem that concerns the human race. Therefore, its questions are also our questions; its progress is our progress its welfare will be our welfare. To-day all mankind suffers from a system of

*There still exists another branch of Zionist followers, an appendix, so to speak, masquerading under the names of Zionists-Territorialists and Zionists-Socialists, full of schemes and worthless ideas, whom we will respectfully exclude from the subject before us as a matter of inferior importance.

†The chaotic procedure and lack of enthusiasm at the last Zionist Congress, held at the Hague, Holland, manifests the awakening of its representatives to the cold facts herein outlined. It seems they have given up dreaming and are beginning to think with their eyes wide open, and another year or two will most assuredly see them drifting in the right direction.

economic inequality. The many are exploited by the few. Hence classes and masses and struggle and strife unlimited. But this social disorder cannot and will not last forever. The progress of the entire world revolts against it. A radical change must come, and there is nothing to hinder its approach. In fact, everything that to-day moves the social fabric works in that direction. The class struggle is on. It is a continuation of the everlasting strife for freedom, for justice. Justice and freedom are the vanguard of civilization. True civilization will prevail only then, when justice will be the main object within man and amongst men. But justice does not prevail to-day. Hence there is no real freedom, and the civilization we boast so much about is but mockery and deceit.

But the destiny of man is to better himself and improve the conditions under which he lives. The economic forces at the basis of human society dominate its course and shape its activity. Therefore, the human being in order to become a man, a just, free, civilized man, must obey these economic laws governing his progress, but not resist them, as the case is nowadays. The laws of progress force men to combine in order to be in a better position to combat for their rights, to revolt against oppression. And this revolt is fast approaching.

All over the civilized world the trumpets of the times call the toilers to action. They are arraying themselves into solid phalanxes and vigorously combatting for their emancipation. The tramp of the oppressed millions loudly resounds over all civilized lands, and the expected will happen. Such is the way of mankind. It has to force its way onward.

From time immemorial it has been moving forward. At times its onward march is hardly noticeable; at other times it strides forward with enormous leaps, irresistibly overcoming all the obstacles hindering its advance. The

slow, standstill-like periods in human society are its evolutionary developments; the rapid strides and forceful changes are its social revolutions. But social revolutions are preceded by series of social evolutions, and all changes in the social fabric are the results of its economic development. The extent of progress reached by society evolves from the stage attained in its economic evolution; because the means by which we live regulate our mode of living, and the mode whereby we provide for our living shapes the destiny of our environment.

These are economic laws governing human society. They dominate irresistibly, unceasingly. We are at the mercy of this economic progress of social evolution, and have, therefore, rationally to submit. And as the economic evolutions of the past and present centuries are irresistibly preparing the present social order for a radical change—the social revolution; and as it is also historically true that all radical changes in the onward march of civilized nations have greatly improved the conditions not only of the oppressed Gentiles, but of the Jews as well, therefore, the Jews ought rationally to expect to derive a still greater benefit from the impending social change; and for this very reason, in this direction only must they direct their energy, because from the emancipation of the whole human race, all its parts will simultaneously derive the desired benefit.

This the Jews must conceive, and proceed to act accordingly. All their energy must be concentrated and utilized at one vital point—absolute freedom. And as absolute freedom cannot be attained without economic liberty, and this, in turn, cannot be brought about without the entire reconstruction of society, therefore it stands to reason that Zionism, even in its broadest attitude cannot relieve their lamentable situation. And our case would indeed be one to cause despair if there were not to-day two powerful currents in our

social order that speedily drift to our assistance. The more prominent of the two is the economic factor in our modern industrial development, and of no less importance is its companion—the intellectual development of the masses. The growth of these social phenomena is indeed marvelous. They virtually do the work. On the one hand they concentrate the industry of the world in the hands of a few industrial autocrats, and on the other prepare the proletariat of the world to expropriate the expropriators. The individual ownership of the means of life will soon become the collective ownership of the collectivity operating them. The workers of the world will then own the world, and it will be this collective ownership that will forever remove all causes of hatred and strife from amongst men.

The progress of mankind, then, forced forward by its economic evolution and guided by intellect, reason and justice, will inaugurate a system of equal economic, political and social rights for all sections of the human family, be it Jew or Gentile, black or white.

And this approaching social system is now known throughout the civilized world—Socialism is its name. Socialism, therefore, is the remedy for the evils of human society, and all its parts, Jews included, will simultaneously benefit by it.

Socialism, which means the collective ownership by all the people, without regard to faith, race or nationality, of all the natural resources and all the means of production, transportation and exchange, will, when established, forever remove the causes of strife and hatred among men. Moreover, Socialism in its entirety aims at the abrogation of the causes of individual as well as social antagonism and will inaugurate in its place perpetual peace on earth. Socialism, then, is the remedy for the suffering Jews and for mankind in general: it alone can and will solve the Jewish question.

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VARIOUS VOTING SYSTEMS.

By ROBERT TYSON,

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GOOD government depends upon the sort of men elected to power. The sort of men elected is mainly determined by the sort of system which is used to elect them. Environment is all-powerful. Voting systems are the controlling environment of the voter and of the candidate. They not only help to determine whether the man elected is good, bad or indifferent *per se*, but they help to determine the influence under which he will act while in office. A representative is usually faithful to the power that *actually* elects him, whether that power be a private corporation, a *clique*, a party organization, or the people themselves. The power that is *supposed* to elect him is altogether another matter. The only power that *should* elect a representative is the people. It is not so at present. To make it so an electoral reform is needed—Proportional Representation.

The purpose of this article is to set out briefly the principal voting systems, in use or proposed; showing their relation to each other, whether proportional, unproportional, or "betwixt and between"; with the advantages and drawbacks of each. I begin with a brief definition of

FULL PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

In an electoral district from which several members are elected, a quota of voters can secure one representative if the method of election is fully proportional.

A "quota" means that number of voters which is sufficient to elect one representative, no matter what the other electors may do. For instance: in a district electing five members or representatives, each voter having one vote only, any one-sixth of the voters with one added can elect one candidate.

Example: 12,000 electors vote; if 2,001 of them vote for the same candidate it is impossible for five other candidates to each get 2,001 votes; because six times 2,001 is 12,006, and there are only 12,000 votes cast. Therefore any candidate having 2,001 votes is elected; and 2,001 is one-sixth of 12,000 plus one.

Rule.—To find the true quota, or smallest number of votes that will elect one candidate, divide the number of votes cast by one more than the number of seats to be filled, and add one to the quotient.

Note: For the purposes of certain voting systems, other methods of getting a quota are used, resulting usually in a larger quota than the true one.

PARTIAL PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

This is found in systems which do not permit of one quota electing one representative, but require two or more quotas to vote together in order to elect sometime one member only, sometimes two or more.

Definitions of specific systems follow.

1. *The Single-Member District*.—An electoral district from which only one member is elected, each elector having only one vote.

Present system: Unproportional, defective and objectionable.

2. *The Multiple District With Block Vote*.—An electoral district from which more than one member is elected, each voter having as many votes as there are members to be elected.

Present system: Unproportional, defective and a little more objectionable than the Single-Member District for political elections.

3. *The Limited Vote (Ordinary Form)*.—In an electoral district from which

several members are elected (hereafter called "a multiple district") each voter has fewer than as many votes as there are members to be elected, but not fewer than half. In a ten-member district the voter would be given six or seven votes.

A defective system. Too rigid and inelastic, somewhat erratic in results, and invites sinister organization. Is only proportional to the extent that it gives one minority party a chance to put in representatives.

4. *The Limited Vote (Special Form).*—If the limitation of votes is carried far enough it gives a fair measure of partial proportional representation. If in a five-member district each elector is only allowed two votes, the result is that one-third of the voters, with two added, can elect two representatives. Example: 12,000 electors vote, each with two votes, and 24,000 votes are cast; 4,002 of the voters unite their 8,004 votes on the same two men, giving them 4,002 votes each. It is impossible for the remaining 7,998 voters, with their 15,996 votes, to elect more than three additional candidates; because if two more candidates are elected by the least number that can elect them, namely, 8,004 votes, there are only 7,992 votes left, not enough to put any two candidates above or on a par with the other four.

Although somewhat inelastic and uncertain in operation, this plan is a great improvement on the other form of the Limited Vote, if it is arranged so that at least one-third or one-fourth of the voters, acting independently together, can secure their proportional share of representation. The plan might be confined to giving two votes, no matter what the size of the district, and be called The Double Vote.

5. *Cumulative Voting.*—In a multiple electoral district, each voter has as many votes as there are seats to be filled, with the power to cumulate them all on one candidate or to give each of them to a different candidate, or to distribute

them amongst several candidates in any proportion he pleases.

This is a compromise between the proportional Single Vote and the unproportional Block Vote: giving the voter the option to adopt either or any medium between the two. If in a five-member district, for example, every voter were to concentrate all his five votes upon some one candidate, the result would be just the same as if each voter had one vote only; and so with any other multiple district. In a six-member district, if every voter voted in blocks of three votes for two candidates only the result would be just the same as if each voter had two votes only.

This suggests the idea that no elector can really have more than one vote, so long as each one is given the same voting power; and that the multiple vote is simply compelling the voter to divide his one vote into as many fractions as there are members to be elected, and penalizing him by the loss of some of the fractions if he does not vote for the full number. Similarly with the Limited Vote. The Cumulative Vote gives the voter the option of clipping his vote into fractions or not, as he pleases.

The Cumulative Vote is an objectionable compromise. It results sometimes in many wasted votes; is not always proportional; and has no merits which are not possessed by the simple Untransferable Single Vote used in a similar district, besides being cumbersome for the election officials.

6. *The Cleveland System (Preponderance of Choice).*—This plan was explained some years ago by the late Dr. Tuckerman as being in use in some organizations in Cleveland.

In a multiple district, each voter marks his ballot for a first choice, a second and third choice, etc., down to the number of seats to be filled; the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., being used. In counting the votes, a specific number of "points" is credited to the candidate on each choice. In a five-member district a first

choice counts five points, a second choice four points, a third choice three points, a fourth choice two points, and a fifth choice one point. The five candidates getting the greatest number of points are elected.

The Cleveland System is simply the Block Vote a little ameliorated by lessening in a descending ratio the power of each vote—or of each fraction of a vote, whichever way you like to take it. There is a small proportional element in it, but the counting is tedious and cumbersome. The ordinary Limited Vote is a better system.

The Cleveland plan might be simplified and improved by limiting the votes, thus: In a district or meeting electing five representatives or fewer, let each voter mark a first and second choice: the first choice to count two points and the second choice to count one. In effect this is giving two votes to one candidate and one vote to another; or, two-thirds of your vote to one candidate and one-third to another, according to the way in which you look at it. In districts or meetings electing six or more representatives, there might be three choices, counting three, two, and one points respectively.

7. *The Free List With Multiple or Block Vote.*—This is the plan used in several Cantons of Switzerland. In a district electing several members, the candidates of each party appear on the official ballot in separate lists, and each elector may vote for as many candidates as there are seats to be filled. When the votes are counted, a quota is ascertained, and the number of votes cast for each party is divided in turn by the quota, thus showing the proportionate number of seats to which each party is entitled. These seats are usually filled by those candidates of each party who receive the highest number of votes. There are many variations in detail.

The Free List with Multiple Vote gives Proportional Representation as between parties, but not as between

members of the same party. It is therefore defective. It puts too much power in the hands of the party organization, and restricts the free choice of the voter.

8. *Other Forms of the Free List, and Quota Methods.*—The Free List may be varied by using the following forms, amongst others:

(a) The voter may or may not cast a party vote at the head of a list, as well as or instead of individual votes.

(b) The Cumulative Vote may be used instead of the Block Vote.

(c) Or various forms of the Limited Vote may be used. In France it has been proposed to give two votes where the number of seats is not more than six, and three votes where it is from seven to ten, and so on.

(d) Each elector may have one vote only, as in Belgium. This usually is fully proportional, and it will be more fully described. To this plan the proxy feature may be added; that is, each elected representative may cast on a division as many votes as he received at his election, in the manner later referred to, preferably without the coupon arrangement.

As to obtaining a quota in List systems, the principal methods are as follows:

(1) Divide the total number of votes by the number of members required. The quotient is the electoral divisor. Then, if the required number of members is not got on full quotas, the party or parties having the largest "remainder" or "remainders," after the division, get the additional member or members.

(2) Divide the total number of votes by one more than the number of members required, and add one to the quotient, which is then the electoral divisor. Fill up unfilled seats by means of "remainders," as above indicated.

(3) Use the celebrated and complicated d' Hondt method, which is set forth in the Belgian Electoral Act as follows: "The head office divides successively

by 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc., the electoral total of each of the lists, and arranges the quotients in the order of their importance, up to the amount of a total number of quotients equal to that of members to be elected. The last quotient serves as the electoral divisor. The division of seats amongst lists is effected by assigning to each of them as many as its electoral total comprises of times the divisor."

(4) Exclude from the apportionment any party whose vote does not reach a certain defined percentage of the total vote cast, thus preventing a small party from getting one seat by means of a "remainder" when it had not a quota at all. For instance, when ten are to be elected, a party must get nine per cent. of the aggregate vote in order to be "in the count." This is a proposal of Professor Commons'.

9. *The Single Untransferable Vote.* In a multiple electoral district each elector has one vote only, and the required number of seats is filled by the candidates having the largest number of votes. Used in the Parliamentary elections of Japan.

This is the simplest of all the systems of Proportional Representation, and is the one that gives the least work to the election officers. The only objection to it is that a very popular man may draw to himself so many votes from an associate of the same party as to allow the candidate of another party to get in the place of the latter, besides wasting a great many votes. If this kind of thing does not happen, the system is fully proportional. By reason of the freedom with which diverse interests are represented, the elector who votes for an unsuccessful candidate finds usually amongst those elected one who comes near enough to his own views.

10. *The Single Transferable Vote.*—This title embraces a number of systems which incorporate different methods of direct or indirect transfer of votes from candidates obtaining more than a quota and from those without enough votes to be elected. Waste of votes is thus prevented, and an almost mathematically exact result is got. Specific descriptions follow.

11. *The Hare or Hare-Spence System.*

In a multiple electoral district each elector has only one vote which finally counts, but he marks several candidates in the order of his choice with the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., with the object that if the candidate of his first choice does not need or cannot use his vote, some other candidate may.

The first operation of counting the votes deals with the first-choice votes only, and an electoral quota is obtained by dividing their total, either by the number of seats to be filled, or by the number of seats plus one, with one added to the quotient, as already referred to. The latter is preferable, because it gives a candidate no more votes than are necessary to elect him.

If any candidate has a surplus over and above the quota, the surplus is distributed by a method based on the second and subsequent choices; sometimes by chance, sometimes mathematically. All surpluses having been distributed, the candidates having the lowest number of votes are successively eliminated, and their votes distributed according to the second and other choices, until the required number is elected.

The Hare system is the only one advocated in England and Australia, and has been well tested in Parliamentary elections in Tasmania. The objections to it are:

(1) It cannot be used with an automatic voting machine instead of with ballots.

(2) It demands particular care, intelligence and interest on the part of the election officers.

(3) When a large number of voters are illiterate, or have not entire reliance on the integrity of the election officials, the manipulation and apparent juggling with the ballots may cause suspicion and dissatisfaction.

(4) The ballots must all be taken to one central place to be counted.

The Hare-Spence system gives admirable results, and is theoretically an almost perfect plan.

12. *The Gove System.*—In a multiple electoral district each candidate, after nomination and before election, publishes

or may publish a preferential list of those to whom he desires that the Election Board shall transfer his surplus, if any, over and above the quota, or all his votes if he has not enough to elect him. He may bracket as equal such candidates as he does not desire to prefer one above another.

Each voter casts one vote only. The election officers count the votes, obtain a quota as heretofore indicated, and transfer surplus votes and ineffective votes on the basis of the candidates' lists.

This is a simple and practical system, giving absolutely proportional results, and one which can be used with an automatic voting machine, making fraud difficult or impossible.

The objection that the voter and not the candidate should decide the transfer of votes is answered thus: The voter knows the candidates' lists beforehand. Transfers often do not affect the result of an election in any way.

An objection of more weight appears to be that candidates might feel it an invidious task to make preferential lists. The answer is that this would be largely a matter of mutual arrangement and consultation.

13. *The Proxy System.*—In a multiple district each elector has a single vote. At the time of receiving his ballot he receives also a set of transfer coupons, all numbered alike with his voting number, which is unknown to the election officers. The votes are counted in the ordinary way, the highest candidates being elected. If a voter finds that the candidate for whom he voted is not elected, he, without revealing his identity, mails to the proper officer one of his numbered coupons, requesting that his vote be transferred to one of the elected candidates whom he names. Each candidate is entitled to cast on a division in Legislature or Council as many votes as were cast for him on his election and have been subsequently transferred to him. Any voter dissatisfied with the course of his representative may take his vote away from that representative and give it to another who suits him better, merely by mailing a coupon

A simple system, with great merit, and one that would appeal strongly to popular imagination. It does not quite meet the objection of a popular candidate taking votes unwittingly from an associate, because the influence and personality of a member count. Votes on a division are not the only thing. But the Proxy system does prevent waste of votes, and it gives the voters great control of their elected representatives.

14. *The Free List with Single Vote.*—In a multiple district the candidates of each party are printed in lists on the official ballot, and each voter has only one vote. Preferably he must give that vote to an individual candidate and not put it at the head of the list.

When the votes are counted, a quota is obtained in one of the ways already indicated. The totals of the lists are in turn divided by the quota, and the successful candidates are those receiving the highest votes on their respective lists, according to the number of seats each list gets.

This, with slight variations, is the plan which has been in successful operation in Belgium since 1900. It is an excellent and simple system, adapted to the use of an automatic voting machine.

The difficulty which attaches to the use of the Single Untransferable vote as already mentioned, is removed as between parties, and can only occur as between members of the same party. By adding the proxy feature the difficulty is reduced to a minimum.

15. *The Absolute Majority Methods.*—I have dealt hitherto with the election of representatives. When a single executive officer has to be elected, such as a Governor or a Mayor, he can and should be elected by a system which will ensure an absolute majority at one balloting, no matter how many candidates are in the field.

Either the Hare or the Gove plan can be modified so as to do this. No quota is used, and there are no surpluses to deal with; but the remainder of the process in each case is practically as already described. If no candidate gets a clear

majority on the count of first-choice votes, the one with the lowest number of votes is eliminated and his votes transferred in the way already indicated. This process is continued until some one gets a majority or until only two candidates remain; one or the other of whom must have the majority, because all the votes will have been concentrated on them by transfer.

Detailed descriptions of the foregoing systems may be found in past issues of the *Proportional Representation Review*, in reprints of articles published in *THE ARENA*,* in the book of Professor Commons, and in other publications.

To derive the full advantages of Proportional Representation not less than five members should be elected from a district, and a larger number is much better. Of course, where circumstances absolutely limit the size of a district, better results are derived from the use of Proportional Representation, even in a small district, than could be got by using an unproportional plan.

Much progress is being made by the reform in widely-separated countries, and the outlook for purified politics is encouraging and hopeful. ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

THE PRINCIPLES OF ARBITRATION.

BY F. MILTON WILLIS.

THE IDEA underlying arbitration is generally considered to be: the effort to restore harmony by the establishment of a common ground on which the contestants may proceed with their activities without jostling one another, this common ground being but a compromise acceded to by the parties to the dispute, without special reference to the truth in the matter.

Such measures as those wherein the truth is not revealed and sustained, we venture to assert, are but palliatives and hence temporary in nature.

An arbitrator is a judge. His function is, to extract and isolate the truth from the mass of evidence. His duty is to lay aside all prejudice, all promptings of emotion, all self-interest, and decide solely in the light of intellect, being careful to base his judgment not upon legal grounds alone, but upon considerations of equity and, in some cases, temperament as well.

Mere compromise can never be final. The arbitrator, be he an individual or a collection of individuals, should be sus-

tained in an absolute and unfettered discretion to decide solely in accord with the dictates of truth or of an expediency which has the truth for its goal.

Let us glance at the conditions surrounding all contestants, whether individuals, voluntary organizations, nations, or races. All are immersed in a mental atmosphere peculiar to themselves. This atmosphere, in the case of groups of individuals, is made up of the results of temperamental peculiarities, of prejudices due to provincial or national traditions, of thought-channels dug by forceful individuals, indeed of biases of all sorts arising from a common history, common interests, common thoughts and common feelings and desires; and, in the case of individuals, is made up of similar tendencies due to environment, predisposition, their own thinking and self-interest. Through this mental atmosphere surrounding each does each look as through a colored glass (each except the advanced few who can rise and look through the clear, crystalline atmosphere of Reason), and, so far as he alone is concerned, rightly does

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one say that the proposition is thus, and another that it is something else, whereas a dispassionate observer readily perceives it to be neither the one nor the other.

Many are the moral accusations inspired, many the antipathies aroused, many the quarrels engendered by ignorance of this fact that we look out upon things through different media and consequently see them differently. Were nations to recognize this so fruitful source of disputes, war would presently cease, for it would be perceived that in a matter of contention the disinterested arbitrator alone can arrive at a point nearest the truth.

Proceeding now to formulate the principles of arbitration, we venture to display them as follows:

1. The recognition of a common Reason in which all humanity participates.

2. An appreciation of the fact that, aside from his selfish interest in the subject of dispute, each contestant is affected by a mental atmosphere peculiar to himself, so that his apprehension of facts and their relations is different from that of another, and hence the decisions of his reason are likely not only to be adverse to those of his opponent, but also unintentionally to swerve from the truth.

3. A determination on the part of the contestants to abide by the decision of the arbitrator or at least to endeavor to reach

to the standpoint of Reason on which the decision is intended to be based, and, if it be obviously wrong, to confute it and demand a new arbitration in virtue of the new light thrown upon the case; the contestants to assume the attitude of seeking the truth, no matter whither it leads.

4. As a practical measure, in the case of international arbitration, the cession to the international board of arbitration of such a portion of the armament of the several nations represented in the board as will produce a preponderance of force against which no probable combination of nations can successfully strive; for such is the moral status of national entities that it is probable that, for a considerable period to come, the "big stick" must accompany even the just decree.

5. The idea underlying true arbitration to be, the restoration of harmony by eliciting the truth in the matter of dispute and so presenting it to the parties concerned, that, by virtue of the common Reason in which they participate, they will perceive it to be the truth and realize that no infraction of it can be tolerated in the network of law in which all things are so woven that any breach must not only eventually injure the delinquent but some who are innocent as well.

F. MILTON WILLIS.

San Francisco, Calif.

PROFESSIONAL CIVILIZATION.

BY WILLIAM B. HIDDEN, M.D.

WHAT do we mean by civilization? "Science declares that the true tests of civilization—on the material side at least—are: (1) The degree to which the powers of Nature are made conducive to the well-being of man; and (2) the degree to which man has learned to conform to the laws of Nature."

The degree to which the powers of Nature are made conducive to the well-being of man by the medical profession, and the degree to which the profession has learned to conform to the laws of Nature, should determine the extent of professional civilization. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the profession bled,

blistered and physicked their patients with the idea of killing the disease. They deprived them of air and water lest these elements should feed the disease. Their plan of treatment originated in the idea that disease, like sin—the result of violated law—came to us through inheritance from old Adam, and was natural, while health was abnormal and acquired. It will readily be seen how naturally Jenner's system of vaccination was born from such a recognition of disease. It must also be remembered that offal and the products of disease were then thought less likely to feed disease than air and water. The uncivilized to this day depend upon such a *Materia Medica*. If the question were put to the medical profession to-day Which is natural, health or disease? probably those who have not specially thought upon the subject would say both are natural. Yet that is as impossible as "the worship of God and Mammon." The question is vital to our inquiry, for how can the profession work in harmony with Nature without knowing her ways?

From our standpoint those trying to kill the disease, believing it natural, killed their patients more frequently than the disease.

The fact that so many people pass through contagion and life without having any disease whatever, and that germs of disease—like every living thing—must find something to feed upon or they perish, proves that health is natural and disease acquired. In applying the scientific test of civilization to the medical profession it is pertinent to compare professional methods with those of Nature. Nature secures freedom from disease to those who live carefully and obey her laws, by throwing off impurities from the body through its excretories. The skin, with its network of nerves so exquisitely interwoven that a needle-point cannot penetrate without pain, and its millions of pores through which insensible perspiration and unknown impurities pass, constitute her armor of protection. Thus Nature throws out from the body the impure elements upon

which the germs of disease feed, preventing disease and aiding restoration. How does the profession proceed to accomplish the same result? While apparently they believe that health is a natural condition of man, as evidenced by their well-directed efforts to destroy all external, disease-breeding filth, they utterly ignore Nature's plan of throwing off impurities, and substitute therefor the Jennerian system of inserting an unnatural lymph—the product of diseased animal tissue—under the skin of all well people, of all ages and conditions. They declare that breaking the skin is one of the most perilous incidents of life and that they should be called at once to prevent blood-poisoning; but when they insert the product of blood-poison in the broken skin it obliterates or eliminates the impurities upon which the germs of smallpox live and is not dangerous to the system.

This is up-to-date medical science, that looks forward to the day when every disease shall have its special lymph, that shall prove as profitable and productive of ill-health as vaccination has been. If the scientific definition of civilization is correct, the medical profession is more Jennerized than civilized.

But let us see how the declaration of science applies to other phases of natural science. Through ascertaining the laws that govern electricity and working in harmony with them, we are now able to control and use it in various ways in the service of man, and so far as its use is concerned, we are, according to science, a civilized nation.

Who knows what would have been the result if the medical profession had become as familiar with the laws of life and Nature's methods of preserving and restoring health, as scientists have with the laws of electricity? What would have been the result if man had always been a thinking animal? Let us try the kindergarten method of ascertaining the relation of cause and effect upon the human organism and the unchangeable laws resulting therefrom. When the disciples of Jenner

felt the tenderness of the skin and saw how it became thicker and less sensitive from the use of tools and irritation upon hands and feet; if they had discerned the law that Nature thus protected the organism against irritation, external and internal, what an amount of "proud flesh" would have been avoided; bleeding and physicking would have given place to milder measures, and the use of water would have taken the place of irritating lotions. When they saw that milk-maids and others exposed to smallpox did not have the disease, had they recognized the fact that health was natural (not disease), that outdoor exercise and careful living protected people, what a blessing it would have been to mankind.

When they saw the eruption of smallpox upon the body and noted that it came there, like perspiration, out through the pores from within, had they realized that it was Nature's effort to cleanse and purify the system, and that the virulence of the disease was greater or less according to what it had to feed upon, would they have added "fuel to put out the fire"?

Evidently a profession that believes that disease is man's natural condition and acts accordingly, is not civilized.

Science does *not* recognize civilization as a matter of statistics; it bases it upon a recognition of the laws of Nature and the adapting of them to the well-being of man. The strongest points of the medical armor are their theories and statistics and *solely* upon these are based the vaccination laws of America. Theories and statistics are as foreign to the evidence of civilization as the use of lymphs and antitoxines is to being in harmony with Nature's methods of securing the same results.

The writer has been a member of the regular profession for over forty years, but be it said to their intellectual credit, he has never read a medical paper even attempting to justify the use of any sort of lymph by a comparison with Nature's methods to the same end. "Cooked" statistics always seem to take the place of reason and comparison with Nature and her methods.

Several years ago a physician, driven from practice by an incident, so unaccountable as to be providential, chanced to notice that in using anesthetics the breath of the patient impinged directly upon the anesthetic, and, knowing that the warm breath of the patient must expand such a volatile fluid, he found out that it created an expansive force of over two atmospheres, filled the room with its odor and deprived the patient of air.

Though anesthetics had been used in this way for about fifty years, not a word had been written concerning such a result. He constructed an instrument to utilize the atmospheric pressure, normally dilute the anesthetic and give the patient the same amount of air he had the ability to use normally. Anesthetics thus used are *equally* as dangerous as natural sleep and are as likely to be followed with a good appetite and digestion.

The civilized that tried it, used it; others laid it aside, as the patient looked natural and eyes responded to the light, which they were not in the habit of seeing. They were not enough civilized to know that when people are breathing a normal amount of air, they look natural in the face and eyes. If physicians were as fully civilized as they are Jennerized,—that is, were as close followers of Nature's methods as they are of Jenner's methods,—they would not be attempting to reverse the action of the diaphragm and nose any more than the peristaltic action of the bowels; not seeking to cauterize a diseased membrane, but to keep it clean and give Nature a chance to restore; not endeavoring to harass but to assist the only restorative power known to man; then, common sense would take the place of surgery in the breathing channel.

It has been said that the most profound subject that ever engrossed the thought of man, is his relation to the world in which he lives, moves and has his being. True greatness in man is always characterized by a profound sympathy for his fellow-men. Professional erudition based upon the theories

and practice of the Jennerian system, can never raise the profession to a high state of civilization. That an educated profession, whose only claim to usefulness is its *assumed* and *presumed* understanding of and coöperation with the laws of Nature, should adopt measures of prevention and restoration from disease, entirely out of harmony with those of Nature, is the most stupendous

blunder of the century. The growth of the mind-healers would not be so marvelous, had not the Jennerian idea prepared the way for such a stampede.

If reason and common sense are not "a delusion and a snare," let us use them as a guide, ere we have no clientage.

WILLIAM B. HIDDEN.

Boston, Mass.

WHAT MY CHAR-WOMAN SAID TO ME: A PARABLE.

BY BOLTON HALL.

"WHY, IT 'S not so very hot," I said.

"But it 's the nights, sir," she said, "there 's no sleeping in the tenements such nights as these,—it 's sitting up all night with a fan in your hand and listening to the coughing and the crying of the children all around."

"I know that 's awful," I said.

"Awful and nothing for it—the landlord gets it all," she went on, "the rooms so small and such a rent; it is n't right, sir, it is n't right."

"Well, of course it is n't right," I said, "and if the poor would vote to tax the value of the land, so that the speculators could n't keep the land from those that need it, they would n't be packed in like cattle as they are now. Only one man in every nine is a landlord, so the remedy is in your own hands."

"And how would that be helping, sir?" said she.

"Why, if only the land were taxed, it would make building cheaper and the people could build flats and homes for themselves. The only tax would be on the land itself, not on what is built on it. It would not pay a man then to hold land idle, or even with a

poor building on it, for he would have to pay just as much as if a fine house was there. It 's the same as if a man takes a room in a hotel and gets the key and goes away; he has to pay as much for it as if he occupied the room and lived in it. In that way we can drive out the dog in the manger that is holding from you what he will not use himself."

"And what could the likes of us do with the land?"

"Sure it 's on the land we live and all we get and use comes out of the land. There is plenty of land, enough in one of the states alone to put the whole world into. We must knock down the fence that shuts the people out, and open up the Land, to the Laborers who will put up buildings enough, and good enough, for everybody in The Town."

"Well, if they could do that, it would be fine," she said, "but, sure, the poor has to vote the way they 're told—the men is n't sure of their jobs and they have to be in with the boss. They talk about this being a free land—there 's little freedom for them that owns no land."

BOLTON HALL.

New York City.

A MAN'S WORK: A STORY.

BY WILMATTE PORTER COCKERELL.

"Blessed is he who has found his work, let him ask no other blessedness."—CARLYLE.

AT ELDORADO COLLEGE the professors' houses are opened once a week to the students. It adds tremendously to the democracy of life and in many ways lifts the ideals of the student body. There's salad and coffee at Bennett's, ice in queer little French cups at Bevan's, beer and pretzels at Bergstrom's:—good cheer and good-fellowship everywhere.

It was a Monday evening at Dr. Holmes', and a dozen or more of the older men were gathered in the Doctor's study, some smoking queer little white pipes with their names on the bowls, and which were kept for them in a rack over the mantel. Most of these men were intimates of the house, and always on Monday evening, when the crowd had gone, they dropped in to have a quiet half hour with their major-professor.

"You are all thinking of the part you must play in the world, I suppose," the Doctor said. It was near the end of Term.

"It's deucedly hard to decide," McVey said, "especially if your inclinations pull you one way and your ambitions pull you another."

"That's right, that's right," the Doctor answered meditatively; "the hardest thing a man can get up against!"

"I'm not so sure of that," Tommy Johnson interrupted. "What if you have n't either ambition or inclination?"

We all laughed a bit, though inside we felt pretty serious, for Johnson had done every man there plenty of good turns, and yet he was like that—and sure to have an empty, profitless life, if he did n't shipwreck altogether.

"Did I ever tell you how I came to be a teacher?" the Doctor asked. Just then Bess DeVries put her head in at the door. "We want to come in," she said, laughing, "you look so comfortable and expectant. Something good's going to happen, I know."

"Why all this ceremony?" McVey inquired. "Is n't it a rule at this college that the girls have what they want and the men take the rest?" But Bess refused to joke, and turned her face to the Doctor. "May we? Your wife said I must ask, for this is your last Monday with your young men."

"Will they spoil the story?" Coulsen asked, "It does n't have anything to do with girls, does it?" The Doctor laughed. "Yes, it has a great deal to do with girls. I'm afraid life has, fellows!"

"Tell them all to come in," he said to Bess, "only you must n't mind if we smoke." And then they came—a half-dozen clear-eyed, vigorous girls, with bouyant grace and sweet faces, the coëds of which Eldorado men are proud.

The Doctor's wife touched her husband as she passed, a silent, lingering caress, which we all saw and liked, for even then we knew that there was something between those two for which the world was made.

"I always liked telling what I learned," the Doctor began, "I think I was born to be a teacher."

"Tell them about your first pupil," Mrs. Holmes suggested.

"When I was seven I was told that the world was round, and that it moved about in space. I went home fairly bursting with knowledge. I hunted up Jo, my five year old brother, and told

him about it. Now Jo was argumentative and immediately produced a large marble with a cat inside, and with a grain of sand showed me that it was silly to suppose we could be on a round object that turned around and not fall off.

"I tried to convince him, but Jo had the best of me, and ended by pointing his finger and calling, 'Silly-nilly, silly-nilly.' Well, I lit into him and when I had him down I said, 'Is she round?'"

"'Yep,' Jo admitted.

"'Does she move?'"

"'Yep, she moves!'"

"You see," Mrs. Holmes said, "that proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that he was meant for a teacher." The fellows chortled. "You've changed your methods, sir," Henry said, laughing.

"Well, I hope so, but there are times when I see they're not so strikingly changed as I would wish—afterwards. But I have always had that uncontrollable desire to have others see my new truth, and see it my way, too.

"The year before I graduated from the Law School I made up my mind that teach I would, and I went to the Dean. He encouraged me. 'You'll be happy,' I remember he said to me, 'and I believe you'll do it so well that you'll do a deal of good.' Thus encouraged, I went to the Pater. He had a good law practice, and we lived in a big house, and had money for servants and trips to Europe and such like. It had never occurred to me to consider whether we were rich or not.

"I shall never forget how grave my father looked when I told him what I had been thinking.

"He shook his head. 'It can't be, Sonny,' he said. He always kept to the childish name when we were alone together—we were great chums, the Dad and I. 'We can't afford it.' And then he went on to tell me what must be. 'You'll be my partner, and there'll be plenty of money for everything. But I have n't saved much, and if you teach you'll just have to live on

your salary. You won't like being poor—the Curtis-Holmeses have n't ever been poor! If you teach you'll have to black your own boots, and carry your own bag, and shave yourself. Your sons can't go to Harvard; your wife will look dingy and your rugs will have hideous colors in them—colors that will make your flesh creep.'

"Well, boys, I had my eye on a certain tall, splendid-looking girl even then, and I could n't imagine her in a dingy down-at-the-heel place, and I would n't try to imagine life without her, so I admitted that the Pater was right, and gave it up.

"The next year I went to work with him, and it was just as he said. There was plenty of money for everything. We had a royal honeymoon on the Mediterranean, Josephine and I, and afterwards there was Rome and Lucerne and London and all the rest of it. Then home again, where we had all the flesh-pots imaginable.

"Through it all my heart was not satisfied and the old longing would come over me, and I knew that I'd give it all to stand before a class of young men, and teach them to see the right as I saw it. Of course, I kept it down. I felt bound to my father and Josephine.

"Well, ten years passed. My father was dead. I had pegged along studying and writing and one day the old Dean sent for me. 'There's to be a new department established out at Eldorado University—a department of history and law. They mean to help men to see the right, not turn them out merely with sharpened wits so they may get ahead of their fellows,' he told me, and he insisted that I was the man for the place. You see the ideals for you in that far-away beginning," and the Doctor's smile was full of love as he looked about at us.

"I told him that I could n't think of it, but he insisted that I must. 'You'd love it!' he said. Of course I'd love it, and I felt that grip on my heart that a man finds it hard to stand against. I walked back and forth in his little

office. 'Love,' I said, 'you can 't realize how I 'd love it, but I can 't afford it. My wife—' The Dean interrupted. 'Josephine will want you to have the best thing life has to give a man—the work he was born to do.' I thought he did n't know. He had n't seen Josephine with the shine in her face all because of a new Paris dress."

"It was n't that," Mrs. Holmes interrupted. "I won't have your boys think that of me."

"Well, I 've seen it since over a ten dollar white muslin, but I did n't know then. You see in those days you 'd deceived the very elect," he said whimsically.

"I 'll give you twenty-four hours to consider,' the Dean said as I left. 'Remember this means three thousand, and the work will more than balance the twenty or twenty-five thousand that you give up.'

"I did n't mean to say a word about it at home, but of course I told Josephine before I 'd been in the house fifteen minutes, and I half threw the burden of choice upon her. You see the history of man repeating itself. Father decided for me before, and then I meant my wife should keep me in the path of duty.

"But she did n't. She looked up, a queer, surprised look on her face. 'You 'd enjoy teaching better than anything else?' she asked, wonderingly. 'Then I 'd think you 'd teach.'

"'But we 'd have to live out West, in a little house, and without servants,' I

argued. I confess I was scared myself at the black picture I was able to paint.

"She called me a simpleton, or some such pet name, and insisted she 'd like the West. And then she called up the Dean, and told him that it was all settled, and we began right then to pack the china.

"Well, I 've liked it tremendously. You fellows pay me twice over for what was left. Someway we do n't miss things, and this rug is n't bad. Is it fellows? Though Josephine bought it in San Francisco for fifteen dollars.

"We 've got to get back to the heart of things after all. It is n't things, so much as people and ideals, that count."

"Lord," said McVey; it was n't an oath, but a prayer. "I see my way clear now. You 've shown me the road. What do you say, Bess?"

"Why, that I 've wanted it all the time," was the answer.

We did n't know then what it all meant, but we knew it was a tremendous thing, for the tears were in the Doctor's eyes as he said good-night, and as we stood a moment enjoying the moonlight on the red tiles of the old Quad we heard him say:

"Josephine, I never thought I 'd be paid like this. Why, it 's more than a hundred-fold. He 's my best man, the best I 've ever had, and he turns down a big corporation deal, and goes to help Satterley out with his work for the people."

WILMATTE PORTER COCKERELL.
Boulder, Colo.

THE EDITOR'S QUIET HOUR.

ROBERT BROWNING: THE EAGLE-HEARTED POET OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

AMONG the men of genius and penetration who made the nineteenth century a period of awakening and of genuine growth, Robert Browning will ever hold a deservedly high place. As a philosopher he was preëminent. As a poet he possessed great power and virility, and in spite of obscurity and serious defects in his method of presentation, his message is one of the most important utterances of the greatest century in the history of civilization.

It is a melancholy fact that the message of genius is almost invariably ignored, disregarded or ridiculed and opposed when first delivered. The man endowed with a rich imagination and overmastered by idealism ascends the mountain and beholds that which is hidden from the people in the valley with eyes intent on the ground. He not only sees what is hidden from their sight, but he hears the voice of the Infinite. God comes very near to the child of genius who opens the windows of the soul that look toward the heights. With a broader vision of life, with a glad new word for the people, he descends as Moses of old descended from cloud-robed Sinai, only to behold the multitude absorbed in the worship of the golden calf,—that is, engrossed in sordid materialistic pursuits which exclude idealism and darken the windows that open toward the glory-clad peaks of spirituality. Nevertheless he delivers the message and awakens to the fact that either he has spoken in an unknown tongue or he has aroused the bitter animosity of the Scribes and Pharisees who assume the leadership of the conventional order.

In America, Emerson, one of the noblest thinkers and most clear-visioned ethical philosophers of the nineteenth century, aroused a storm of bitter opposition when he spoke and whenever he published words of light and leading; and when this serene and most lovable of men published his poems, even his own disciples looked coldly upon them, not merely because the great philosopher, absorbed in presenting mighty truths, had been more concerned with the thought than with its

robings, but because their eyes were not opened to the master lessons they contained. Yet these poems carried the most profoundly suggestive and helpful truths to be found in the writings of the Sage of Concord.

In Europe the same phenomenon was presented in even a more striking manner. Three of the greatest men of genius in the fields of literature and art of the last century were compelled to encounter a storm of merciless opposition from conventionalism and the popular critics before they conquered their place among the foremost thinkers of the age,—Victor Hugo in France, Richard Wagner in Germany, and Robert Browning in England. With Hugo the conflict was short, sharp and vigorous; but around the illustrious Frenchman the literary youths rallied, and there was in his innovations that which appealed to the imagination of the people, and made victory more certain than in the cases of the Shakespeare of music and the Plato of poetry. Again, neither Wagner nor Browning was willing to throw any sops to the Philistines. They both sacrificed beauty to strength, and both were deeply philosophical, possessing imaginations capable of sweeping a horizon far more extended than comes within the unaided intellectual vision of the general thinker. Thus these men had to conquer a place. They could hope for little sympathy, appreciation or even broad-visioned justice from critics accustomed to hard and fast rules, and to thoughts and ideals which at no time taxed the mediocre imagination.

The message of Robert Browning, like that of Richard Wagner, was marked by deep philosophic thought that called for sustained thinking, never pleasing to the many; and in the English poet's verse there is the concision or economy of expression and subjective rather than objective treatment of his themes that further detract from the popularity of his work. It is, however, a fact very significant of the rapid awakening going on in civilized lands that each of these great men above alluded to lived to see the

triumph of their work, and the scorn and ridicule that had long been aimed at them turned to enthusiastic appreciation, and in some instances to almost unqualified praise.

Before noticing Browning's writings, it is well to frankly recognize the fact that his splendid thought, so free and stimulating, can only be enjoyed by those who care enough for that which is high and morally and mentally invigorating to seriously study the poet. No thoughtful person can peruse Browning without being made better for the effort. The atmosphere of his writings suggests the mountain-peaks. In the presence of his thought the soul feels all the exhilaration that the body experiences when ascending some lofty peak, but, like mountain climbing, Browning calls for work and yields his treasures only to those who are willing to study him. It is to be regretted that there is often a degree of obscurity in his writings that discourages the general reader who will not dig deep enough to uncover the gold that lies in rich deposits.

In his delightful book, *The Best of Browning*,* Dr. Mudge emphasizes this fact in the following criticism of one of the poet's important creations which has proved a stumbling block to many eminent men who sincerely admire Browning:

"*Sordello*, for example,—and this, though probably the worst of its class, does not stand altogether alone,—has been called, with some degree of justice, 'a melancholy waste of human power,' 'a derelict upon the ocean of poetry,' 'a magnificent failure.' Tennyson—with whom Browning had the pleasantest of personal relations, dedicating to him one of his volumes with the words, 'In poetry illustrious and consummate, in friendship noble and sincere,'—tried to read '*Sordello*,' and in bitterness of spirit declared that 'there were only two lines in it which he understood, and they were both lies' He referred to the opening and closing lines. 'Who will may hear *Sordello*'s story told,' and 'Who would has heard *Sordello*'s story told.' Carlyle said, 'My wife has read through "*Sordello*" without being able to make out whether *Sordello* was a man, a city, or a book.' M. Odysse Barot, in an article on this poem in a French magazine, quotes the poet as saying, 'God gave man

two faculties,' and adds, 'I wish, while He was about it, God had supplied another—the power to understand Mr. Browning.' Douglas Jerrold, when slowly convalescing from a serious illness, found among some new books sent him by a friend, a copy of '*Sordello*.' A few lines put him in a state of alarm. Sentence after sentence brought no consecutive thought to his brain. At last the idea occurred to him that in his illness his mental faculties had been wrecked. The perspiration rolled from his forehead, and smiting his head he sank back upon the sofa, crying, 'O God, I am an idiot!' A little later, when his wife and sister entered, he thrust '*Sordello*' into their hands, demanding what they thought of it. He watched them intently while they read. When at last Mrs. Jerrold remarked, 'I do not understand what this man means; it is gibberish,' her delighted husband gave a sigh of relief and exclaimed, 'Thank God, I am not an idiot!'"

Like Plato, who is Greek to the flippant and shallow-minded who do not love to think, but who is a veritable mine of wealth to those of deeply philosophical and idealistic turn of mind, Browning is a never-failing source of delight and helpfulness to those who love that which is strong, virile and stimulating; that which taxes the intellect and feeds the spiritual aspirations; for he is preëminently the eagle-hearted poet among the great singers of the nineteenth century, the poet of freedom, faith and optimism. But his freedom is that of St. Paul rather than that of Marat; the freedom of the spiritually awakened one who has risen above the bondage of greed and selfishness. His faith is the conviction of a man who has dared to look all things in the face and who refuses to be the slave of dogmatism, tradition or ancient ideals that affront reason and man's sense of justice; while his optimism is the reverse of the miserable time-serving pseudo-optimism of those who to win the favor of the lords of the material vantage-grounds, seek to gloss over iniquity and divert the attention of the people from the deadly evils that are undermining the moral foundations of individual character and national greatness. Robert Browning ever dared to uncover wrong and iniquity and to unsparingly rebuke those who, like the pseudo-optimists of our time, are crying "Peace, peace!" in order to curry favor with the princes of privilege and

**The Best of Browning*. By James Mudge, D.D. Cloth. Pp. 252. Price, \$1.25. New York: Eaton & Mains.

the lords of the market. Do you question this? Then call to mind those lines of his on Wordsworth, written when the poet had been recreant to his high ideal and for an easy place and popular applause became an apostate to the things he had long championed. In all English poetry there is no more stinging rebuke than is found in "The Lost Leader," unless we except the terrible poem by Whittier entitled "Ichabod" which was penned when Webster became recreant to his high trust. It was of Wordsworth's apostasy, when the poet opposed such great measures as the Reform Bill, that Browning wrote:

"Just for a handful of silver he left us,
Just for a riband to stick in his coat—
Found the one gift of which fortune bereft us,
Lost all the others she lets us devote;
They, with the gold to give, doled him out silver,
So much was theirs who so little allowed:
We that had loved him so, followed him, honored
him.
Lived in his mild and magnificent eye,
Learned his great language, caught his clear
accents.
Made him our pattern to live and to die!
Shakespeare was of us, Milton was for us,
Burns, Shelley, were with us,—they watch from
their graves!
He alone breaks from the van and the freemen,
—He alone sinks to the rear and the slaves!
"Blot out his name, then, record one lost soul more,
One task more declined, one more footpath
untrod,
One more devils'-triumph and sorrow for angels,
One wrong more to man, one more insult to
God!"

Browning appeared on the scene of public activity at a moment when the forces of freedom and progress were engaged in a fierce conflict with reactionary and class interests. The great democratic revolution had transformed the face of western civilization. The success of the American Revolution was followed by the overthrow of the old *régime* in France, and for a time it seemed that the old order in state, church and even in literature was doomed. But the excesses of the French Revolution followed by the imperial rule of Napoleon, the Concordat and other alliances that strengthened the arm of the enemies of democracy and liberty in the religious and thought worlds, gave new impetus to the reactionaries and all upholders of the old autocratic order and of classes or privileged interests. Everywhere these organized for aggressive warfare. In England

the battle was fought all along the line, for the democratic sentiment had already taken firm hold on the brain of the Anglo-Saxon world. In politics there was first the great Reform-Bill battle, followed by the Anti-Corn-Law campaign and the Chartist movement. Against these the reactionaries waged a battle marked by the greatest bitterness.

In religion the upheaval was no less marked. The Oxford Movement convulsed England. Newman and Manning fled to the sheltering arms of Rome to escape the great wave of liberalism that was permeating the church and striving to reconcile religious dogmas with reason, Christianity with the revelations of science. While Cardinal Newman was seeking a refuge in Rome, his brilliant brother was following his rationalistic leanings into the camp of the extreme liberals. And this ranging of brother against brother was typical of the conflicting order that obtained.

In literature romanticism was battling with reactionary classicism, while physical science, led by Spencer, Darwin and Wallace, was already in the thick of the fight with a wealth of new facts that were revolutionary in their potentiality.

From the hurly-burly of the hour, from the noise and tumult of the conflict, Tennyson turned to the legendary past and sang songs diverting the attention of the people from the conflict that was raging. In influence Tennyson was a reactionary rather than an aggressive force for progress, and his wonderfully beautiful verse, his rhythmic flow of words, exerted a far greater influence than many people imagined on the side of the old order.

"Tennyson," says Professor Genung, "appeasing the meditative reader by poetic fragrance, rhythm, imagery, music, or, not less potently, entering his ready memory by a wealth of finished inevitable phrase, makes him move obediently through a finely ordered poetic world as it were in the natural way of living; so that almost without conscious reaction his mind is impregnated, like the Lotos Eaters."

His influence, which Professor Genung thinks was valuable as a steadying power at the time, was, we believe, extremely unfortunate. If Tennyson had wrought as wrought Hugo and Shelley, Lowell and Whittier, on the side of democracy, social justice and freedom, it is probable that the promise of the middle part of the nineteenth century in England would have been splendidly fulfilled,

instead of the spectacle presented by the melancholy reaction and the spirit of commercialism and militarism that marked the closing decade of the century.

Unlike Tennyson, Browning's influence was thrown on the side of freedom, but, as we have observed, it was the spiritual freedom that makes for justice, peace and social righteousness, no less than the emancipation of the individual from the thralldom of all that holds the soul in bondage. And this spiritual freedom marks the man of robust faith and resolute devotion to duty's call. Browning, though never blind to the evil conditions to be uncovered and met, always saw beyond the seeming triumph of wrong in the present, witnessing the overthrow of evil and the triumph of right. There is no doubt, no shadow of doubt, in his mind as to the final outcome. It means victory. Man to him is a free agent. He has the right of choice; that is his high prerogative. But so long as he turns from the star to the clod, he is bound to suffer. Evil may dazzle and allure for the moment, but on its heels comes the bitterness that in time compels the real or essential man to understand that only in the spiritual realm are to be found the joy that carries no sting, the happiness that is unalloyed, the peace that passes understanding. In "Old Pictures in Florence" we find him saying:

"When a soul has seen
By means of evil that good is best,
And, through earth and its noise, what is heaven's
serene,—

When our faith in the same has stood the test,
Why, the child grown man, you burn the rod,
The uses of labor are surely done;
There remaineth a rest for the people of God."

What a fund of truth is crowded into these lines; how truly life's supreme pictures are presented. After the soul, in the freedom given it, drinks from evil and feels its hurt, it sooner or later is forced to see that good is best; the tempest-tossed spirit which vainly searches for rest and satisfaction in worldly pursuits is but the wayward child,—bent on its course and heedless of the counsels of wisdom,—which invites the heavy strokes which fall from the hand of fate. But at length this very discipline develops the man in the child, and the rod is no longer necessary; for the soul has, through bitter experience, found that from above and not below comes the peace that passes understanding—the

rest or serenity of heaven. In a word, the soul has learned that in goodness alone is found rest. So long as one dallies with evil trouble inevitably ensues. This supreme lesson must be learned by all sooner or later; and when learned the awakened spirit realizes the joy which comes only when one is in accord with the higher harmonies of life, the eternal spiritual law of growth.

In "The Ring and the Book" we find him saying:

"Why comes temptation but for man to meet
And master and make crouch beneath his foot,
And so be pedestalled in triumph?"

Like jewels of dew that deck the rose and the lily when they greet the Lord of Day are the fine, high thoughts that everywhere flash from Browning's verse. Here, for example:

"Then life is—to wake not sleep,
Rise and not rest, but press
From earth's level where blindly creep
Things perfected, more or less,
To the heaven's height, far and steep,

"Where, amid what strifes and storms
May wait the adventurous quest,
Power is Love—transports, transforms
Who aspired from worst to best,
Sought the soul's world, spurned the worm's."

"All 's love, yet all 's law."

"A people is but the attempt of many
To rise to the completer life of one;
And those who live as models for the mass
Are singly of more value than they all."

"There shall never be one lost good! What was,
shall live as before;
The evil is null, is naught, is silence implying
sound;
What was good shall be good, with, for evil, so
much good more;
On earth the broken arcs; in the heaven a perfect
round."

"Blame I can bear though not blameworthiness."

To Browning all that is necessary. That is, the law of freedom leaves each man with his problem to work out. We may help him, we may surround him with the environment that will best foster his advance and that is best calculated to open his eyes, and we, as individuals, and collectively, as society or the nation, are bound by the inescapable obligations imposed on us to do this to the utmost or to suffer for recreancy to our trust. Yet we can go but a certain length. We cannot make the man see who refuses to open his eyes. We can tell him of the beauty on every hand, but so long as he

prefers the dark to the light the glory will not break on his gaze. It is precisely so with the one who refuses to see the beauty of spiritual things; the one who is joined to the idols of materiality. It is only after the iron enters the soul, only after, one by one, he is forced to see and feel the ephemeral and unsatisfactory character of all things of sense, that he, like the prodigal in the far country, comes to himself and turns to that which satisfies the inner cravings of the soul.

Like Mazzini, Browning ever strove to show that duty is divine. Ever he sought to impress the importance of having a high aim, a lofty ideal, and of being faithful to the vision. On one occasion he exclaims:

"The aim, if reached or not, makes great the life;
Try to be Shakespeare, leave the rest to Fate."

At another time he exclaims:

"Aspire, break bounds! I say,
Endeavor to be good, and better still,
And best! Success is naught, endeavor 's all."

"No duty patent in the world
Like daring try be good and true myself,
Leaving the shows of things to the Lord of Show
And Prince o' the Power of the Air."

He was a man of great breadth or catholicity of spirit and was absolutely fearless in quest of truth; yet no Victorian poet had more unshakable faith in God or in the wisdom and sanity of the moral order that upholds all things, than he. "God's in His heaven; all 's right with the world"—this is one of the key-notes of his message.

"Let one more attest,
I have lived, seen God's hand through a lifetime,
And all was for best.
This world 's no blot for us, nor blank;
It means intensely, and means good."

Browning held that life here and hereafter was much the same, except that the horizon ever broadened and the stage of activity and the opportunities presented are greater than before. This thought is thus touched upon in "Old Pictures in Florence":

"There 's a fancy some lean to and others hate,—
That, when this life is ended, begins
New work for the soul in another state,
Where it strives and gets weary, loses and wins;
Where the strong and the weak, this world's
congeries,
Repeat in large what they practiced in small,
Through life after life in unlimited series;
Only the scale 's to be changed, that 's all."

The poems of "Saul" and "Rabbi Ben Ezra" are richly worthy of study. To us "Rabbi Ben Ezra" is one of the finest short creations of Robert Browning. It represents life as richest in its eventide. Man is not the soulless beast, else the middle period men call the prime of life would be its most glorious hour. No, the soul is the essential man; and so, rich in spiritual gain that comes with material loss, the victor moves toward the morning land with the stately tread of one who feels within himself that he is worthily approaching the throne-room of the Infinite. The poem represents the aged Rabbi conversing with a young friend. The opening stanza is so instinct with the "chastened gravity" and the sweetness of wise old age that it sings itself into the heart:

"Grow old along with me!
The best is yet to be,
The last of life, for which the first was made:
Our times are in His hand
Who saith, 'A whole I planned,
Youth shows but half; trust God: see all, nor
be afraid.'"

Youth is a time of hope and doubt, but the wise man does not look with disfavor on honest doubts that flit as clouds across the shining face of day.

"Rather I prize the doubt
Low kinds exist without,
Finished and finite clods, untroubled by a
spark."

The dead thing knows no doubt. The presence of faith and doubt, of hope, aspiration and yearning for the better and the best, is the sign-manual of man's divine nature. While the clod rests inert, and while the dumb beasts move through life untroubled by a doubt or unstirred by an aspiration, man is driven onward and upward. "The fiend that man harries," says Emerson in his wonderful poem, "The Sphinx," "is Love of the Best."

Next the wise Rabbi exclaims:

"Poor vaunt of life indeed,
Were man but formed to feed
On joy, to solely seek and find and feast;
Such feasting ended, then
As sure an end to men."

If the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh and the pride of life, or the things which the material world can offer, were all man aspired to, then vain would be the promise of an ever-broadening day for the child of earth. But "a spark disturbs our clod," and it is a sign of

man's high origin that his deepest joy comes from giving rather than receiving. Moreover, it is by rebuffs and stings of life, the throes we pass through, that the soul gains its strength. Even though at times we fail, if we aspire and our ideals are high, we are lifted by the "love of the Best":

"What I aspired to be,
And was not, comforts me."

"Let us not always say,
Spite of this flesh to-day
I strove, made head, gained ground upon the whole!"
As the bird wings and sings,
Let us cry, 'All good things
Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more, now, than
flesh helps soul!'"

How fine and suggestive the thought here given!

The poet closes his lines with a figurative picture of life as the clay which the Divine Potter on the wheel of Time is moulding into a chalice for divine service:

" . . . All that is, at all,
Lasts ever, past recall;
Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure:
What entered into thee,
That was, is, and shall be:
Time's wheel runs back or stops: Potter and clay
endure."

The Rabbi Ben Ezra was an historical character, born in Toledo about 1090. He resided, however, chiefly in Italy and England and died in 1168. "He was distinguished as philosopher, astronomer, physician and poet, also as grammarian and commentator" on the Old Testament. The philosophy contained in the poem was that of the poet Browning no less than of the wise old Rabbi.

As we would naturally expect, death had no terrors for Robert Browning. On one occasion, when speaking of it to a friend, he exclaimed:

"Death! It is this harping on death I despise so much; this idle and often cowardly as well as ignorant harping. Why should we not change like everything else? Death is life, just as our daily, our momentarily dying body is none the less alive, and ever recruiting new forces of existence. Without death, which is our crape-like, churchyard word for change,

for growth, there could be no prolongation of that which we call life. For myself, I deny death as an end of anything. Never say of me that I am dead."

Browning's life was a beautiful complement to his message. It was clean, strong, manly and true. In his last poem, the Epilogue to "Asolando," which was penned a short time before his death, he wrote some words that applied strikingly to his own life, and by a happy chance he confessed to those nearest and dearest to him that they were in a sense a personal statement. He read the proof of the poem to his daughter-in-law and his sister; then he exclaimed, after reading the following lines: "It almost looks like bragging to say this, and as if I ought to cancel it; but it's the simple truth, and, as it's true, it shall stand."

"What had I on earth to do
With the slothful, with the mawkish, the unmanly.
Like the aimless, helpless, hopeless, did I drivel,
Being—who?
One who never turned his back, but marched breast
forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong
would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake."

Robert Browning was at once a philosopher, a poet and a seer. His inspiration was from the higher spheres of spiritual truth, and therefore it touches, stimulates and quickens on the higher plane of emotion. He who has the time to study and assimilate Browning will find himself being lifted into a nobler intellectual atmosphere. Life will mean something august, something that can only be measured by eternity, something that must develop in conformity with great and unchangeable laws. He will come to see that every noble thought or deed places him nearer in harmony with the currents of spiritual progress which sweep the soul onward and upward, and that every ignoble thought, every base desire, every unworthy act dwarfs the soul and retards his advance. He will come to see that anything short of living a life of love, justice, high-mindedness and loyalty to all that is best in his being will fail to bring to his soul abiding peace, serenity and joy.

B. O. FLOWER.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

THE BLIGHT OF WALL-STREET HIGH FINANCE.

The Proposed Tax on Wall-Street Gambling.

REPRESENTATIVE HEPBURN, Chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce of the National House of Representatives, advocates a law to so tax Wall-street gambling as to discourage the mania that is imperiling the business interests of the nation. He says:

"I regard it as most desirable that the taxing power of the Government should be used to prevent gambling in railroad stocks by taxing all sales where delivery is not made within such reasonable time as to indicate that the transaction was *bona fide* and not for speculation.

"So long as there is buying and selling on margins and without the intention of actual delivery of the stock, speculation will absorb the resources of the banks and take money from legitimate enterprises which need it. Stock speculators pay high rates for money, and their efforts are so attractive to the city banks that the banks are induced to make loans outside the channels of legitimate business. This not only tends to involve the banks in speculation but it withdraws the money from legitimate business enterprises."

Wall-street gambling is, we believe, one of the most morally demoralizing curses in the nation to-day. It is one of the chief factors in making the American people a nation of gamblers and in filling the minds of the young men with dreams of wealth by acquisition instead of by honest toil, that is sweeping every year vast multitudes along a current that leads to ruin. Wall street is the home or citadel of an army of respectable moral criminals who make money without any value behind it, or who make money out of the taxing power which monopoly and corrupt influence in politics enable the few to exercise over the millions. The stock-watering iniquity, one of the gravest moral crimes permitted in any nation, has its throne and center among the gamblers and predatory chiefs of Wall street.

Great Gamblers Who Play With Stacked Cards.

Wall street moreover, is the center of the

most iniquitous and immoral practices known even to the gamblers' world. Here for years a few men have at intervals systematically played with loaded dice. They have arranged a bull or bear market weeks and even months ahead, carefully getting the stock they intend to gamble with into the exact condition they desire. They have systematically deceived the people by misleading rumors, articles and published statements, and they have on occasion used the great banking interests in such a way as to further their diabolical plans. The last great raid made by the late Jay Gould on Wall street, no less than the story of Black Friday, furnishes a typical example of what has time and again transpired in the Street, where a few masterful men have entered the Street to play a game in which the element of uncertainty was practically eliminated in so far as they were concerned. In the instance to which we allude it was stated that Mr. Gould emerged from the raid with over three million more dollars than he had when he precipitated it. It was also stated that for months prior to this event Mr. Gould had been actively preparing for his premeditated incursion. He placed a number of valuable securities in various banks. He began a systematic newspaper campaign for the purpose of deceiving the unwary and exciting the cupidity of the victims that should be lured into his trap. He provided against defeat in every direction. He, so to speak, stacked the cards. Then he made his raid, and at the moment when he wished to make the bottom drop out he suddenly withdrew his securities from the banks, so that the financial insinuations were almost thrown into a panic and were afraid to extend credit. What mattered it to the man who was the master-spirit in the great crime that marked Black Friday that suicides and failures followed in the wake of this incursion as in a far greater degree they followed Black Friday? He had acquired millions of *unearned* dollars much of which was destined to be squandered by a degenerate *roué* of Paris. This exploit is typical of what has been going on for years in Wall street.

The Nation-Wide Blight of America's Monte Carlo.

But these iniquities are by no means all the evils that flow from the American Monte Carlo. One has only to call to mind the amazing revelations made in the insurance investigation to see how the savings of the millions, paid often only after great personal privations that loved ones might be provided for at the death of those who were the support of the home, were made the plaything of the most reckless and irresponsible set of gamblers and financial buccaneers who disgrace present-day civilization, notwithstanding they hold high seats in the church and on occasion preach integrity and morality and indulge in religious cant. It is an undeniable fact that since the rise of Wall-street gambling and the feudalism of privileged wealth to the position of a dominating influence in the worlds of business and politics there has been a rapid decline in the moral idealism of the people. A vicious shallow opportunism has taken the place of fidelity to the fundamental principles of morality and the question, "Will it pay?" meaning, "Will it be of material advantage?" is often heard where in olden days the question was, "Is it just, fair or for the best interests of the people?"

Wall-street Gambling Worse Than That of the Louisiana Lottery.

A few years ago a general outcry was raised against the Louisiana lottery, in which great New York dailies, that could not be induced to open a fearless and aggressive battle against Wall-street gambling, not only joined, but led the attack. Through the action of the Government, the press and public opinion, the lottery evil was driven from the land; and yet the Louisiana lottery was nothing in its evil influence compared with Wall street. In the first place, the lottery was conducted fairly. There was no stacking cards or loading dice. In the second place it did not imperil the great legitimate business interests of the land, as does Wall street, in a manner fearful to contemplate.

How Wall street Imperils The Legitimate Business of The Nation.

Of late years Wall street gamblers have become one of the greatest, if not indeed the greatest menace to the legitimate business of the nation. They have been steadily drawing the banks into the demoralizing vortex of the Street in such a way that they have been able to

carry forward their wild-cat and frenzied financial program by securing money from banks that should have kept their funds at home for legitimate business purposes. An example of this will illustrate what we have in mind. A few months ago we were in conversation with some gentlemen, one of whom was a prominent business man of Boston, and in the course of our discussion the influence of Wall-street high finance on legitimate trade was touched upon, when the gentleman of large business transactions stated that one Boston bank kept some millions of dollars at interest in Wall street, because the financiers of Wall street would pay three or four times the interest that legitimate business could give for the use of the money. Thus, he said, when men needing credit for the proper development of their legitimate business go to the bank, they are denied the loan they need on the ground that the bank is too short of funds to accommodate them. They are short of funds for legitimate business only because the money is being used by the Wall-street gamblers who pay an enormous interest for it.

Now the result of this evil condition must impress every honest and thoughtful business man. It serves to paralyze the great current of legitimate trade, and it places the money of the banks in jeopardy, so that when there is a gamblers' panic, as was the recent Wall-street panic, the banks in the metropolis and in other large centers of wealth, and the tributary banks of the great New York City banking firms are instantly struck in a vital way, and business from the Atlantic to the Pacific suffers. And with the business suffering comes, as is always the case, increased suffering on the part of the wealth-creating millions of the land.

The New York World on Taxing The Gamblers.

The New York *World* of November 19th, in commenting on Congressman Hepburn's remarks quoted above, said:

"For three weeks and more legitimate business has been bled white in order that ready cash could be provided to keep the Wall-street gambling game in operation. Yesterday, after the United States Treasury had again taken decisive steps to increase the volume of currency, one of the earliest proofs of the 'new restoration of confidence' came in the announcement that Stock Exchange brokers 'took off restrictions as to margin trading.'

"If Wall-street gambling is such a prosper-

ous business that even in a period of great depression it can outbid legitimate commerce and industry for the use of money, it is prosperous enough to pay a tax to the Federal Government. It can at least help pay the interest on bonds issued by the Treasury to provide more money."

We believe the day is not far distant when the moral criminals of Wall street will be driven from the temple of business life or into the penitentiary. We trust that the day is at hand when the American people will awaken from their lethargic sleep into which the corporation-controlled press and other public opinion-forming agencies have lulled them, so

that they will insist that the man who makes fictitious dollars by watering stock, either for the purpose of robbing others by false pretences or to enable him by virtue of monopoly power to levy an extortionate tax on industry, be shown as little leniency as the highway robber or the embezzler. And we hope that the time will soon arrive when the religious sentiment of America shall be so awakened that gambling with loaded dice or stacked cards by Wall-street magnates will come to be regarded as much a crime as the far fairer methods of gambling long practiced by the Louisiana lottery, against which the religious sentiment of the country was one of the most potent factors.

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION AND THE MAINTENANCE OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

IN CONSIDERING the Federal Constitution in relation to present needs, it is of paramount importance that we keep in mind the fundamental distinction between popular government such as was conceived by the author of the Declaration of Independence, and class-rule, or rather, the different relation sustained by the officials of the government to the people. In a popular government or a truly representative democratic republic, the people are the sovereigns and the officials are the servants of the electorate. In a class government the officials hold toward the people the position of masters, whether they rule primarily for their own selfish interests and aggrandizement or as servants of some privileged class or interest which they serve or in reality represent.

Now so long as conditions obtained wherein our government was truly representative of the wishes and interests of the people, so long as the public servant understood his position as that of one delegated to carry out the wishes of the people who sent him to represent them, there was no need for change or modification of constitutional provisions. But during the past fifty years great privileged interests have gained a sinister hold on government, acting through political bosses and the money-controlled machine—a hold that has steadily changed the character of government in its practical operations while maintaining the old popular form; and with this change has come a

steady change in the attitude of officials. Presidents, United States Senators, judges and others arrogate to themselves powers not consistent with their position on the one hand as public servants, and on the other as exercising duties within specific limitations. Thus we find presidents and department officials under the Chief Executive making rulings that in effect are laws, to achieve that which the Congress of the United States, or the constitutional law-making body, has refused to enact, where it was known that certain measures desired by the Executive could not be carried through Congress. One example of this nature was the arbitrary ruling of the Post-Office Department in regard to publishers' rights, which Congress had time and again refused to enact even when the department desired it to do so. Another example was the famous Order No. 78 issued by the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Pensions, in 1904, under the direction of the President of the United States, enacting legislation in regard to pensions which Congress had declined to pass. These are typical examples of executive usurpations in recent years in which officials have not only assumed powers not their right as public servants, without any specific order from the people, but in which they have also invaded the domain of a coördinate division of government.

Judges, who in many instances have long served as corporation counsels and who,

largely through the influence of corporate interests, have been appointed to the bench, have time and again made rulings and used the injunction power in a manner which, though thoroughly satisfactory to the privileged interests which they have long served and which were so anxious for them to be elevated to the bench, is opposed to the spirit of our government and the rights of the people, and in some instances to the clearly-defined protective provisions of the Constitution. Who does not remember the injunctions forbidding persons even giving food to strikers; the injunctions prohibiting citizens from peaceably marching on the highways; the injunctions in the interests of railways that nullify State laws passed to protect the rights and interests of the people? These are typical examples of the arrogation of autocratic power by officials at the present time resulting from the rise of and, to a large extent, the domination of government by, privileged interests acting through the money-controlled political machines.

Another typical example of this changed attitude on the part of public servants, that is destructive to popular government and which illustrates how in practice the Government is ceasing to be popular or truly representative of the people, was in evidence last winter when a majority of the members of the Massachusetts Legislature, after having pledged themselves if elected to vote for a Public Opinion Bill that would give the people the small privilege of letting the legislators know the desires of the electorate on four questions at each election, were prevented from carrying out their pledge by United States Senator Lodge and the party machine which he so completely controls. This Public Opinion Bill did not even give the electorate the power to direct their servants, as was the order in the old days in Massachusetts and as it is their undoubted right to do if the official is the representative or servant of his principals, but merely provided that the voters could indicate their desires on four questions at each election. Surely no believer in popular government, however conservative, could object to this. There were, however, two bodies in the Commonwealth that did object—two bodies that are destroying popular government as effectively as did the Di Medici family of Florence overthrow the republic of that city, without in any manner interfering with the old form of government. These sinister elements were the political boss and his

lieutenants who operate the money-controlled political machine, and the great campaign-contributing public-service companies and other privileged corporations whose interests are frequently diametrically opposed to the public interest or weal; and in the behalf of these reactionary and unrepresentative interests Senator Henry Cabot Lodge appeared before the Legislature and urged the representatives not to pass the bill. One of the chief claims which the opposition made was that it would be degrading to the legislators to take suggestions from the electorate,—that is, that the representative should not feel himself bound to represent his principal; and all the power of the political machine of the state, of which the Senator is the master spirit, was thrown in a desperate attempt to defeat the bill, with the result that many of the representatives who had promised to support the measure were false to their pledge, after the autocrat of the party machine insisted that the measure should not be enacted.

Here we have representatives of the new reactionary and unrepresentative order in three departments of government either usurping functions belonging to other departments or acting in such a way as to defeat popular government. It is therefore clearly important that changes be made in the Constitution in order to meet the changed conditions that have arisen, to the end that free government may not be completely overthrown and class-rule permanently established in the Republic.

The Constitution of Massachusetts, adopted in 1780, contained a Bill of Rights drawn up by the leading citizens of the Commonwealth and adopted by these citizens in a vote of 250 to 1, expressly asserting that the people have the right to give instructions to their representatives. This provision of the Bill of Rights was written by John Adams, who was afterwards President of the United States.

Switzerland, half a century ago appreciated the peril of encroaching privileged interests and great wealth, which already was menacing free government, and her statesmen set about providing practical measures for the preservation of the government to the people. The initiative and referendum was the result, with the right of recall in certain cases. Oregon and other American commonwealths have followed the eminently practical example of Switzerland with perfectly successful results.

Here, surely, is a change imperatively demanded to bulwark and preserve free government.

Again, nothing is more potentially destructive of free government than life or long term appointments of officials from whose opinions there is no appeal. Give a class of officials life terms, have them appointed and not elected, and endow them with autocratic power from whose decision even the people themselves have no more appeal than from the ukase of a Czar, and you have at hand all the machinery necessary to destroy popular government, so soon as a powerful plutocracy or any privileged interest can gain actual control of the government, so that, standing behind the appointing power, it can indicate the selection of the officials in question.

Now this is the condition that confronts us

to-day, and the circumstance that the power of corporate wealth operating through the money-controlled machine is as yet in its infancy largely accounts for the fact that the aggressions of the judiciary have not been more marked; but the sinister usurpation of power in the interests of corporate wealth alluded to, and many similar instances where judicial power has been abused, show the extreme peril to republican institutions in the present crisis.

The judiciary must be elected, not appointed, and thus be made responsive to the people and not to the campaign-contributing feudalism of privileged wealth. And the judges must hold office for a term of years instead of enjoying life tenure, if the government is to be preserved to the people as a free government or a truly representative democratic republic.

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE HOUR.

SELDOM since the period immediately preceding the Protestant Reformation has the Christian world presented such striking contrasts in the attitude of the church toward social conditions and the exercise of man's reasoning power, that has done so much in leading humanity from darkness, ignorance and superstition into the light of present civilization. On the one hand we of America have in recent years beheld an ominous moral stagnation in the church, especially noticeable in its attitude toward the life that now is and the duty of making the ethics of the Golden Rule of binding force on those who claim to follow the Nazarene. In the place of the splendid aggressive moral enthusiasm that marked the ministry of Wesley and Whitefield, we find in the great church that Wesley founded, such spectacles as the reverend gentleman who is the chancellor of a university fed by Standard Oil wealth, blatantly denouncing the President of the United States for his effort to enforce the law against the great law-breakers whose guilt has been established, and the former reverend gentleman who was chancellor of the Denver University, but who now by grace of an unspeakably malodorous corporation-controlled machine is governor of Colorado, appearing as defender

of men of the Guggenheim and Boss Evans stripe.

What is true of the Methodist church and leading lights in that denomination in regard to their attitude toward the people in the presence of the spoilers who have bribed church and college with a moiety of their plunder, is equally true of the Baptist, the Congregationalist and other denominations. Wherever tainted gold has been accepted from the known law-breakers, the baleful influence has been apparent in church and school; nor could it be otherwise.

Again, we behold the head of the great Roman Church seeking to prohibit the millions of his faith from even reading the profoundly religious thoughts of the great liberal Catholic divines. This effort to place the God-given reason under lock and key and thus resurrect the spirit of the Dark Ages is only equalled by the moral anaesthesia of the church due to its lust for gold.

Happily, this is but one side of the picture. On every hand to-day are seen signs of a new spiritual birth. Two great religious movements are appearing above the horizon. The idealistic church movement, of which Christian Science is the great representative, is exercising a vital influence on hundreds of thousands of men and women; while the

great liberal yet profoundly religious movement represented by the apostles of higher criticism and vital religious thought, of which Professor Pfleiderer is the most eminent leader in Germany, Rev. R. J. Campbell of the City Temple the most prominent exponent in Great Britain, Rev. Algernon S. Crapey a leader in America, and Professor Masaryk of the University of Prague at least measurably a representative in Austria, is appealing with new and surprising virility to the conscience of a large class of earnest-minded men and women who are weary of the husks of a theology far more concerned with material advancement and outward forms than with the essential soul of religion. All of these men realize that Christianity must concern itself in a vital way with the life that now is; that it must take hold of the heart in such a way as to transform life and to bring man to the realization of the law of solidarity and the responsibility which it implies. Most of these leaders therefore bravely insist that the church must become a great aggressive power for fostering the spirit of brotherhood and coöperation; an active exponent of social justice and moral idealism in society, and in this way embody the spirit that was present in the daily ministry no less than in the ethical teachings of Jesus. This new social concept is voiced by the leaders of the religious renaissance that promises to become such a real power on both sides of the Atlantic and which is one of the most hopeful signs of our time. It is perhaps nowhere better voiced than in the following words by the Rev. R. J. Campbell, M.A., of the City Temple of London, in the Preface to his recently published volume, *New Theology Sermons*:

"If," says Mr. Campbell, in speaking of the church, "she were true to her Master's mind she could have no truce with a social order in which the weak have to go to the wall and cruelty and oppression are inevitable. She ought not to be patching up the present social fabric, but laboring to replace it by a better. The social work which is being done by the Churches at present is no doubt of great value in brightening the lives of the poor and giving them a helping hand, but for the most part it does not go to the root of the matter: our whole industrial life to-day is based upon a principle which is fundamentally anti-Christian, and the Church of Jesus ought to wage open war upon it until it is gone forever. Coöperation must replace competition; brotherhood must replace individualism; the weakest (morally and physically) must be the objects of the tenderest care which the community can show; selfishness must be driven out by love. This is the whole Christian program; nothing less than this represents the mind of Jesus, and nothing other than this ought ever to have been preached in His name. It is quite simple and clear, and yet it is plain to all the world that the Church has somehow got so far away from it that the masses of the people have ceased to understand that she ever held it."

These words ring true. They are instinct with the spirit of true religion. If they became the dominant note in the religious teachings and expression of life, Christianity would soon be a great conquering moral force, scattering the seeds of enduring civilization along her pathway, because wherever she trod the flowers of justice and love would bloom in luxuriant profusion.

JUSTICE BREWER ON THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM AS A SAFEGUARD AGAINST DESPOTISM AND MOB RULE.

NO MORE important utterance has been delivered in the United States in recent months than that made by Justice David Brewer of the United States Supreme Court, when in his address on "Public Service in Relation to Public Opinion," delivered on November 20th in New York City, as reported by the *Washington Herald*, he said that the two supreme dangers that menaced a demo-

cratic state were despotism on the one hand and mob rule on the other, and continuing observed:

"The more constant and universal the voice of the people, the nearer the approach to an ideal government.

"Initiative and referendum make public opinion the quality controlling. The more promptly and more fully public officers carry

into effect such public opinion the more truly is government of and by the people realized."

Justice Brewer's observations on this point of course are not new, but the value of his views lies in the fact that he is considered by general consent, we believe, the ablest constitutional jurist on the Supreme Bench. That this great jurist recognizes that the safe and sure preventive of the great dangers that threaten republican government,—that is, of despotism on the one hand and mob rule on the other—is to be found in the adoption by the people of Direct-Legislation, is a matter of first importance and is precisely the position long taken by THE ARENA,—a position that in the nature of the case is logically obvious and which in practical operation has in every instance proved to be destructive to class-rule and an absolute preventive of the menace of mob-rule; for where the power to right errors or wrongs

is in the hands of the people, and can be operated in an orderly and legal manner, there is no longer the slightest incentive for mob-rule, while the slow, orderly educational methods which characterize the initiative and referendum necessarily make them wise safeguards to popular rule and general educators of the people. Indeed, under Direct-Legislation the people are at school continually in practical political economy and the science of government.

The most encouraging sign of our day is the steady growth of the sentiment in favor of Direct-Legislation. The people are coming to see that here and here alone lies the road to perpetual popular rule and the chief effective method of deliverance from the political debauchery and misgovernment due to boss-rule and the corruption and oppression incident to the domination of privileged interests over popular rights.

THE PLUNDER OF THE POSTAL DEPARTMENT BY OUR RAILWAYS, OUR GREATEST NATIONAL SCANDAL.

PERHAPS it is too much to expect any popular relief from the outrageous robbery of the people by the railways, as practiced in the carrying of the mails, so long



Oppen, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst).

MONOPOLY POLICE NOW USING TRAINED DOGS.
Sagacious animals prove great assistance to officers! Show almost human intelligence!

as Speaker Cannon occupies the position he holds; but in view of the coming presidential and congressional election, a persistent and determined attempt should be made on the part of all friends of honest government and public morality, to at least in part remedy this demoralizing waste. It is not as if the facts were not known or as if there were any question as to the main points at issue. The crying scandal has been circumstantially exposed year after year, and the evil would in all probability have been at least partially remedied at the last session, if the people had had a Speaker intent on popular interests and clean and honest government, instead of the trust truckler, Cannon, in the place of vantage; for the special committee, in obedience to the amazing facts presented and uncontroverted, and in compliance with the popular demand that the robbery be stopped, cut off twelve million dollars from the appropriation. The Speaker, however, who was so vigilant in his fight in favor of the beef trust, allowed the railroad rogues to get in their work, and the graft was not interfered with. No wonder the railroads, the express companies and the trusts love their dear

"Uncle Joe," but the time has come for the American people to let the tools of corruption and extortion in Congress know that they will be relegated to private life in the coming campaign, in spite of princely campaign contributions from the grafters, if this year they fail to see that Congress rights this infamous wrong.

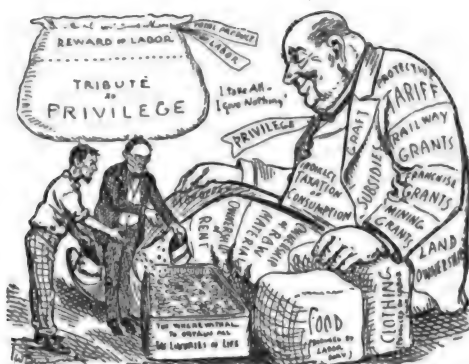
The main facts of the railway robbery, by which the Post-Office department is every year made to show a deficit, when, if the railways received no more favors than the express companies for like service the department would show a handsome annual profit, have been given from time to time in the pages of *THE ARENA*; but an editorial in the *New York American* of December 11th is so admirable that we quote it entire in order to refresh the minds of our readers on this important question. We suggest that every subscriber to *THE ARENA* write his congressman urging him to make an aggressive fight for the diminution of the railway graft from the postal contracts at this session. In this editorial, entitled "End the Railway Mail Graft," the *American* says:

"The report of Postmaster-General Meyer shows that the deficit in his department during the past year was only \$6,653,282. If the last Congress had acted on the advice of its special committee and had cut off something like \$12,000,000 from the railway mail graft, the Post-Office Department would now not only be on a paying basis, but would have a surplus of over \$5,000,000 a year, and would be in a condition soon to establish penny postage.

"Twelve million dollars by no means represents the full amount lost by the Government annually on its mail-carrying contracts. Careful investigation into the fifty millions paid to the roads each year by the Post-Office Department leads to the conclusion that at least twenty millions of that amount represent graft. But the railroad agents in Congress defeated even the twelve million cut. By points of order and legislative legerdemain

the House machine perpetuated this proved and acknowledged fraud, although it did not dare defend it in the open.

"The dishonest practice of weighing the mails for seven days and dividing by six to strike an average is well known. In this way the roads are paid for nearly fifteen per cent. more mail than they carry. Another method of mulcting the Government is the charging as an annual rental on post-office cars an amount twice as great as would be required to build them new. These are but two items among a large number of discovered frauds.



Bengough, in *The Public*, Chicago.

THE CUMBERER OF THE GROUND; OR THE ESSENCE OF THE WORLD'S GREATEST QUESTION.

To live without labor means that one must live by the labor of others. This is the motive of privilege. It is the instinct of monopoly. It is the meaning of protective tariffs, of railway, franchise, and mining grants, of land monopoly, of subsidies, of indirect taxes upon consumption, of unjust taxation in any form. It is the lust for something for nothing that makes the House of Lords and the United States Senate instinctively obstacles to democracy.—FRANCIS C. HOWE, of Ohio.

"Now that Congress is again in session and a new post-office appropriation bill is to be passed, the railroad representatives in the two Houses will attempt to saddle this steal on the country as heretofore. Against that dishonest design an emphatic public protest should be raised without delay. The railway mail graft is the worst enemy of postal progress now in existence, and should be ended once and for all."

THE PITTIABLE PLIGHT OF THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT, WITH NO STATESMAN AT ITS HEAD IN THE HOUR OF NATIONAL PERIL.

WE DO NOT doubt but what Mr. Cortelyou was an excellent stenographer, nor that as a private secretary this suave, smooth-spoken and politic man was admirably suited for the purposes of Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt. As a fat-fryer who knew how to inspire the confidence of the great Wall street gamblers so well that he was able to get princely contributions for Mr. Roosevelt from the high financiers and the corporation chiefs, at the very time when the President was pretending to be opposed to the corporations and was denouncing the democratic nominee for declaring that Mr. Cortelyou was getting aid from corporate interests, he demonstrated that he was a worthy successor to Matt Quay and Mark Hanna. But granting his competency as a stenographer, his success as a suave and politic private secretary, and his conspicuous aptitude for inspiring the confidence of the great gamblers and corporation chiefs who are exploiting the millions of America for the abnormal enrichment of the few, there is no evidence to show that he was especially fitted to be the financial secretary or head of the national treasury department. Indeed, the fact that he is so popular in Wall street

and with the privilege-seeking and parasite classes that are striving so industriously to get the great business interests so completely into their own power as to control the country by their threat of commercial disaster if their arrogant demands are not acceded to, should have disqualified him for the important position, even though he had an hundred-fold more statesmanship and knowledge of finance, economics and the true needs of the nation than there is any reason to believe he possesses.

But President Roosevelt, in his apparent desire to continue to play fast and loose for personal and political advantage, to curry the favor of the Wall street gamblers and predatory interests on the one hand, so he could count upon secret campaign funds from predatory wealth while pretending to be fighting the people's battles on the other, gave this vitally important position to the intimate friend of Wall street gamblers and the corporation interests that had contributed so liberally to the last Republican campaign fund; just as he selected the man who had been the most efficient counsel and handy-man for such characters as Tweed and Ryan and for various malodorous corporations that have long exploited the people, to serve at the head of the State Department, and just as he selected the man who was one of the greatest towers of strength to the railroads when a judge and who is the best beloved of all the prominent politicians in America by the organization that is waging a relentless war on labor unions, to be the Secretary of the Navy and the one ostensibly favored by the Administration as the President's successor. Of all the members of the Cabinet in Mr. Roosevelt's official family, it is probably true that Mr. Cortelyou is the most astute politician, but it is equally probable that he is the least of a statesman. To have a man of Mr. Cortelyou's record as a fat-fryer as the only wall of protection between the millions of American wealth-creators and representatives of honest industry and the J. Pierpont Morgan, Baker, Standard Oil



Berryman, in Washington Star.



From Philadelphia North American.

UNCLE SAM—"FINE WHEELS YOU MADE FOR THIS MACHINE!"

and other great Wall street interests, is something that must disturb and alarm all friends of free institutions and the best interests of legitimate business and the honest creators of wealth.

The New York *World* is too much in sympathy with reaction and privileged wealth to be accused of being biased in favor of progressive democracy and popular rights, yet even this reactionary journal, which as industriously seeks to discredit Mr. Bryan, Tom L. Johnson and other representative Democrats as it enthusiastically supported Alton B. Parker, the candidate of the Belmont-Ryan faction, balks at Mr. Cortelyou and points out some facts in relation to his position that merit the consideration of all thinking Americans of every party. In an editorial leader entitled "Wanted—A Statesman," which appeared on November 25th, the *World* in referring to the Secretary of the Treasury's amazing bond issue said:

"Representative Charles N. Fowler, of New Jersey, Chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, describes Secretary Cortelyou's new bond issue as 'surprising, extraordinary, unwarranted and most unfortunate.' So far as the \$100,000,000 of Treasury certificates is concerned, Mr. Fowler believes the issue is illegal.

"This opinion from the recognized financial authority of the House of Representatives can only increase public perplexity as to why Mr. Cortelyou is where he is. In its immediate effect upon the public welfare the office of Secretary of the Treasury is the most important in the Cabinet. In a financial crisis its importance towers above that of all the other Cabinet positions combined.

"Practically all of President Roosevelt's predecessors recognized it as an office which required unusual qualifications and the widest experience. To appreciate how little Mr. Cortelyou's training as stenographer, private secretary and personal appointé has fitted him for the extremely delicate and responsible position he holds it is necessary to call the roll of previous Secretaries of the Treasury."

[The *World* then enumerates a number of great statesmen who served as heads of the treasury department, including Alexander Hamilton, Albert Gallatin, Salmon P. Chase, Hugh McCullough, George S. Boutwell, and Benjamin H. Bristow. Indeed, until the feudalism of privileged wealth gained a master influence in government, statesmen of distinguished ability were chosen to head the treasury department, and never bankers or representatives of the special class that was constantly seeking special privileges from the government which would give them advantage over the people and other business interests, or fat-frying campaign collectors.

The innovation made in selecting bankers and national committeemen to head the treasury department has been one of the most sinister indications of the rapid passing of the scepter of power from the people to privileged wealth.

Turning from the enumeration of past secretaries of the treasury to Mr. Cortelyou, the *World* continues:



From the Chicago News.

HERO MORGAN TAKES A SOUVENIR—
After helping put the fire out.



Bradley, in Chicago News.

AFTER THE RUSH JOB.

REASSURED DEPOSITOR—"This is all right, Mr. President, but you might have used that one over there and saved yourself a lot of trouble."

"Mr. Cortelyou never held an elective office in his life. He never served in any legislative body. His public experience has been entirely clerical. If he has any practical knowledge of law, of political economy, of finance, there is not a line of his writing or a sentence of his public utterances to indicate such knowledge.

"Mr. Cortelyou was made Secretary of the Treasury because he had shown great astuteness as a collector and disburser of campaign contributions, but surely these are not the qualifications of a successful minister of finance during a period of great financial disturbance.

"Not only does the crisis itself require a Secretary of great ability and character who can inspire public confidence, but important complicated and vital financial questions such as currency reform and a central bank of issue will soon come before Congress, and the Treasury Department under its present head can be of little if any assistance in solving these problems.

"The act of September 2, 1789, creating the Treasury Department, provides that 'it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to digest and prepare plans for the improvement and management of the revenue and for the support of public credit.'

"What plans for the support of the public credit could Mr. Cortelyou propose which

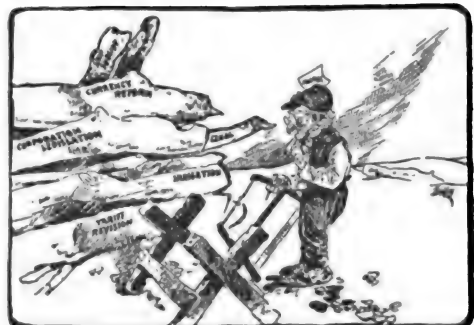
would command the confidence and respect of Congress for a single minute?

"With all fairness to Mr. Cortelyou, the *World* again asks if his appointment was not one of the most stupendous blunders the President has yet made, and all the greater blunder because Mr. Roosevelt himself has no head for business, law or finance."

"Blunder" is we think far too mild a term for the appointment of Mr. Cortelyou to the head of the treasury department at a time when more than ever perhaps in our history it is of paramount importance that the Secretary of the Treasury be absolutely free from entangling alliances with Wall street high finance, with trusts and corporation interests, and a man of the broad statesmanship and lofty patriotism of an Albert Gallatin and a Salmon P. Chase, wedded to the moral courage and aggressive honesty of a Benjamin H. Bristow."

In commenting on Secretary Cortelyou's amazing innovation and the act under which he and President Roosevelt pretend they find warrant for the extraordinary bond issue, Mr. Louis F. Post, in his admirable weekly, *The Public*, well observes:

"They do this under a law which allows it when, and only when, the financial necessities of the government require it, and yet at a time when the government has a financial surplus and therefore no financial necessities, we beg leave, simply from the standpoint of law and order, to rise up and meekly remark that this plain defiance of the law, for the purpose of increasing deposits of public money in private banking institutions, suggests anew the suspicion that lawlessness and high financiering are often indistinguishable."



Donahay, in Cleveland Plaindealer.

A WINTER'S JOB.

HOW CRAFTY MR. CORTELYOU WAS CAUGHT IN THE ACT.

FOLLOWING hard on the heels of the press dispatches announcing that Archbishop Ireland had been actively engaged in working in the interests of the nomination of his very good friend, Secretary Cortelyou, for the presidency, came the news that the chairman of the national committee was industriously selecting candidates that were pledged to Roosevelt, but who in the event of the President's not running could be counted on to cast their votes for the campaign fat-fryer whose intimate relations with the great gamblers of Wall street and the corporation chiefs was such as to render him a wholly acceptable candidate to the interests. Mr. Cortelyou knew that the President did not intend to run at the next election, but he also knew that the delegates and the people at large did not know this fact, so as national chairman and as Secretary of the Treasury he was in a position to steal a march on all the other candidates. The plan was deep laid and there is every reason to believe that behind the sly, crafty and jesuitical national chairman were the great high financial interests that have such unbounded faith in Cortelyou and which are so industrious in denouncing every man who insists on honest business methods and the exposure and punishment of the criminal rich.

Since the notorious campaign of Mark Hanna, which resulted in the securing of Southern delegates that were supposed to be for Mr. Reed, the South has been a happy hunting ground for would-be Republican candidates who enjoy the confidence of political bosses and the industrial autocracy; and it was with the southern delegates that Mr. Taft's friends found with dismay that Mr. Cortelyou was playing havoc with Taft's chances by selecting men amenable to the chairman. So Mr. Roosevelt was induced to make a final declaration before he had intended to do so. This declaration checked Mr. Cortelyou's attempt to get delegates under false pretenses, and he is represented as becoming extremely enraged at the President's action. Mr. Roosevelt, however, has pacified the Secretary-Chairman and all is represented as happy in the official family.

It is not impossible that Secretary Cortelyou might make things unpleasant if he chose to tell tales out of school, and it is hardly probable that Mr. Roosevelt will openly antagonize him. On the other hand, it is difficult to conceive any reason why Mr. Cortelyou should be nominated for the presidency, as his public life has been singularly barren of beneficent results. His only important act has been his extra-legal and constitutional effort to help the banks during the recent panic caused by his high finance friends, by straining beyond its intention the meaning of a permission given for governmental emergency during the Spanish War. True, Mr. Cortelyou was phenomenally successful as a campaign collector in getting the great gamblers and lawless corporate interests to contribute princely sums to the election of Mr. Roosevelt while presumably deceiving the President and leading him to believe that the great



From the Kladderadatsch, Berlin, Germany.

THE PANIC BIRD.

corporate interests were not paying anything into his campaign fund; for it will be remembered that during the very hey-day of Cortelyou's harvest in Wall street, President Roosevelt branded the charge made by his opponent, that corporate interests were contributing to Mr. Cortelyou's campaign fund, as a deliberate falsehood.

One thing is certain: Mr. Cortelyou would be almost as acceptable to the Wall street gamblers, the high financiers and the law defying trusts as Elihu Root, and more than this need not be said to show that no sincere friend of genuine reform and popular government would think of supporting such a man for the presidency.

MR. WATSON'S EXPOSURE OF THE CONFISCATORY PLEA OF THE RAILWAYS.

MR. THOMAS E. WATSON is doing some excellent work for fundamental democracy in his *Jeffersonian Magazine*, by showing the essentially despotic action of the Federal judges who are seeking to nullify the laws enacted by the states to protect the citizens from the extortions due to the criminal action of the great railway corporation magnates who have watered stock and who gamble with securities in such a way as to impoverish the people and to constantly disturb legitimate business. In speaking of the menace to free government of those modern tools of corporate interests who through the influence of predatory wealth have been elevated to the bench and who hold themselves above the people or the State, Mr. Watson well observes:

"It is monstrous that such men as Jones of Alabama and Pritchard of North Carolina should usurp powers that the President of the United States does not dare to grasp.

"Would Mr. Roosevelt venture to forbid the Corporations Commission of Virginia to exercise a legislative authority, vested in the Commission by law?

"Would he order the Governor of Alabama, the Attorney-General, and the other officers of the State, not to enforce the laws which they are sworn to enforce?

"Certainly not. The President has no such legal authority nor have the Federal Judges.

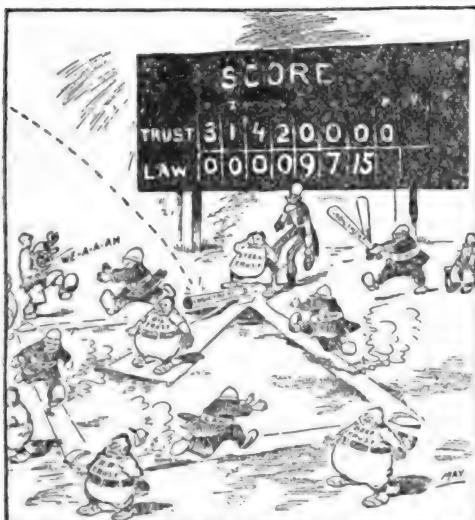
"The Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution of the United States had no other purpose than to establish, in behalf of the States, the time-honored principle that the *Sovereign shall not be sued by the Subject*, save by his own consent.

"Chisholm had sued the State of Georgia; and the Great Usurper, John Marshall—he who, in the course of his disgraceful conduct of the Aaron Burr trial, had sought to compel President Jefferson to reduce himself to the level of a common witness!—had held that a private citizen could sue a sovereign State.

"The decision created such universal dissatisfaction that the States adopted the Eleventh Amendment, for the expressed purpose of putting an end to that sort of thing.

"A railroad corporation is a private citizen, and when it brings a case against the State authorities, it is, of course, suing the State."

In speaking of the latest popular plea which the corporation lawyers are advancing as an excuse for the continued plunder of the people for the enrichment of the holders



May, in Detroit Journal.

COMING ON BEHIND.

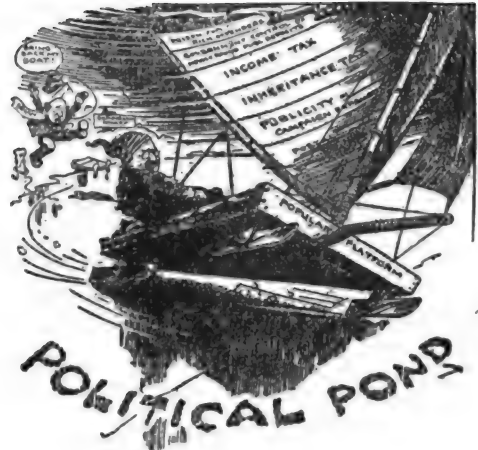
of watered stock in public-service corporations, Mr. Watson says:

"Reduced to its literal meaning, this is what the Railroads claim:

"We demand the right to water our stock whenever we get ready. We demand the right to spend millions of dollars every year employing Press Agents and Special Counsel to debauch public men and to mis-guide public opinion. We demand the right to collude with the Express Companies, so that those robbers who divide among themselves net profits of two hundred per cent. may carry the cream of our business at fancy prices,—the secret being that *the inner cliques which controls the Express Company is also the inner cliques which controls the railroad.* We demand the right to pay huge salaries to figure-heads and dummies, who pose as officers of the roads when, in fact, *they are used to cloak and conceal actual conditions which the law prohibits.* We demand the right to grant free tickets to the extent of hundreds of thousands of dollars per year, for the purpose of keeping on the good side of Congressmen, Legislators, Judges, and other officials, *from whom we seek favors which we ought not to have.* We demand *the right to continue our reckless mismanagement,—our refusal to adopt safety appliances; our refusal to put road-bed and bridges in first-class condition; our refusal to double-track, to abolish the grade-crossing, to adopt the automatic switch, to employ the most competent men and a sufficiency of them;—we demand the right to continue this ruinous policy, although it results in frightful loss of life and damage suits which cost us an immense amount of money.*"

Mr. Watson shows that the railways demand all the above things, and then, when the people, exasperated at the extortions practiced, seek relief in an orderly way through legislation, the railways call upon the corporation lawyers to instruct the corporation judges "to block the wheels of government by pleading confiscation." He represents the railways as concluding their plea as follows:

"We will say that unless we are allowed



Bradley, in Chicago News.

ASPERITIES OF WINTER SPORT.

to continue to mismanage our property just as we are now doing, we will lose our *net profits*, and thus *our entire estate will be Confiscated.*

"We will not only *say* this, but will *swear* to it. And while the facts we swear to, in the Plea of "Confiscatory," are *wholly different from the facts which we swore to when we made our Tax Returns*, still we will perjure ourselves like gentlemen, to maintain a system demanded of us by the Wall-street rascals who own us."

This is an admirable summing up of the amazing position taken by the railways against the people—a position which is exasperating the wealth-creators and which will tend to increase the popular demand that the government take over the railway properties for the people, at the cost of replacing the same. It is difficult to understand how any student of political and economic conditions can fail to see that either the people must own and operate the inestimably valuable public utilities, or the government will be debauched and the people exploited and oppressed by unscrupulous bands greedy for the vast wealth that can be reaped from monopoly rights in public utilities.

MR. BRYAN AND THE CORPORATION-OWNED PRESS.

THE KEPT editors of some of the great corporation journals seem greatly exercised over the plain statement of facts which Mr. Bryan has recently been making in regard to the prostitute press of America; and yet there is no one acquainted with the facts but who knows that the statements made by Mr. Bryan are the simple truth, and a truth that it is vitally important for the people to keep in mind, for the hope of free government depends on the awakening of the masses to the fact that the wells of public opinion are being systematically poisoned by special or privileged interests. Mr. Bryan, in speaking of the poison press, said:

"A great many of the big daily papers are owned or controlled by Trusts and corporations. Their editors are but tools in the

hands of schemers. They chloroform the people, telling them things are all right, while the Trusts come along and pick their pockets. These editors are but the mouth-pieces of the great Trusts, and they write what they are told to write by those who would fleece the people."

With great newspapers day by day deliberately misrepresenting such men as Mr. Bryan and justifying the criminal rich at every turn or seeking to further the well-laid plans of the high financiers and public plunderers, it is surely time for thinking and conscience-guided men and women to awaken from their lethargy and organize for aggressive warfare on the enemies of free government, common honesty and morality.

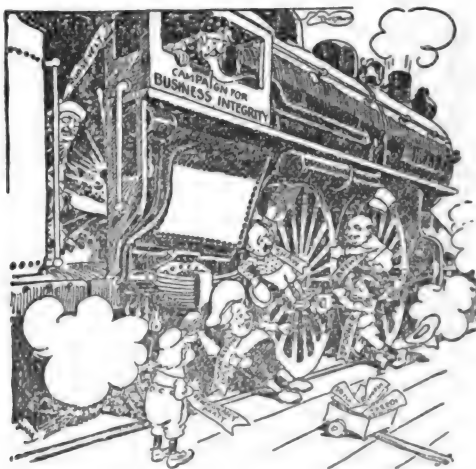
MR. LANGDON ON THE PRESENT STRUGGLE BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND GRAFT.

AT THE present time, when the attorneys and hirelings of the criminal rich are so busy striving to convince the unthinking that the late panic was due to the agitation against railway and corporation lawlessness, and that the security of business depends on a cessation of all such agitation, it is refreshing to find some strong men clearly outlining the real issue. In an able address delivered before the City Club of Boston on December 13th, Mr. William H. Langdon, the district attorney of San Francisco who accomplished such effective work in uncovering the corrupt alliance of the public-service corporations and the Ruef-Schmitz machine, stated the case in perhaps as concise and effective a manner as it has yet been presented, in the following words:

"The struggle is on between democracy and graft, and one or the other must go down. One upholds the morals of men, while the other destroys all that is good.

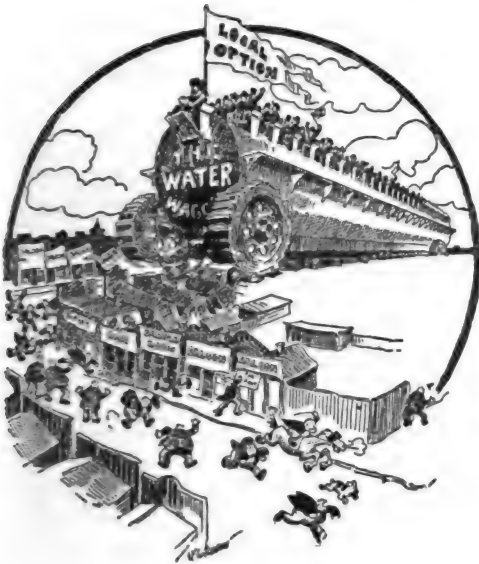
"When the fierce hunger of business attacks the government it is government, not business, that must give way, and the

doctrine of graft is responsible. It means that when a railroad corporation wanted franchises it gave Abraham Ruef \$14,000 to deliver a delegation to elect a governor for



Bradley, in Chicago News.

THE JAYVILLE BUNCH.—"Come on fellows; let's hold her back!"



McCutcheon, in Chicago Tribune.

THE NEW JUGGERNAUT.

California who would be favorable to their interests instead of the State.

"It was the short-sighted men to whom crime is no sin that brought about the money stringency in this country. They did everything they could to make the people suffer and then said it was this graft prosecution which was responsible.

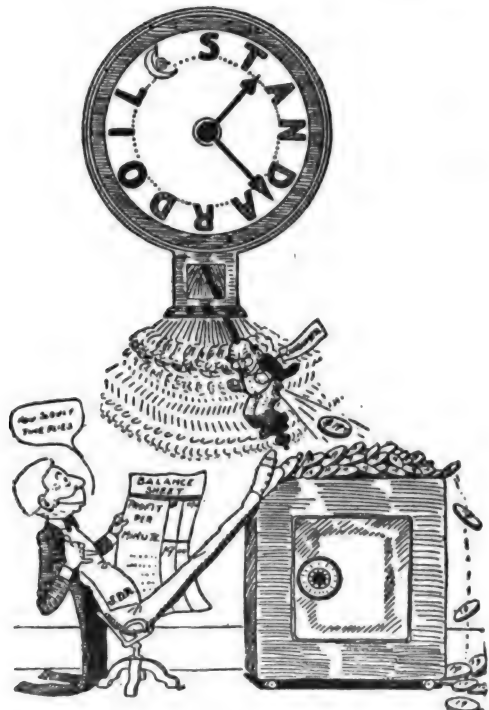
"So in San Francisco, when Spreckles gave his check and his services to his native city that it might be cleansed, he was socially ostracized, deposits were drawn from the bank of which he was president, while the grand jurors appointed, by judicious boycotting, sustained heavy losses, but, be it said to their credit, they never flinched.

"To support graft the allied corporations bought up the weekly papers. Behind them were the cutest minds of the business world. They put unlimited money into the recent political campaign and established an immense law office and hired a score of detectives.

"To offset this we had to put out the money offered by Mr. Spreckles and his friends.

We hired detectives and procured the services of the best attorneys and detectives in the country. To get at the foundation of the crimes we had to promise immunity baths to several. I have been asked repeatedly what was to be done with Abraham Ruef. I cannot say, and the reason is he will get just what he earns. We are after the men higher up.

"We believe that this prosecution has a moral as well as a legal effect. It is time to stop the cynicism of the people against government; to stop the brazen effrontery of the brazen rich who sit by and think they can buy judges until justice becomes a travesty. We are after the men higher up, so as to make criminal acquisition unprofitable and to make young women and men believe that dishonesty does not pay and that the greatest good comes from an honest life."



Donnell, in St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

"TIME IS MONEY."—JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER.

FINDLAND'S RADICAL PROHIBITION LEGISLATION.

IN THE December ARENA we published a very informing paper by Charles R. Jones, reviewing the growth of the temperance movement in America and the astonishing spread of prohibition legislation during the past two decades. After that paper was set up, Alabama enacted a prohibition law, in spite of the urgent protest of Mobile, leading citizens of which city declared that Mobile would secede from the state in the event of its passage.

The American prohibition laws and measures, however, are mild indeed compared with the drastic act recently passed by the Parliament of Finland,—an act which it is thought that the Czar may veto. This bill

prohibits the manufacture, sale, use or possession of alcoholic spirits in any form, including wine and beer. Wine is even barred from the communion table, though spirits in various forms may be used for medicinal or mechanical purposes and may be kept and dispensed for Russian soldiers. Heavy penalties are provided to be meted out to violators, ranging from a minimum fine of \$20 to three years of penal servitude. No compensation is given to the owners of breweries or distilleries.

It is a significant fact that it would be well for those who indiscriminately indulge in denouncing socialists as favoring drink and disorder to note, that there are eighty socialist members in the Parliament of Finland.

THE CASE OF BERNARR MACFADDEN

PERSONALLY we have not been following the case of Mr. Bernarr MacFadden, nor have we had the time for the last few years to read his publication; but from what we have known of the work of the editor of *Physical Culture* in former years in his brave battle against essential immorality and various evils that strike at the heart of the normal development of the people, we do not doubt but that his arrest and conviction are on a par with the infamous persecutions that have for years at intervals been meted out to Moses Harmon and other persons who have battled against prostitution within the marriage bond and immorality in general.

From a correspondent who is intimately acquainted with Mr. MacFadden's case we have received the following news note in regard to the conviction, which we present to our readers. We are glad to note that the case is to be carried to the Supreme Court, as it is extremely important to the people that the rights and limits of postal censorship be established, as well as the rights of the citizen under the Constitution. The following is the note in question:

"Bernarr MacFadden, publisher of *Physical Culture*, whose energies and abilities have for

many years been directed towards the physical and moral improvement of the race, has, at Trenton, New Jersey, before the United States District Court, been sentenced to pay a fine of two thousand dollars and to serve a term of two years in the penitentiary on a charge of sending improper literature through



Morris, in Spokane Spokesman-Review.

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE WIFE BEATER AND HOME DESERTER?

Some advocate the whipping post, some the solitary cell, and some the stocks, but the finger of public scorn can be made a powerful agent to drive him, an outcast from decent society.



Donahay, in Cleveland Plain Dealer.

THE END OF THE LINE.

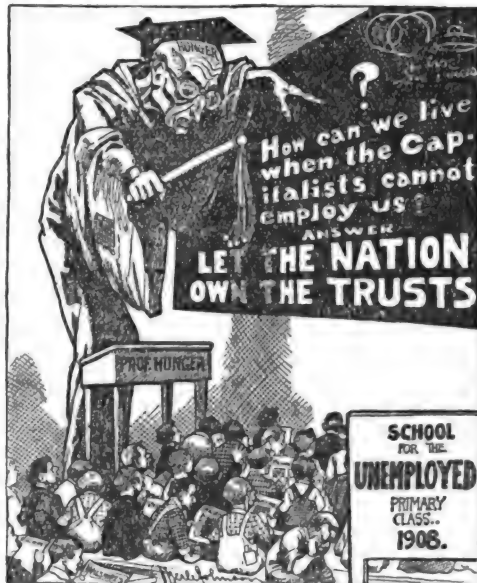
the mails. Mr. MacFadden's real offense is that he is a radical thinker with a large and influential following, and his views upon what constitutes a plane of high morality are apparently at a wide variance with the narrow official methods of the Post-Office Department. It is a thousand pities that such a man as Mr. MacFadden should be punished for seeking to benefit his brothers, but his martyrdom serves an important and necessary purpose; a certain number of noble victims must suffer the stripes before the stain of the infamous, blackmailing Comstock law is wiped from the statutes.

"However, Mr. MacFadden is not in the penitentiary as yet, neither has he paid the fine, and he is making a valiant battle for the freedom of the press. He has appealed his sentence to the United States Supreme Court, and in the chambers of that august body will be threshed out the question, 'Is it a Crime to Expose Crime?'

Mr. MacFadden believes that his constitutional rights have been infringed upon by the Postal authorities and that the Post-Office people have exceeded their constitutional rights in preventing the publication of the serial story, which caused all the trouble, from being printed and distributed to the people at large. The story that caused Mr.

MacFadden to be pursued by Anthony Comstock was a serial story, entitled, 'Growing to Manhood in Civilized (?) Society.' Mr. MacFadden decided to print this story because he thought the time was ripe for a drastic awakening. He thought that this serial story, which laid bare many terrible and glaring evils, might be a power towards the evolution of the higher morality and a nobler conception of life that would, from the standpoint of sex, effect as much as has been accomplished in another direction by Upton Sinclair's famous *The Jungle* against the packing-house evils, or Harriet Beecher Stowe's immortal *Uncle Tom's Cabin* against the slave traffic.

"The arrest, trial and conviction was a distinct surprise to Mr. MacFadden, but it has not deterred him in his purposes and his ideas. He will fight what he terms 'persecution and not prosecution' to the bitter end. In addition to carrying his case to the highest court of the land, he will go on an extended lecture tour through the United States and will tell, in a simple, earnest and straightforward manner, his side of the case, with the hopes of awakening public interest and public support.



Johnson, in Wilshire Magazine, New York.

"THE SCHOOLMASTER IS ABROAD."
As the Socialists See It.

A PROTEST AGAINST CORPORAL PUNISHMENT.

FROM Captain W. E. P. French, U.S.A., one of our esteemed contributors, we have received the following earnest and thoughtful protest against corporal punishment of the young, which we take pleasure in publishing, as admirably expressing our own views and the ideals for which THE ARENA has long contended.

"That apparently sane, kindly, decent and respectable people should seriously advocate corporal punishment in the public schools of a twentieth-century democracy is incomprehensible, and it is a disagreeable and shameful reminder that some of us, at least, are still brutal and stupid barbarians badly disguised by a thin veneer of civilization.

"Are the gentlemen and ladies who propose a return to the discredited methods of the dark ages Christians? Are they believers in the teachings of the gentle, loving Nazarene?

"Spare the rod and spoil the child' is the maxim of a coward, a weakling or a coarse-grained tyrant.

"The teacher that cannot maintain discipline without the rod is unfit to teach, and should apply for a position as wielder of the knout in Siberia, slave-driver to the Sultan of Turkey, or executive officer of the Delaware whipping-post.

"No well-poised, just, self-controlled, warm-

hearted man or woman needs to, wants to, or would, beat a child.

"The best children I have ever known came from families where no blows were ever struck, the worst from so-called homes where might made right, and cruel strength striped its own flesh and blood.

"I have handled boys (several hundred of them) for four years in a great school where I am the head of the military department. Their ages ranged from seven to twenty-one, they were not exactly lambs, some were very difficult to manage, and a few were extremely difficult to deal with. But (one occasion excepted) neither I nor any other member of the faculty ever laid a hand in anger on one of them; and a better disciplined, franker, nicer or more loyal lot of lads it would be hard to find (they can not be found in a school where the lash is used). The excepted occasion was when an ill-balanced, weak and irritable teacher slapped a boy at inspection for wearing dirty gloves. The boy stepped out of ranks and knocked the teacher down. The lad was sustained by the school authorities, the man apologized to him, and, at the end of the term, the master was replaced.

"In my opinion, no human being is good enough to be trusted with the dangerous power to inflict corporal punishment upon children, especially, upon another person's children.

"Kindness, firmness, self-control and even-handed justice (with a little wise toleration of ignorance, fun and young spirits) will make and keep good discipline in any school or any home.

"Force, fear and punishment may suppress the symptoms, but they intensify the disease.

"Guidance, affection and reward, justly and generously used, will remove the cause and make the black sheep such a light gray that anybody but a child-beater would mistake him for a serviceable white.

"Do ye hear the children weeping, O my brothers,
Here the sorrow comes with years.

They are leaning their young heads against their mothers,
And that cannot stop their tears."



Bradley, in Chicago News.

A BIT OF CONTINUOUS VAUDEVILLE.

W. E. P. FRENCH, U.S.A.
Cornwall on the Hudson, N. Y.

PROGRESSIVE FARMERS.

THE GRANGES of the State of Washington are among the most progressive organizations of that wide-awake commonwealth; and as compared with the Granges in the other states they easily rank first, as is demonstrated by the following action of their State Grange:

"The speedy adoption of the initiative and referendum, both state and national," was declared for, also the recall, and there was placed in operation a system for the direct election of officers of the State Grange. There was referred to the local granges the question of whether one-third of the voters at a State Grange meeting should be authorized to refer a resolution to a referendum of the local granges.

It was also said: "The general welfare demands an exhaustive and thorough tariff revision, and that the tariff be removed from every article that is being sold in a foreign market cheaper than at home." It was further said: "We urge upon the members of the Granges throughout the United States to take speedy action and use every influence at their command to secure the carrying out of the sentiments of these resolutions."

Progressive income and inheritance taxes were demanded, also that for purposes of taxation there be a "separate listing of the values of the bounties of Nature, the common gifts of the Creator to His children" and that "Such property as mines, fishing rights, timber and water power, to be taxed at a leasing rate, and the value of improvements to be taxed at a much lower rate or wholly exempted from taxation."

The Des Moines plan for municipal legislative bodies of five or seven members, in combination with the initiative, referendum and recall was strongly urged, together with competitive examinations for most of the minor positions. The State Master was directed "to appoint a committee of three to confer with the State Federation of Labor as to the best means of securing a state law providing that all minor positions in the state, county and city service shall be filled only by competitive examinations, thus providing that the rapidly extending public-

service shall be open to men of merit, rather than as at present to political henchmen."

Another resolution declared: "Inasmuch as the representatives of the Union Labor organizations of the State of Washington have united their efforts with the representatives of the Granges of the state in securing legislative acts in the interests of the masses, therefore, we, the delegates of this convention, do hereby urge all Grangers within the state to use the goods, so far as practicable, bearing the label of Union Labor manufacture."

A grange label was considered and referred to the local granges.

By a rising vote Equal Suffrage was again declared for.

The status of the direct-legislation movement in Washington is described in the annual report of the State Master, C. B. Kegley. He said:

"We are in the midst of progressive political changes, far reaching in character, and which are moving with great swiftmess. Machine-rule, the rule of the bosses, is being ended. The people are regaining their lost sovereignty. Though we failed to secure the passage of our Direct-Legislation Bill, it was by so narrow a margin that it guarantees complete success in the next legislature, and it is only a few years until Direct-Legislation will be the law, not only in a majority of the states, but in the nation. In twenty-one states the movement has succeeded or is well under way, which is double the number of two years ago, while the number of pledged members in Congress is four times greater. One hundred and seven members of the present National House are pledged, their obligation being to vote for the immediate establishment of the advisory initiative and the advisory referendum for acts of Congress and for measures passed by either house. It is hoped that as a result of last year's campaign there will be a pledged majority in the National House, a pledged president, with a majority vote in the Senate secured by pledging the candidates for the legislature to vote to instruct the hold-over Senators, and to vote only for such candidates for the United

States Senate as are pledged to the advisory vote system. The condition of these twenty-one states is as follows:

"This year's legislature in Maine, Missouri and North Dakota have submitted constitutional amendments for the initiative and referendum.

"In Oklahoma the constitutional convention has incorporated the system in the proposed constitution.

"In eight other states the people possess a direct vote system for public questions, or have adopted it, or the legislature is pledged. These states are Oregon, South Dakota, Montana, Utah, Illinois, Texas and Ohio.

"In eight more the initiative and referendum movement is progressing rapidly. These states are Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and our own state of Washington.

"In Maine it was unanimous. In Oklahoma only five of the 112 delegates voted against the system. In Delaware the vote establishing the initiative and referendum in the city of Wilmington was unanimous.

The Pennsylvania House without debate, without amendment, and by a unanimous vote, has passed a bill for the direct election of United States Senators. Thus machine-rule is almost a thing of the past in Pennsylvania. So wonderful a political change, in so short a time, has never been equaled in this or any other age.

"By another year complete success in every northern state should be assured, also National success. In our own state we are making rapid progress along these lines. The political boss sees the handwriting on the wall.

"How best can the campaign be carried on? We should, I believe, improve our system for questioning candidates, and get ready to use the initiative and referendum when we get the system installed. If we do this it will actively interest every farmer in the state and tend to induce him to join with us. We must organize in every county, and a wide-awake campaign along the lines indicated will help us to accomplish this end."

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON.

Secretary of the National Federation for People's Rule.

The Southern Pacific Turned Down.

A GOOD illustration of the power of the referendum and also of the unrepresentative character of so-called representative government was furnished by a referendum vote taken in Sacramento, October 22d. The Western Pacific Railroad had applied for franchises for entering and crossing the city, which because of the influence of the Southern Pacific over the city trustees, were refused. A referendum was demanded and the people voted in favor of the franchises, turning down the Southern Pacific's "representative government" henchmen by the vote of 24 to 1, the majority for the franchises being about 4,000. The people of Sacramento had been thoroughly misrepresented by their representatives in the City Council, and many of the voters of Sacramento who were apparently indifferent toward the referendum before this occurred are to-day enthusiastic in their praise of it.

A. F. of L. for Direct Legislation.

THE Massachusetts State Federation of Labor which had its annual convention at Milford, October 17th, passed a resolution calling upon the members of the executive council and the legislative committee to prepare a bill providing for the initiative and referendum, and have it presented and pushed at the approaching session of the State Legislature. The great fight which friends of this movement in Massachusetts have been making the past few years for the passage of the Public-Opinion Bill, very moderate indeed in its provisions, has brought out such determined opposition from Senator Lodge and his corporation cohorts, that it is now beginning to be understood that it is more economical to fight for a measure that will carry with it some real power for the people, and not be merely advisory after it is won.

The Public-Opinion Bill will doubtless be introduced again this year, and it may be that

this fight of the Federation of Labor for a real referendum will result in the Public-Opinion Bill being accepted as a compromise.

For Michigan's Constitution.

ONE OF the first sections offered before the Michigan Constitutional Convention was that of F. F. Ingram, the veteran direct-legislation worker of Detroit, who would provide for the reservation of final power in the hands of the people as follows:

"Section 1. The sovereign power in state affairs is the electors of Michigan, subject to the limitations in the national constitution. The sovereign power in local affairs is the electors in each of the municipalities, subject to the limitations in the state and the national constitutions.

"Section 2. Governmental agents must be selected, but there should be no unnecessary delegation of power; therefore the acts of legislative agents shall be subject to a veto power in the electors, except as to emergency measures, and the electors retain the power of direct legislation for statute and constitutional law. Nominations for public office shall be by direct vote."

A Connecticut Referendum.

THE PEOPLE of Connecticut have recently voted upon a proposed amendment to the State Constitution, and furnished another contradiction to the theory that the affirmative in referendums always win. The amendment proposed among other things an increase from \$300 to \$500 in the pay of state legislators; and the Connecticut Yankee is nothing if he is n't conservative in matters of this kind. The vote was 15,000 for, and 20,000 against.

The Wilmington League Active.

THE Initiative and Referendum League of Wilmington has submitted a communication to the city council requesting that body to adopt a resolution requiring the Board of Directors of the street and sewer departments to pass an ordinance in keeping with the initiative and referendum vote, taken by the city in June, requiring street-railways to care for the streets used by them and to keep their cars in good repair.

Under this ordinance the directors of the department would be liable to a fine in case they should fail to compel the electric-railway companies to make such repairs as are provided for by their franchises. In case of con-

viction they shall be removed from office and shall not be eligible to hold office for a period of five years.

Progress of People's Rule in Oregon.

OREGON is the only state in the Union where there exists a somewhat strong organization of farmers making use of the initiative and referendum. Last year the Oregon Granges initiated two bills, both being for the taxation of gross receipts of monopoly corporations that were escaping taxation. The voters adopted the bills by an 11-to-1 vote.

The next legislature still refused to revise the tax law, and the legislative committee of the State Grange reported that while the last legislature had "appropriated a very large amount of money" it had "failed to provide for the taxation of any property whatever that has so far escaped its just share of tax burden, and only through the initiative will it be possible to pass just laws on taxation." The State Grange instructed its Worthy Master to appoint a committee of five on assessment and taxation, whose findings are to be submitted for discussion and review by the various county granges and county councils during the year, and then a final report of the committee is to be submitted at the next annual meeting of the State Grange.

Last year the State Grange appropriated \$2,000 for use by its executive committee in referring such bills of the legislature as should be deemed injurious to the state. The next legislature, though not charged with corruption, passed two bills which the executive committee of the Grange has ordered to a referendum vote, with a view to securing a veto by the people. Petitions were circulated and signed and the State Grange has endorsed the movement. The bills that are objected to are for the compulsory granting of railroad passes for members of the legislature and other state officers, and the appropriation of \$100,000 for building armories. The referendum votes will be taken next June.

The State Grange instructed, too, that its executive committee draft an amendment to the State Constitution and initiate the same for a vote by the people at the next State election, which shall deprive the legislature of the power to change any law that has become such through the initiative petition and the people's vote.

An additional complaint against the legislature by the State Grange is that it has so amended the procedure for submitting meas-

ures to a vote of the people as to "almost prohibit its use." These are the words of the report of the legislative committee of the State Grange, and it recommended that the executive committee be authorized "to have prepared and submitted to the people a law that will reduce the cost of the initiative and referendum as much as possible." The action taken by the State Grange was that the executive committee bring the matter before the next legislature.

In addition to the four questions named in the December ARENA which are to come up at the June election under the referendum petitions, there are nine questions which have been placed upon the ballot under the initiative clause of the constitution. One of these is a constitutional amendment giving the suffrage to women. Another establishes the Recall. Another provides proportional representation in the legislature. Besides these constitutional amendments there are proposed statutes, one of which provides drastic measures for corrupt practices in elections, and another is a prohibitional law.

The State has filed its demurrer to the suit of the Pacific States Telephone & Telegraph Company which will eventually come before the United States Supreme Court. Corporation interests are taking advantage of the present situation to express all possible dissatisfaction with the system of direct-legislation.

Mr. Hobson on Switzerland.

THE INITIATIVE and referendum, in their practical workings in Switzerland, find more favor with the eminent English publicist and economist, John A. Hobson, than with a former American minister to that country who has recently expressed his views on the subject. Mr. Hobson writes in the *Contemporary Review* and sums up some of the advantages of the referendum as follows:

1. That it provides a remedy for intentional or unintentional misrepresentation on the part of elected legislatures and secures laws conformable to the actual will of the majority.

2. That it enhances the popular confidence in the stability of law.

3. That it eliminates much waste of political energy by enabling proposals of unknown value to be submitted separately to a quantitative test.

Yet the greatest service of all is the training in the art of self-government which the referendum gives. Says Mr. Hobson:

"It may indeed be questioned whether a people whose direct contribution to self-government consists in a single vote cast at intervals of several years, not for a policy or even for a measure, but for a party or a personality, can be or is capable of becoming a genuinely self-governing people. Some amount of regular responsibility for concrete acts of conduct is surely as essential to the education of a self-reliant people as of a self-reliant individual."

And through the referendum alone, as compared with the representative system, is "some amount of regular individual responsibility" for the concrete acts of government obtainable.

This is a very instructive and important endorsement of direct legislation and deserves much wider reprint in the American press than it has received. Of much value to friends of the movement is Mr. Hobson's description of the ballot used in the method of voting. This is a great improvement over the custom usually employed in this country. As the word "yes" or "no" must be written in, there is no possibility of error nor ambiguity such as is often the case where the words "for" or "against" are used.

New Jersey Takes a Step.

LAWS providing for the nomination of candidates by a direct primary vote and for a popular vote in the selection of United States Senators have been passed by the New Jersey legislature and were signed by the Governor, October 28th. The direct primary law provides for the selection in this way of all candidates except the Governor and members of Congress. One hundred voters can put a name on a county ballot and fifty voters can secure a name on a municipal ballot.

The act providing for a popular vote in the selection of United States Senators was introduced by Senator Colby on the last day of the session. It provides that not less than 1,000 voters of a political party may file a petition with the Secretary of State endorsing any member of their political party as a candidate for the endorsement of that party for United States Senator. Not less than twenty days prior to the primary election copies of such petitions must be transmitted to the county clerks who shall certify to municipal clerks the name or names of all persons who have been endorsed by petition transmitted to him. In preparing the official ballots for the primaries the municipal clerks are to insert thereon the words

"favored for United States Senator," placing thereunder all the names certified in alphabetical order.

In filing his acceptance of a nomination for the office of State Senator or member of the Assembly, a candidate may sign and file a copy of one or two statements, which are to be made public as soon as all acceptances of nominations have been filed. The first statement pledges the candidate to vote for the candidate for United States Senator who receives the highest number of votes in his party in the county at the primary election, and the second statement pledges him to vote for the candidate who receives the highest number of votes in the party in the State.

A Corporation Invekes The Referendum.

REFERENDUM petitions by which it is sought to compel the Common Council of San Diego to allow the people of the city the right to vote on a proposed street-railway franchise, were put into circulation by E. Bartlett Webster, president of the South Park and East Side Railway Company. The petition is for a street-railway franchise over certain streets of the city in extension of the present system. The petition has been refused by the City Council, and now the most unusual spectacle is presented of the corporation itself appealing to the plebscite.

Reform Program for Arkansas.

ARKANSAS has a State Capitol steal, along with the usual machine-rule conditions. And as in other states a strong people's-rule champion is at hand. Hon. George W. Donaghey is a candidate for the governorship and he proposes a winning program. He advocates for the State the submission of a constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum. In a speech announcing his candidacy he says:

"The initiative and referendum will be but another step in the direction of the rule by the people. It will enable them even when the men they have elected to office can be no longer trusted, to recall their measures and pass upon them for themselves. Under such a safeguard the capitol outrage would have been an impossibility. It is a double-action measure and serves both for enacting good laws and repealing bad ones. It is a safeguard for the representative system and a reinforcement for the protection of the people's will. Laws that affect the people's welfare could, under the referendum, be referred back to the people for

confirmation or rejection. This would entirely do away with boodling, or boodlers could not "deliver the goods." Government derives its just power from the consent of the governed. Then it seems to me that every good citizen must approve of this measure."

Miscellaneous Items.

REPRESENTATIVE Jefferson Bouware of Peoria is trying to secure the passage in the Illinois legislature of a bill referring to a referendum of the people of the state, the question of opening the Illinois river above Peoria for deep-water navigation.

THE PEOPLE of Maine are hearing more about the possibilities of resubmission than any other one question in connection with the pending state constitutional amendment. The amendment does not provide for constitutional amendments, still, through the initiative, it does open the door for the people to make themselves heard on this question.

THE MAINE government, like that of Massachusetts, has an executive council and provides for the appointment of judges. But the people of that state are beginning to desire the election of their state auditor, attorney general, secretary of state, treasurer, state assessors, railroad commissioners, judges, etc., and they are seeing in the constitutional amendments an open door to these important reforms.

THE QUIET town of Pleasant Valley, West Virginia, voted down, October 18th, a bonding proposition by a vote of three to one.

THE "NEW-IDEA" Republicans of New Jersey have declared emphatically that the decision of the form of excise regulation should be by the voters in each municipality by a referendum vote.

REV. W. T. S. LUMBAR of Newark has openly advocated referring the whole Sunday question to a referendum vote. Of course he is opposed to the legalized opening of the saloon on Sunday, but he believes that the people should decide the important question. In a sermon on this subject he said:

"I am no more afraid to trust this question to the ballots of the American people than Elijah was to put to a vote the question of whether the Lord should be God or not in that tragic day on Carmel."

THE CITIZENS of Newark, New Jersey, voted at the November election on several referen-

dum questions including a plan to change the Board of Education to an appointive board of nine members, the establishment of a municipal electric-lighting plant, an increase of salary for policemen after a certain period of service and the expenditure of a million dollars to secure meadows and construct docks.

ALDERMAN MELMS of Milwaukee is attempting to secure the passage of an ordinance that will require referendum votes on all important municipal questions.

THE PEOPLE of Washington, Indiana, voted on October 1st, to spend \$50,000 in improvement of their electric-light plant.

THE TAXPAYERS of Pleasant Valley, New York, in a vote on October 17th, decided to consolidate the various school districts of the town and build a fine union school building with improved advantages.

THE PEOPLE of Salem, Mass., are seriously considering the adoption of a new form of city government embodying the initiative and referendum and recall.

A NUMBER of the most public-spirited citizens of Quincy, Massachusetts, have formed a local organization known as the Referendum Union of Quincy, of which Mr. Levy H. Turner is secretary.

A GOOD illustration of the shameless tactics of the corporation politicians is furnished in the fact that every member of the gang that tried to defeat Brand Whitlock for Mayor of Toledo was pledged to a referendum on the pending street-car franchise. These pledges are easily obtained under such pressure as existed in Toledo during the campaign, but they failed to deceive enough voters to accomplish the purpose in view.

THE PEOPLE of Ware, Massachusetts, voted in November to approve the purchase by the Legislature of the Deer Hill Reservation which is one of the beauty spots of central Massachusetts.

THE Michigan State Grange did good work in the campaign for the election of members of the state constitutional convention. Every candidate was questioned and his reply heralded throughout the order.

MR. G. J. KING, field secretary of the Ohio Direct-Legislation League, is quoted as claiming that 92 Ohio legislators have pledged them-

selves to vote for the initiative and referendum bill the coming winter, 73 votes being necessary to pass it. This bill has already been passed by the senate.

THE REFERENDUM votes taken on the license question by the townships in New York State in the November election, were in most cases the leading issue of the election.

HON. ROBERT M. FERNELD of West Poland, Maine, has announced that he will be a candidate for Governor in the Republican state convention of 1908, and declares himself a very firm believer in the initiative and referendum which are to be voted upon by the people in that election.

REV. JOHN H. LARRY, pastor of the Edgewood Congregational Church, Providence, has recently come out strongly for the initiative and referendum.

"The present method of voting is all wrong," he said, "because it is impossible to vote for questions, and we have to vote for men who may or may not represent them." Referring to state politics he said the people of Rhode Island had nothing whatever to do with the election of a Senator, and he declared that with present conditions it would be almost as well to put the office up to be sold to the highest bidder.

JUSTICE BREWER of the United States Supreme Court in a speech at Carnegie Hall, November 20th, spoke favorably of the initiative and referendum.

AT THE fourteenth convention of the New York City Federation of Women's Clubs held at Hotel Astor, October 18th, a resolution offered by the Business Woman's League, endorsing the effort of the New York Referendum League to secure a direct legislation amendment to the constitution was unanimously passed.

THE INTEREST in the subject of the initiative and referendum has become so great in the State of Washington, that the schools all over the State are holding debates on the subject. It is difficult, it seems, to get enough speakers on the negative side, and among those who have written to us for points have been some who have said that while they were in favor of direct legislation they must make an argument on the other side, and they applied to us to help them. The *Portland Oregonian* says that it is receiving great numbers of calls from princi-

pals, superintendents, and teachers of various schools in Washington, for material on this subject, which it is unable to supply in such amounts as demanded, and therefore refers the applicants to back numbers of the *Oregonian*.

MICHIGAN has a new law providing that a referendum may be demanded by the people of any community upon the acceptance of any proffered bonds from saloon men seeking licenses.

AN ELECTION was held in Delaware on November 5th, in which no candidate ran for office. The whole thing was for the purpose of enabling the people to pass upon a great public question.

THE NEW YORK State Initiative and Referendum League questioned every candidate for the legislature in the recent election as to his attitude on direct legislation, asking for a direct pledge of his support for an initiative and

referendum bill to be introduced in the approaching session of the legislature.

THE Referendum League of Erie County did good service in the campaign, questioning all candidates and publishing their replies, and also by insisting upon the education of the voters in the use of the voting machines.

TWENTY-ONE charter amendments were voted on by the people of San Francisco at the recent election.

THE Missouri Referendum League has sent out 60,000 packages of literature, each one containing three pieces, to all the addresses in the telephone directories throughout the state. Dr. Hill got up the literature, and it was very effective indeed.

THE Iowa Supreme Court has passed favorably upon the constitutionality of the Des Moines charter. Another goal won!

RALPH ALBERTSON.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

BY BRUNO BECKHARD,
Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

Union of Canadian Municipalities.

THE UNION of Canadian Municipalities at its recent meeting placed its attitude on Municipal Ownership on record in the following resolutions:

1. That in the opinion of this convention, as public utilities are so constituted that it is impossible for them to be operated by competition, they should either be controlled and regulated by the government or should be operated by the public, and that they should not, in any event, be left to do as they please.

That municipal ownership should not be extended to revenue-producing industries which do not involve public health, public safety, public transportation or the permanent occupation of public streets and grounds, and similar principles; but that municipal ownership should not be undertaken solely for profit.

2. That in the opinion of this convention all future grants to private companies for the construction and operation of public utilities should be determinable at fixed periods, and that meanwhile, at certain stated times during such period, cities should have the right to

purchase the property for operation, lease or sale, paying its fair value.

That in the future provision be made for a competent public authority with power to require from all public utilities a uniform system of records and accounts, giving all the financial data and all information concerning the quality of service and the cost thereof, such data to be published and distributed as official reports.

3. That in the opinion of this convention no stocks or bonds for public utilities should be issued without the approval of some competent public authority, thus settling the capital by official investigation.

That a standard rate of dividend should be fixed, which may be increased only when the price of the commodity sold or the rate of transportation has been reduced.

4. That in the opinion of this convention, where the management of public utilities is left with private companies, the city should retain in all cases an interest in the growth and profits of the future, either by a share of the profits or a reduction of the charges, the latter being

preferable, as it enures to the benefit of those who use the utilities, while a share of the profits benefits the taxpayers.

5. That in the opinion of this convention, where the operation of the public utilities is by the municipality, there should be a complete separation of the finances of the undertaking from these of the rest of the city, and that the bonds issued for such utilities should be the first charge upon the property and revenue of such undertaking.

These resolutions, it will be noted, are in close correspondence with those formulated by the Committee of the National Civic Federation.

League of American Municipalities.

THE ANNUAL convention of this League at Norfolk in October devoted some time to a discussion of municipal ownership. The principal address upon the subject was a conservative opposition to municipal-ownership and was presented by Edward A. Moffitt, Secretary of the Investigation Committee of the National Civic Federation. His paper was responded to by Messrs. Dunne, Coatsworth, Beardsley and Cooke; and the general impression conveyed was that the majority of members present did not agree with Mr. Moffitt's views. He attributed the advance of municipal-ownership to "emotional prejudice and error in estimating financial results." He did not believe that we had yet achieved in America the "high capacity of municipal government" essential to successful municipal-ownership; not because of a lack in our public officials but because of the absorption of our citizens in their own affairs. The municipal-ownership campaign, he believed, had done much good as a punishment and a warning to public-service corporations, and had been beneficial in bringing out some of the latent powers of our state and city governments in the control of public-service corporations; and in the development of these powers rather than in the removal of public utilities from private control lay the remedy for present objectionable conditions. The profits of private corporations under municipal control were more than offset, he thought, by "the inability of municipal plants to buy supplies, materials, brains or labor as cheaply as private industries."

Ex-Mayor Dunne presented the other side. He said that the friends of municipal-

ownership in this country had insisted only that any enterprise which required necessarily the use of public property and which therefore must be a monopoly should be placed in public hands. To secure the best possible public services at the lowest practicable price, economic law requires: First, that a public service corporation organized to supply a perpetual public need shall have the exclusive right to supply such need perpetually. Secondly, that all accounts shall be honestly and correctly kept; that economic thrift shall be insisted upon in every department, and that charges for the use of these services shall bear a fixed relation to the necessary cost of production. Most governments have erred by placing dependence upon the principle of competition instead of the principle of governmental regulation. For the proper conduct of the latter it is necessary that the State establish a Department of Public Accounting and Inspection. "Under a system of State regulation such as is here advocated, every interest of users, of municipalities, and of the State, will be best served by granting exclusive, perpetual, and untaxed franchises to public-service corporations, which can then render the best obtainable service at the lowest profitable rates, and can satisfy the users of their services that they are doing so.

The discussion showed that the hysterical side of the controversy has passed, that both sides are studying facts and are fixing their attention on a compromise which has already produced excellent results.

Municipal Markets.

It is generally admitted that the cost of living is higher in American cities than it is in Continental cities, largely as a result of our non-interference with respect to the necessities of life, that is, our lack of market regulation. A few of our cities have taken up the question of municipal markets, but with only slight interest. Boston, Baltimore, New Orleans and a number of smaller cities have each established a market system, but none of them has developed it very far.

In Boston the market is in charge of a public official, paid by the fees collected from the marketmen. There is, however, no attempt to regulate or to standardize prices, or to gather statistical data, so that there is now no real advantage to the consumers from the public control of the market. In

Baltimore the system is very much the same. Except for the regulation of the price of stalls the control here is also ineffective. Chicago has no market buildings, simply a market-place. It is, however, the closest market in the country. One can buy almost all products of the soil for less money than anywhere else in America. The city is the fruit market for the world, due chiefly to its railway facilities. New Orleans furnishes the best example of a municipal market. The city operates four markets of its own, which yield \$10,000 a year, and also leases rights for \$186,000. In this instance the city possesses a monopoly and the few private enterprises which exist are under the right of reversion to the city.

All these efforts, however slight, have resulted in good financial gains. Boston nets a profit of \$60,000 a year; Baltimore, about \$50,000; New Orleans, nearly \$79,000. Yet only a very small proportion of our cities have turned to this matter at all, and those that have, have made no adequate provision.

In contrast with this, practically all the municipalities of continental Europe have monopolized the market rights, and the markets are subject to public control; the cities also reserving the right to originate new markets. The cities there are doing what the commission merchant does here. We are constantly threatened with a monopoly of the necessities of life. The object of municipal markets, says E. Thomas, in an article on "Paris Stock Markets," is to get the price of provisions down to the minimum. Continental cities realize that the establishment of a market price is as important as the question of the tariff. The object of the markets is also to insure an established relationship between the city and the country, thereby making direct access to the city more easy for the farming communities.

Paris has by far the best markets in the world. The "Halles Centrales" is the great distributing point for the whole city. There are ten halls of which three whole pavilions and three half-pavilions are devoted to wholesale, the rest to retail trade. The outside space is given to fruits and vegetables. The management of the halls is under the control of the Department of the Seine, but is really under the immediate supervision of the Police. The sales are conducted by persons called representatives of the shippers, appointed by the Police, the middleman's commission being thus avoided. These rep-

resentatives receive a certain per cent., fixed by law, for their services in conducting the sales, which are usually by auction. The books and records of sale are always subject to inspection by the proper authorities. Sanitary conditions are also carefully supervised—in fact every detail is carefully watched, made to produce revenue where possible, or kept from doing harm, where necessary.

Direct dealing between producer and consumer is general. The wholesale dealer sets his price according to that of the market, which is law. The price set in Paris is the price for the surrounding country, and special agents are engaged in reporting the prices to Belgium, Spain, parts of Germany, and other neighboring districts. Some of these agents are working for themselves, the others are appointed by the Board of Trade and must give security for faithful reports, and agree to engage in no other business while in office. They note and report the general business done, and it is from their figure that the price is compiled.

The Paris market is extremely easy of access (more particularly the Paris market price) since all business can be done through one of the representatives. The results from the system are regularity of standards of price and quality, direct exchange for cash, and guaranteed sanitary goods.

In Belgium, Germany and Italy, markets are also either owned or controlled by the cities. London has no central market place. In Convent Garden, however, prices are regulated by Parliament. There is much to be done in the way of markets in our American cities, though the work must proceed cautiously. The market is, from the standpoint of economics and society, a necessity, and the time is near when we will realize this fact. The alternative is a corner in the necessities of life.

Municipal Land Owning.

AT THE eighth annual Housing Congress, held in London in August, Dr. Wilhelm Mewes presented a paper on Municipal Land Owning. Increased population, he says, causes increased land values. Land values depend upon the use to which the land is put as a consequence of the working of the law of supply and demand. Expensive land causes the erection of block dwellings, but such dwellings make the value of the adjoining lands go up. Where the land is

intensively used there are a great many changes in ownership. The government should have a definite policy of land-development, so that it shall profit by this growth. Many German cities own one-third to one-half of their land.

Municipal land may be utilized in different ways; (a) sold, with registered conditions to prevent misuse or excessive speculation, (b) built on by the municipalities themselves, (c) leased to individuals or companies—more particularly to public-service corporations. In town development, three things should be combined: purchase of large tracts, a general plan, and regulated building laws. A tax on exchanges in land or on the unearned increment should be made, to prevent excessive gains from the sale of land.

Swedish Cities.

SWEDISH cities have established beyond doubt or question the advantages of non-partisan municipal government. The town councils are carefully filled by men selected from the different professions, with a view to governing the city in the best interests of all. All the councillors have equal rights and opportunities for discussion. The numerous standing committees are kept in close touch with the people by being given the right to choose their chairmen from the citizens at large. The result is a very live and sensitive body willing to undertake anything that will benefit the city. Not only have they taken over the usual matters of municipal control, the public utilities, but also baths, recreation and educational centers, libraries, social settlements and the like. Some cities even have a public building department. Steps which we consider as reforms have long been matters of course in Swedish cities.

Postal Reform.

THE PROJECTS for a parcels-post and for a postal savings-bank are receiving a new impetus through the energy of Postmaster-General Meyer. He is driving home the absurdity of a parcels-post treaty with foreign countries unaccompanied by a parcels-post at home. The advantages of a postal savings-bank have been ably illustrated by foreign example. Private interests alone have stood in the way of the adoption of the measure here, and Mr. Meyer is rapidly overcoming that prejudice.

Toronto, Canada.

LESS complaints and better service than ever before, an increase in the wages of employes of 10 per cent. to 12 per cent., a saving to the city of \$20 a night, over \$7,000, or nearly 25 per cent., is the record of Toronto's first year of municipal-ownership of its gas plant.

Mobile, Alabama.

BY THE purchase of the Bienville plant the city's Department of Water-Works is in a position to provide for a one-third increase in population. In the one year of operation the net gain to the city has been over \$3,200 on a total revenue of \$80,546. Over 9,500 feet of service mains have been laid and many extensions are planned. The Department is making an inspection of plumbing and water-fixtures to obtain information as to connections, size of houses, etc., as well as to avoid bad plumbing and other sources of leaks which increase the cost of maintenance.

Pasadena, California.

THE REPORT of the city's lighting plant for August shows that the city was furnished with light for the equivalent of 300 16-candle-power lamps for \$1,105.83. At former rates the amount of light used by the municipality would have cost \$2,080. The municipal plant in its second month of operation made a net saving to the taxpayers of \$974.97.

Salt Lake City, Utah.

IN EXCHANGE for the validation, and extension for fifty years, of its 1905 franchise, the Utah Light and Power Company will remove its restrictions of the city's use of Big Cottonwood Creek for power purposes only in connection with municipal utilities and properties, and allow the city to use the power for whatever purpose it wishes. Protest was made when the restriction clause was inserted in the franchise on the ground that it effectually barred the city from ever producing electricity for street lighting or other important uses, and the point is now before the courts. If the new franchise is passed it will validate the lapsed franchise and cause for complaint will cease.

Berlin's Gas Works.

THE GAS-WORKS owned and operated by the city have proved extremely profitable, while the gas turned out is of excellent quality

and is sold to consumers at a price well below the average price in the large cities of America. Instead of a deficit the budget for the present fiscal year shows a surplus of not less than fifteen million marks. The employes of these works are well paid, are insured against accident by the city, and are entitled to a pension after twenty-five years of service.

New York Ferries.

COMPTROLLER METZ of New York has suggested that in order to relieve the crush on the Brooklyn bridge the city should operate a free-for-all ferry between the two boroughs. Ordinarily this would be a very good plan, but at present, in view of the reduction in ferry travel due to the new bridge and to the much greater reduction promised by the new tunnels, to say nothing of the unreasonably high price asked by the ferry company for its franchise, the plan is but an effort to unload on the city at a high price.

Scranton, Pennsylvania.

DESPITE numerous defeats Scranton is waging another campaign for municipal water-works.

Seattle, Washington.

THE Municipal-Ownership Party has given Seattle not only better officials than those of the previous régime, but also better service by both public and private corporations.

A Departmental Departure.

WHAT amounts to a national employment

agency has been established as a bureau of the Department of Commerce and Labor. Mr. Terence V. Powderly, who has charge of this new branch of federal activity is making inquiries as to those in need of workers and those in need of work and is trying to bring the two together. His preliminary figures as to the need for workers are instructive.

Denver, Colorado.

DENVER is taking steps toward the municipalization of its water-works.

Ashland, Wisconsin.

ASHLAND is now in a position to operate its municipal lighting plant, having accepted the proposition of the Chippewa Valley Construction Company to transmit power from Copper Falls.

Dubuque's "Failure."

IT HAS been announced that municipal-ownership in Dubuque is a failure. The city owned its water-works and they steadily ran behind. Finally an investigation was ordered and it was discovered that the superintendent had stolen \$12,000 of the receipts. It appears that there was a regular plan to keep the deficit of the plant constantly increasing so that the municipality would finally be glad to let the plant go at a nominal figure and then the ring was to buy it in. When the precious scheme was unearthed, the ring was ousted, and under honest management the water-works has returned a fair income.

BRUNO BECKHARD.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

BY ROBERT TYSON,

Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

The Oregon Initiative.

UNDER date of Portland, Oregon, October 16, 1907, the following circular letter has been issued:

"Dear Sir:

"We ask your consideration of the constitutional amendments for the recall and permitting proportional representation and major-

ity election, a bill to express the people's intention to choose their United States Senators and the Huntley bill to prevent corrupt practices and put the poor man on a footing of equality with his wealthy rival in aspiring to public office. We hope you may approve of their submission to the people at the election next June by initiative petition,

and that you will unite with us in organizing the People's Power League for that purpose. The whole responsibility for their approval or rejection will then rest upon the people of Oregon.

"We believe the adoption of these measures will result,

"1st. In reducing the influence of money and unreasoning party prejudice to their lowest terms in the politics of Oregon;

"2d. Will exalt the influence of intelligence and reason above all other powers in the elections in this state;

"3d. Will allow the enactment of laws under which our officers will be chosen by actual majorities for single offices and equal proportions of the voters for representative offices;

"4th. Will practically complete the necessary means for the direct, quick and effective control by the people of all their state and local officers and government.

"Among the men to whom we are sending this letter are many who served in the campaigns for the Australian Ballot, the Bingham Registration Law, Initiative and Referendum amendments to the constitution, Direct Primary Nominating Elections Law, Home Rule for Cities and measures of the People's Power League of 1906. It has been a twenty years' contest against Boss-Rule and Machine Politics, and when these measures are approved by the People we believe their victory will be complete and permanent. Otherwise it seems to us that resurrection of government by political Bosses and Machines is still possible. We expect it will cost the League about three thousand dollars to submit these measures.

"Your criticism, suggestions and aid are earnestly solicited.

"Sincerely yours for the best government.

"Jonathan Bourne, Jr., (by authority);
Earl C. Bronough, Jerry Bronough, W. C. Bristol, Lee M. Clark, H. W. Drew, C. H. Gram, Thomas G. Green, Clyde G. Huntley, J. E. Hedges, V. R. Hyde, G. W. Holcomb, Harry Lane, T. M. Leabo, T. A. McBride, Henry E. McGinn, E. S. J. McAllister, F. McKercher, P. McDonald, G. M. Orton, B. Lee Paget, C. Schuebel, Ben Selling, Alex. Sweek, C. E. S. Wood, Frank Williams, W. S. U'Ren, John C. Young."

Accompanying this is a pamphlet of 32 pages, containing the introductory statements

and draft of the two Constitutional Amendments and the two laws referred to in the circular. Following is the text of the Proportional-Representation amendment:

"Proposed Amendment to the Constitution of Oregon to permit the Enactment of Laws for Proportional Representation and Majority Nominations and Elections.

"Section 16 of Article II. of the Constitution of the State of Oregon shall be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"*Article II.*—Section 16. In all elections authorized by this constitution, until otherwise provided by law, the person or persons receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected, but provision may be made by law for election by equal proportional representation of all the voters for every office which is filled by the election of two or more persons whose official duties, rights and powers are equal and concurrent. Every qualified elector resident in his precinct and registered as may be required by law, may vote for one person under the title for each office. Provision may be made by law for the voter's direct or indirect expression of his first second or additional choices among the candidates for any office. For an office which is filled by the election of one person it may be required by law that the person elected shall be the final choice of a majority of the electors voting for candidates for that office. These principles may be applied by law to nominations by political parties and organizations."

As originally drafted, the amendment was longer, and was followed by a schedule providing for the Gove system of Proportional and Preferential Voting. But on more mature consideration it was decided to omit the schedule and leave the details to subsequent legislation, with one important exception, namely, that the Amendment limits each elector to a single vote. This would introduce at a stroke an approximately proportional plan, because Oregon has multiple electoral districts. Then subsequent legislation could improve this plan into the Gove system or the Single Vote Free List, and make any desired change in the size of the electoral districts, by enlargement or otherwise.

The foregoing is not the final draft, but any further changes will only be slight verbal improvements.

A decided source of strength to the Proportional Representation Amendment is that it is launched in such good company as that of the

other three measures mentioned in the circular. The law providing for the People's Selection of United States Senator is so short that I quote it here in full.

"PEOPLE'S SELECTION UNITED STATES SENATOR. A Bill for a law to instruct the members of the Legislative Assembly to vote for and elect the people's choice for United States Senator from Oregon.

"Be it enacted by the people of the State of Oregon:

"Section 1. That we, the people of the State of Oregon, hereby instruct our representatives and senators in our legislative assembly, as such officers, to vote for and elect the candidates for United States Senator from this State who receive the highest number of votes at our general elections."

The French Situation.

THE POSITION of affairs in France is as follows:

The question of Proportional Representation was referred to the parliamentary commission on universal suffrage, and that body has reported in favor of a bill prepared by M. Etienne Flandin, providing for Proportional Representation in French parliamentary elections. The main features of this bill are as follows:

Each department is one electoral district, from which is elected a member of the Chamber of Deputies for each 75,000 inhabitants, unless this means more than ten deputies, in which case the department is divided into electoral districts.

The names of candidates are printed on the ballot of party lists. Each elector has as many votes as there are seats to be filled in his district with power to cumulate his votes as he pleases.

The d'Hondt quota is used. Seats are assigned to the parties and individuals in the way usual with free-list plans.

Substitutes are provided for, if needed, by filling vacancies from unsuccessful candidates of the party in which the vacancy occurs.

Considerable difference of opinion appears to exist as to detail, and several counter propositions have been made and published in *Le Proportionnaliste*. The main point in controversy is panache or no panache: that is, shall the elector be allowed to "scratch his ticket?"

The grave events in the south of France have had the effect of directing public opinion favorably towards electoral reform, and that reform means *la représentation proportionnelle*.

Some very successful demonstrations in favor of Proportional Representation have taken place. The Electoral Reform group comprises about 250 members of the Chamber of Deputies.

Last summer the municipal council of Paris appointed a commission to consider and report upon a reorganization of the municipal electoral system of that great city. The commission has completed its report, which unanimously recommends that the one hundred members of the Paris municipal council be elected by Proportional Representation in multiple electoral districts, electing members varying in number from four to nine. This report is to be considered at the November session.

The foregoing news is condensed from *Le Proportionnaliste*, the Roubaix quarterly. Its coming January issue will probably contain some important news, including the way in which the Paris report was dealt with.

Austria.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION has been partially introduced into the elections of the Diet of the Province of Moravia, which consists of 149 members, elected by five distinct classes of electors. Thirty-six of these members are elected by the Hare system of Proportional Representation. Thirty of them represent the large landed proprietors, and the remaining six the chambers of commerce at Brinn and Olmutz. The first election was held in December, 1906.

This information comes from the British Blue Book, and is given by Mr. Richard Seymour, a member of the British legation at Vienna.

Germany.

MR. FAIRFAX L. CARTWRIGHT, in reporting to Earl Grey concerning Bavaria and Wurtemberg, states that the following elections are to be conducted by a system of Proportional Representation, not stating what system:

For the Artisans' Arbitration Courts of the town of Munich.

For the Diet of Wurtemberg, twenty-three members.

Municipal elections in Wurtemberg in towns above 10,000 inhabitants.

Count Hohenhausen has introduced into the Legislature of Saxony a project of law providing for the election by Proportional Representation of the members of that body—the Saxon "Landtag."

Australia.

THE Hon. J. H. Keating has been reelected a senator from Tasmania for a second term of three years. Since his election he has been appointed minister for home affairs in the Commonwealth Government. Amongst the government measures to be submitted at the ensuing session of the Australian parliament is a

bill introducing the system of Preferential Voting at elections for the Senate and House of representatives. Senator Keating has kindly promised to send me a copy of the bill as finally passed, which it no doubt will be.

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

NEWS OF INDUSTRIAL COÖPERATION.

By HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON,
Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

Sargent, Minnesota.

THE Right-Relationship League reports some interesting incidents in connection with the organization of a coöperative store at Sargent, in the southern part of Minnesota. There has for some time been a desire on the part of the people there for a store of their own, and at last Mr. H. F. Kezar, a prominent and well-to-do farmer and director in the local bank, started the organization of a store. He secured twenty-seven subscribers on the common joint-stock-company, unequally-owned plan, and they were about to complete their organization on this plan when an officer of the Right-Relationship League, on hearing of this movement held a consultation with the leaders and persuaded them to organize under the rules of the League, which gave them a truly coöperative organization. A meeting was called of the would-be stockholders which Mr. Tousley, secretary of the League, was invited to address. As evidence of the truly ardent interest taken in the coöperative movement by these hearty Western farmers, Mr. Tousley relates the following incident: "I made an error in looking up the time of my train and so could not arrive at the meeting except by going to Hayfield, arriving there at 9:30 P. M., and then driving to Sargent, a distance of eight miles. I first telephoned from Minneapolis and asked whether the meeting would await my arrival. Receiving a favorable answer I took the train and on arriving at Hayfield I again telephoned, as the train was nearly one hour late, and received the reply that they were all waiting for me to come. I made the eight-mile drive and began talking coöperation to this group of loyal farmers at 11

P. M. It was two o'clock in the morning before the meeting adjourned and yet nearly every person remained to the end."

They now have 37 subscribers, and this is the third store in the Dodge County Coöperative Company.

Another store has been organized at Mason, Minnesota, which is in the Le Sueur County Coöperative Company.

Aurelia, Iowa.

THE Farmers' Elevator Company at Aurelia, Iowa, is one of the best equipped in the state, and it is getting three-fourths of all the grain shipped from this point although there are over 250 farmers who market their grain at Aurelia, and but one hundred and thirty members belong to this company.

During the winter of 1906 the farmers began to ship their grain individually because of the unsatisfactory treatment they were receiving at the hands of the Line elevator people. They found this to be more profitable to them, even allowing for the extra expense incurred in making individual shipments. Finally in the latter part of January, 1907, a call to organize a coöperative elevator company was sent out to the neighboring farmers. About 100 farmers responded and \$5,000 was subscribed at the first meeting, which was raised to \$7,000 before the week was over. After organizing they tried to purchase one of the local elevators already established at that town, but none of them were willing to sell, so application was made to the Illinois Central Railroad for a site upon which to build an elevator and after waiting two months for an answer they appealed to the State Board of Railway Commissioners.

After a delay of another month they sent a committee to Des Moines to ascertain the cause of such procrastination, and they soon learned that certain members of the Board of Railroad Commissioners cared more for the interests of the three members of the Iowa Grain Dealers' Association who were doing business in Aurelia than for the interests of the 150 farmers who were interested in the Farmers' Elevator Company. After obtaining the aid of a Commissioner who was favorable to the coöperative movement, the Attorney General, the State Binder and Governor Cummins, they succeeded in securing a site for the elevator, which has a capacity of 40,000 bushels and has been handling grain since the 16th of July.

A Co-operating Family.

IN THE suburbs of Indianapolis there is a family of nine brothers and sisters who form a sort of coöperative colony among themselves. When their father, Nicholas Jose, died nine years ago, leaving them a small tract of land on the outskirts of Indianapolis, they decided to divide it among themselves, and each one of them built a cottage, the grounds being laid out with special regard to the general effect. A year or so later one of the women of the little colony persuaded the others to try running a dining-hall and kitchen coöperatively. A large dining-room and kitchen, with quarters above for the servants, was built in the central portion of the lot, and here the whole family with children of all ages gather daily for their three meals.

The plan is conducted on strict business principles and there is a president and secretary to look after the financial interests. Each member of the household is charged with so much per capita, and guests are charged to the family who invites them. Absence does not permit a rebate except when it amounts to three times running.

Each family has its own dining table, so that their living coöperatively in no way interferes with the separate home-life of the various members. The managing and the marketing is divided among the women of the family, and each in turn a month at a time has charge of that department.

The friendly rivalry that exists between the women to see which one shall be the best manager brings into the dining-room the best that the market affords, and the rivalry between the men shows in their endeavor to keep the surrounding lawns beautiful.

Richards, Iowa

THE Farmers' Elevator Company at Richards, Iowa, has been organized a little over a year, and since its start it has been very successful. It has 102 stockholders among the best farmers of the country. The elevator was completed at a cost of \$3,700, and ready to receive grain on December 5, 1906. A corn crib and coal house were built later. The grain, coal and twine handled to July 1, 1907, were as follows: 48,413 bushels of corn handled at a profit of \$811, 50,000 bushels of oats handled at a profit of \$6.630 and, 9,900 pounds of twine handled at a profit of \$85.85.

Cincinnati Tobacco Factory.

THE People's Coöperative Cigar and Tobacco Company of 1504 Elm street, Cincinnati, Ohio, began the manufacturing of cigars, etc., in October. The company has twenty-two working members at present and an increase is expected. The company was formed several weeks ago, its stockholders including several druggists and saloon-keepers.

Selma, California.

THE Selma Rochdale Company of Selma, California, is in a most prosperous condition. Manager Byrnes states that they have 153 members, and that their sales are now averaging \$250 per day, or about \$7,000 a month.

Charles City, Iowa.

THE Farmers' Coöperative Elevator Company of Charles City, Iowa, has been trying since May 15, 1907, to get a site on the Illinois Central Railroad for their coal sheds. For some time the railroad advanced plausible excuses for their delay in granting the land requested, but on July 7th they refused outright to make the grant. The Elevator Company applied to the Iowa Board of Railroad Commissioners, and on October 5th they handed down their decision instructing the railroad to comply with the request of the Farmers' Elevator Company, and designating the land to be given them, but as yet the manager of the Elevator Company cannot get the railroad to get the land ready for their sheds.

Co-operative University Courses.

THE University of Cincinnati is offering what it designates as coöperative courses in engineering. This work has been carefully planned by Mr. Hermann Schneider, and the classes are so arranged that the student,

taking the course work alternate weeks in the engineering college of the University and at the manufacturing shops of the city. The whole is a six years' course, and the work is carefully mapped out under the supervision of the Dean of the Engineering College. The students are paid for their services, their total earnings in the six years amounting to about \$2,000.

Attleboro Jewelry Association.

THE MANUFACTURING jewelry association known as the R. F. Simmons Company of Attleboro, Massachusetts, have for five years, had a system of coöperative profit-sharing in operation in their factory, and have found it very successful, not as a work of philanthropy but as a purely business proposition. The employes are more steady, there has been a noticeable increase in production, and moreover a friendly coöperative spirit pervades the shops.

Superior Stevedore Association.

A MOST successful coöperative association, which has existed for a number of years, has just been reported to the public. It is the Superior Stevedore Association of Superior, Wisconsin, and is the only coöperative employment association in America, though there are numbers of these associations in various foreign countries, notably in New Zealand. The society was organized over eight years ago for the purpose of taking charge of the loading and unloading of the vessels and cars at the Great Northern freight warehouses in Superior, Wisconsin. There was formerly a great deal of trouble over strikes and the inability of contractors to carry out their contracts. This state of affairs continued until the coöperative organization was made. The company consists of the old-time workmen at the docks, and they run affairs and employ the men. They are hired at the same rate as the other men and whatever profit accrues is divided among the members of the association. The hourly wage started at 20 cents, was later raised at 27½ cents, and the society has been so successful that they are now paying 32½ cents an hour for night labor and 30 cents for day work.

Co-operative Amusement.

One of the most novel coöperative enterprises yet reported is about to be started at Rockaway Beach, New York. The residents

of the place propose to establish and operate a sensational amusement of some rare and untried sort, the exact character of which cannot be described, until one tries it. The proceeds are to be divided partly among the subscribers after the expenses are paid and partly to the inventors of the device.

Cornell Society.

THE Cornell Coöperative Society, which conducts a student's store, has declared a dividend of 8 per cent. on last year's business. It is announced that hereafter not only members of the society but all university purchasers will share in the profits.

Persian Co-operative Association.

ONE OF the American Consuls in Persia writes of the formation of an American Citizen's Coöperative Association in Persia. He suggests a market for American shoes and plows particularly. The name of the president of the association is on file with the Bureau of Manufactures in Washington.

An English Garden City.

GARDEN CITY at Letchworth, England, where an attempt is being made to establish model homes for working people, has an interesting plan for making coöperative housekeeping possible. Several houses are to be built around three sides of a quadrilateral, each house separate except that there will be a common dining hall. This house with the servant's quarter will be in a central building, connected with each house by a roofed clozier. Meals may be eaten in the common dining-room or for a small extra charge, may be served in the separate houses. The rent of the houses is to be from \$100 to \$225 a year. A special place may be provided for musical practice so that the non-musical tenants may be freed from annoyance, and there will be restrictions on pets, but none on children, for whom a separate playground with all modern improvements will be provided. It is said that there is little doubt but that the coöperative plan will pay, as already there have been a great number of applications for houses.

Sidney, Australia.

A CO-OPERATIVE coal-mining company has been organized among the striking miners of Sydney, Australia, with a capital of \$75,000, divided into 30,000 shares of \$2.50 each.

HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

REV. R. J. CAMPBELL AND THE NEW THEOLOGY.*

A BOOK STUDY.

By B. O. FLOWER

LAST month we reviewed at length the luminous and profoundly scholarly work of Professor Otto Pfleiderer on *Religion and Historic Faiths*, in which the great leader of higher criticism in Germany outlined the religious concepts of the new theological movement which promises to do so much toward bringing about a genuine spiritual renaissance within the pale of orthodox Protestantism. This month we wish to call the attention of our readers to the latest work by the Rev. R. J. Campbell, of the City Temple, London, the leader of the New Theology in Great Britain.

Certain things mark the writings of the leaders of this movement which were very conspicuous in the teachings of the Great Nazarene, especially when contrasted with the conventional or accepted theology of His time. Here, as with the great Master, we find allegiance to the spirit that maketh alive rather than to the letter that killeth; a passion for truth overmastering the bondage of tradition, liberating the spirit from the prison-house of fear and making it so robust of faith that it dares look every truth squarely in the face, knowing that all truth is of God and that the volume of Nature contains the story of the Creator's handiwork, a companion revelation to that which has come from the spiritual founts of enlightenment in capital ages; knowing that every added truth, instead of imperilling the vital Divine Word, merely removes some veil-like shroud, that the heart of the message may be revealed to an age ready for what they of an earlier day could not comprehend save by means of illustrations, parables or illuminating allegories. Wedded to this passion for truth which is one of the most striking characteristics of the leaders of the spiritual renaissance now dawning, and which was so conspicuous in the teachings of Jesus that he was constantly charged with blasphemy and faithless-

ness to what the Pharisees and strict constructionists or worshipers of the letter regarded as essential in their religion, we find an enthusiasm for humanity, a love for the people, an allegiance to the idea of justice and righteousness, together with a recognition of the law of solidarity which was so impressively taught by the Nazarene when he insisted on the common Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man,—the recognition of a Deity whose essence was love, whose relation was that of a tender parent and who would have His children all one family, all co-workers, bound together by a common interest, the love of brothers.

It is indeed good to hear again the brave plea for social justice ringing from the pulpit as it comes from the pastor of the City Temple of London, when he tells his hearers that if the church "were true to her Master's mind, she could have no truce with a social order in which the weak have to go to the wall and cruelty and oppression are inevitable." And again: "Coöperation must replace competition; brotherhood must replace individualism; the weakest (morally and physically) must be the objects of the tenderest care which the community can show; selfishness must be driven out by love. This is the whole Christian program; nothing less than this represents the mind of Jesus, and nothing other than this ought ever to have been preached in His name. It is quite simple and clear, and yet it is plain to all the world that the Church has somehow got so far away from it that the masses of the people have ceased to understand that she ever held it."

This recognition of the law of solidarity and enthusiasm for humanity, wedded to unwavering faith and moral courage that is born of worship of the spirit rather than of the letter not only mark the new spiritual movement, but, being instinct with the religious power that characterized the life and work of Jesus and which dominated the

*New Theology Sermons. By Rev. R. J. Campbell. M. A. Closh. Pp. 294. Price \$1.25 net. New York: The MacMillan Company.

early church, promise great things for individual upliftment and the early triumph of a social order that shall recognize the interdependence of the units in the social organism and understand that that which lifts one exalts all, and that which harms one injures all.

How different in its appeal to the reason and spiritual perceptions is the growing insistence of Mr. Campbell on the social duty of the church from the pharisaical casuistry of those who claim to be ministers of the Christian religion and yet whose desire for material wealth that shall make the church appear great, leads them to accept tainted gold and apologize for their recreancy to the moral standard set up by their Master. The well spring of action in the one case is spiritual life or moral idealism; in the other it is the dominance of materialism, unconscious, perhaps, but none the less real. It is the belief that the power of gold, no matter from what polluted source it comes, can make the church greater and more powerful than fearless allegiance to austere morality and spiritual idealism. To hold such belief is to confess that materialism is greater than the spiritual verities that are the soul of religion.

But enthusiasm for humanity is only one aspect of the new theology movement. Here we have courage and faith that dares to think and reason.

"The conventional exchatology of the Churches is both incoherent and untrue," says Mr. Campbell. "It is so because in reality it takes for granted a view of the structure of the universe which no one believes or can believe to-day, and tries to square this view with the facts of life as we know it—a perfectly hopeless task."

The apostles of the higher criticism are children of faith,—that rugged, sturdy faith that dares to think, to search for the truth, to fearlessly and candidly face every new problem, to freely use God's great gift to man, his reason. These scholars know that modern research and the investigations of the civilizations preceding, contemporary with and immediately subsequent to the founding of the Christian religion have greatly enlarged the borders of human knowledge. They also know that the comparative study of the great historic faiths that have influenced the thought of earth's millions in various ages since the dawn of civilization has opened up new vistas of truth, rich in suggestive lessons

for those who dare to use their reasoning powers; and finally, they know that every new page turned in the great volume of Nature reveals another lesson writ by the Divine Architect and Creator for the instruction of His children, be it found in the strata of the earth, in the unfolding of life of the plant world, in the upward striving of animal creation, or in the limitless ether where swing the shining lamps of God—the unnumbered suns and worlds. And in the presence of all these things the higher critic goes forth with heart thrilling and exulting with the joy of a man who feels he is entering a new world of truth.

The wealth of facts brought to light by modern research shows him, however, that much was held to be inspired truth in ages when man's knowledge was necessarily very limited, must be given up. He remembers how the church fought the Copernican theory and how poor Galileo was imprisoned and compelled to deny what he knew to be the truth, because the church held that the new truth was contradicted by the positive statements of the Bible. Moreover, he understands that much truth that was given in earlier days came to man at a time when the millions were not sufficiently enlightened to receive the truth save by story, object-lesson, parable or allegory. Thus he comes to understand that many of the wonder-stories of the Bible are parables, allegories or myths which clothe vital truths but which cannot be accepted as literal facts in the light of the wider knowledge of our time. But he is not disconcerted, for he knows that the frank recognition of the facts, instead of sweeping away the temple of Eternal Truth, merely removes the scaffolding that was once necessary but is now a screen that hides the glorious edifice. Behind the allegory, myth or parable, lie the edifice great eternal spiritual truths that are redemptive in character. And this new concept that is the fruit of rugged faith and truth-seeking reason brings a great new joy into the heart, lighting again the candles of moral enthusiasm and spiritual fervor on the altars of the soul. To these men man's increase of knowledge resultant from the advance of physical science, archeological investigation and historical and critical research relating to the past, have served to lift the soul to a higher eminence from which religion and man's duty appear more beautiful and clearly defined than ever before. The new concept,

that come with the broadened vision are higher and finer than the old ideals, just as the teachings of Jesus were broader, freer and truer than the narrow teachings of the Mosaic dispensation.

In speaking of the essential mission of the church, Mr. Campbell, voicing the ideal of the apostles of the new theology, says:

"What we have now to make plain to the world is that as Christianity is the gospel of the Kingdom of God—that is, the glad tidings of the reign of love—salvation must consist in ceasing to be selfish and being filled instead with the spirit of Christ. The reason for trying to establish the Kingdom of God here is that humanity is one and immortal, and must make a beginning somewhere if it is to fulfil its destiny in accordance with the will of God. There is no absolute dividing line between the hither and the yonder; life also is one, and if a man leaves this world ignorant and debased, ignorant and debased he will begin on the farther side of death. The object of the Christian evangel is to turn every selfish being into a loving being, every sinner into a saviour, in order that the Kingdom of God may be fully realized."

The twenty chapters of this volume present in a clear and earnest manner the leading points that differentiate the new theology from the older dogmas. The spirit is broad and tolerant throughout. Rarely, indeed, do we find a religious work that deals with doctrines that is so free from the bitterness and rancor, the aggressive assertiveness and the militant spirit, that are supposed to be present in controversial theological writings; and though the claims of the apostles of higher criticism are admirably set forth, it is done in such a manner as to make the doctrinal theories subordinate to the spiritual message as it relates to the life that now is. The whole work is a prophet's high appeal to the highest and best in man; an appeal to tread out the weeds of selfishness and immorality, that the flowers of the spirit may grow in the beauty of perfection; to live the life of the Nazarene, and thus move Godward as step by step man advances toward the morning land of the soul.

Here we have an admirable exposition of the newer and, we think, higher concept of the Atonement,—an explanation that does not affront the reason or outrage the sense of justice. Here, too, our author shows how the higher critics of the orthodox churches

view Jesus. He is the Divine Man, but not after the flesh. He calls our attention to the teachings of the Græco-Jewish philosophical school of Alexandria, which antedated the Gospel of John in which the theory of the Divine Man or the Logos was advanced,—a theory with which Paul no less than the Johannine writers was familiar. These facts, so necessary to an intelligent understanding of the position of the higher critics, are briefly but very intelligently presented. The following passage dealing with the influence of Grecian thought on the mind of Paul, and of the Græco-Jewish concepts of the Divine Man, will serve to illustrate the author's method of presenting his doctrinal views in a work dealing chiefly with the spiritual verities that make for a true and useful life.

"I think if I were to take out of St. Paul's Epistles every citation from a Greek master it would occasion some of you a certain amount of surprise to realize the extent of his indebtedness to Greek thinkers no less than to his own Jewish teachers. For centuries before the Roman conquest of Asia Minor Palestine had formed a part of the Syria-Greek dominion of the Ptolemies, and it was at one time a question whether Jewish civilization, and even Jewish religion, would not be permanently assimilated to Greek models. It was to prevent that, in fact, that a century and a half before Jesus was born the great national insurrection of the Maccabees took place. At this very moment, too, a great Græco-Jewish intellectual center had grown up in the city of Alexandria, where one of the most eminent of ancient thinkers, Philo, a contemporary of Jesus, taught a doctrine in which something like the theory of the Divine Man was worked out and made the keystone of the system. There was, too, in existence at this time a vast apocalyptic literature, only one perfect specimen of which has come down to us—I mean the Book of Daniel. This book seems to have been written either immediately before or during the Maccabean insurrection, to hearten the people of Israel against their oppressors. There is one remarkable allusion in that book to the contemporary belief in the existence of the arch-typal Divine Man—you know the passage I mean. It is that wherein we are told that Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego were cast into the burning fiery furnace because they refused to worship the image which Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up. The

whole story is, of course, figurative, parabolic, but it is told with intense dramatic power. The tyrant inquires, 'Did we not cast three men bound into the midst of the fire? . . . Behold, I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt; and the form of the fourth is like a son of God.' Here is a distinct allusion to this Græco-Jewish conception of the Divine Man, who is author and architect of all that is in this wonderful universe of ours. I say that St. Paul was no stranger to this idea, which, indeed, colors all his thinking. It lends him inspiration for his great and noble work, for to him the Divine Man was Jesus, or perhaps it would be better to say that the one perfect incarnation of the Divine Man on earth was Jesus. St. Paul regarded this as the greatest discovery of his life. He never tried to smooth away all the inconsistencies or obscurities of his mode of presenting this truth to his converts. He took it for granted. He preached it in season and out of season."

But, as we have observed, the controversial is subordinated to the practical ethics or the spiritual message that glows in the light and warmth of the living truth on every page. Here are a few passages from the chapter in which our author considers the thought of St. Paul when he says, "To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain."

"The life that Jesus lived, he maintained, is the life that we ought all to seek to live. It is the life that God has meant for us; that is, we too ought to manifest the Divine Man. We already belong to Him, but to realize that fact and to live in the spirit of it is to escape from the bondage of sin and dread, and to live the life that is eternal. This is what this great man means by the saying, 'To me to live is Christ.' He means that the true life for any man to live is the life that manifests the divine manhood from which we came forth and unto which, by the victory of redeeming love, we shall return.

"I believe that we are living now at the heart of things, only we do not realize it. The being of God is a circle with its center everywhere and its circumference nowhere. Everywhere is here. Everywhen is now. Life is not a matter of hither and yonder, but of higher and lower. We are here to manifest, against the dark background of limitation, the nature of the Divine Man.

There is no other way of manifesting Him. To manifest Christ perfectly in a world that had never known pain or struggle would be impossible. . . . Every loving thought and deed knits us in closer and ever closer fellowship to the eternal truth. Conversely, every selfish, material desire blinds us to that truth. Every act of sin prepares its own hell, and there can be no escaping it, for God is not mocked.

'I sent my soul through the Invisible,
Some letter of that After-life to spell;
And by-and-by my Soul returned to me,
And whispered, "I myself am Heaven and Hell."

"Faith in Christ is faith in love, the love of man wedded to the love of God. Nothing in the long run can prevail against that love in this world or the next. It makes hell; it is heaven. I believe that the mere crossing of the mysterious gulf called physical death matters very little. It only means a change of lights. The wicked man finds that he has been living by false values, and the good man finds how much more has yet to be learned and how many richer depths of the divine nature are yet to be plumbed. One thing we shall all find, and that is that the truest life is the life that Jesus lived. That is the eternal life, whether here or beyond, this side or the father side of the tomb."

"The Risen Christ" is the title of a chapter very rich in spiritual truth, the following extracts from which will give some idea of the author's thought:

"Let Christ rise in victory over all the forces of harm and hate, and this world would be heaven, for heaven is only the perfect expression of eternal love. Is it not beautifully simple? And can you not feel that it is grandly true? Jesus lived and died for it, and those who love and believe in Him must go on doing the same until the world is filled with all the fullness of God.

"I believe the day will come when men will recognize the universe to be wholly spiritual. The veil which separates seen from unseen will be taken away, and mortality shall be swallowed up of life. . . . As soon as this world has become the expression of perfect and eternal love the so-called material will melt into the spiritual, and death will be no more. This New Testament idea is based upon a perception which I feel must be the fundamental truth about the universe of God.

"Now let me try to show you the way in which you and I stand related to this truth. Remember that the one great thing demonstrated by the resurrection of Jesus was that evil has no power to harm a child of God. It may make him suffer for a little while, but it can do nothing to diminish the moral power of his life. In so far as your life is a manifestation of the spirit of Christ it will rise triumphant over the cross and tomb.

"If ever any of you young men feel tempted to take the side of the strong against the weak, forbear! Things are not what they seem. Weakness in union with love and loyalty to truth is strength, although the world may not know it for the moment. Never play the coward's part; you would never dream of doing so if you could see life as it really is. Believe me, the highest is not only the true but the strong; and you will be held to account for whatever use you make of the vision God grants you."

One is tempted to quote far beyond the limits of a review, and space forbids our

making further extended quotations. The chapters, however, dealing with "The Resurrection Power," "The Ever-Present Christ," "Sin and Salvation," "From Death to Life," "The Atoning Will," "The Mistake of Sin," "Love Destroying and Restoring," "The Cleansing Life," "The Angel of the Soul," "Believing Prayer," and "Sweetening the Waters of Marah" are rich in vital spiritual messages that will appeal with great force to the heart in search of truth. We close this review with a brief gem from the chapter on "Sweetening the Waters of Marah":

"Life is one long miracle to the child of God. Everything is made to contribute to the upbuilding of the soul if we only expect it. It is foolish to think that we are meant to go on drinking the waters of bitterness when they might become the gushing fountains of eternal life. It is difficult to know how to put the case strongly enough, but suppose we try to do it this way: God is eternal life, love and joy. These things are the heritage of His people, and we ought to claim them."

B. O. FLOWER.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

Robert Owen: A Biography. By Frank Podmore. With 44 Illustrations and two photogravure plates. Cloth. Two volumes. Pp. 686. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

IT IS impossible even approximately to estimate the debt which civilization owes to Rousseau, Montesquieu, Diderot and other advanced thinkers of the France of the eighteenth century. Their thought largely shaped the ideas of men like Jefferson and Franklin, who later were to play master parts in the formation of the greatest democratic republic known to history. It made inevitable the overthrow of the rotten French monarchy with its heartless throne, aristocracy and priestly class; it reawakened the liberal aspirations and ideals of England; and, finally, it led to far more than even the great political upheaval and emancipation which marked the dawn of the age of democracy.

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

The thought of Rousseau and his disciples and comrade spirits was the germinal influence that fostered the revolutionary advance in education and humanitarian reforms; while their theories, scattered broadcast during the eighteenth century, awakened the new social ideals that later led to coöperative movements, to a union of industrial forces and to the early socialistic movements, such as that led by Robert Owen.

These thoughts were suggested by reading Mr. Frank Podmore's extensive and very impartial life of Robert Owen which has recently appeared. Mr. Owen when a lad became an omnivorous reader, and though he seemed unconscious of the fact, the germinal ideas of the great French thinkers, that bore fruit in almost every liberal author's work that wrote on politics, education, religion, and social or economic conditions after the American and French revolutions, fell into the fallow soil of his fertile imagination and active brain, later to bear fruit in his broadly humanistic and just work in the

New Lanark mills, in his model school, and in his many innovations looking toward emancipating the toilers from age-long bondage, broadening the mental horizon of the people and hastening the era in which peace, good-will and to social justice should prevail.

Robert Owen's life was far more germinal and productive in influence and character than appears from a superficial study of the same, though no one familiar with his work at New Lanark and his subsequent labors in England can fail to be impressed with the tremendous influence which he exerted in many directions. He may be called the father of the advanced and rational educational movement in England. He was also in a large way one of the promoting spirits of the coöperative movement which was later started at Rochdale and which has grown to be one of the greatest economic advance movements of our time. He was a master spirit in bringing the workers together and in organizing the movement that found florescence in the great labor union organizations of later date. He was also a John the Baptist of modern socialism, doing pricesely the kind of educational work that prepared economic investigators and thinkers to accept a clear-cut and well wrought out philosophy such as that written by Karl Marx while he was an exile in London. His American experiment at New Harmony, Indiana, was foredoomed to failure owing to a combination of circumstances and facts, and that failure impaired the influence of Mr. Owen in England; while his early liberal religious views, which antagonized many churchmen who otherwise would have been with him in carrying forward his educational and social innovations, were far more palatable to the people in general than those he later entertained, in which he frankly accepted the spiritualistic hypothesis and advocated the claims of modern spiritualism. He was a pioneer among the great thinkers of the nineteenth century who accepted spiritualism, and he arrived at the same conclusions which later were reached by Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, Sir William Crookes, Camille Flammarion and Cesare Lombroso. When Owen accepted this philosophy, however, those who declared in its favor were everywhere the targets for abuse and ridicule, and very often they were socially ostracized and in every possible manner discredited. It is not strange, therefore, that Owen's insistence on

what he believed to be a great religious truth which would potentially elevate and transform society served to weaken his influence in social and educational fields during the closing years of his life,—a life that was very rich in interest and suggestive lessons and which in a large way embraced much of the vital social, economic and political history of the England of his day.

Mr. Podmore has aimed to give the reader a strictly fair and unbiassed biography, and in this attempt he has succeeded far better than have most biographical writers of modern times. The work is an extremely valuable contribution to the literature of the social and educational advance movement that arose as a complement to the political advance born of the era of democracy.

The social and economic movements that Mr. Owen was so largely instrumental in organizing in the England and America of his day are advancing with accelerated speed. Men are coming to see more and more clearly that democratic government means political emancipation, but so long as there is no industrial emancipation the freedom that was the dream of the fathers of the movement for equality of opportunities and of rights is impossible of realization. Hence they are calling for the complementing of political freedom by industrial freedom, or the abolition of privilege through which the few exploit and enslave the many.

This work comprises two large volumes, is handsomely gotten up and richly illustrated. It is a book that social reformers should possess.

Abraham Lincoln. By Robert G. Ingersoll. Cloth. Pp. 100. Price 75 cents net, postage 10 cents. New York: John Lane Company.

THE NINETEENTH century has given us few such fine specimens of forensic oratory as Robert G. Ingersoll's great lectures on Abraham Lincoln and William Shakespeare. The first of these masterpieces has just appeared from the press of the John Lane Company in a neat cloth-bound volume of one hundred pages. It is something that all young Americans should read. We are far enough now from the passion and prejudice of the Civil War to be able to be just and judicial in viewing the heroic men on both sides of that great struggle; and looking back from the vantage-ground of almost half a

century, we see two figures whose fame grows with the vanishing years: Abraham Lincoln, the great-hearted, simple, sincere and wisely just statesman; and Robert E. Lee, the great southern general who followed the dictates of his conscience and strove nobly and with that degree of honor, courage and manhood that marks the true hero, to win victory for the people to whom he believed he owed first allegiance.

Colonel Ingersoll's lecture on Lincoln is one of the finest and most just tributes that has been offered to the memory of the Great Emancipator. It is an American classic, but it is far more. It contains the high idealism that the life of Lincoln should inspire in his eulogists and which cannot fail to infect the imagination and influence helpfully every one who reads it.

We sincerely trust that this house will soon bring out Colonel Ingersoll's companion lecture on William Shakespeare. Since the death of Colonel Ingersoll this great lecture has not gained anything like the general circulation that it merits.

Foundations of Expression. By S. S. Curry, Ph.D., Litt.D. Cloth. Pp. 320. Boston: The Expression Company.

WE KNOW of no writer on things relating to voice culture, the art of expression and the development of the organs of speech, so necessary to public speaking, reading and dramatic interpretation, who possesses in so great a degree the interior vision, the deep, penetrating insight so necessary to a masterly and luminous exposition of the subject, as does Professor Curry. He is a thinker who goes to the foundation of the subject under consideration and seizes on the basic principles and applies them in a clear and easily understandable manner. Many writers and teachers of oratory, dramatic expression and voice culture are extremely superficial. They pay little attention to the mental problem involved, to the thought behind the spoken word, or to the passions and emotions expressed. Not so with this author, and for this reason no less than the fact that the foundation principles and mental problems are presented in connection with luminous practical instruction in the cultivation and development of voice and emotional expression, this last volume will appeal to all the more thoughtful of our people interested in

the subject treated. It is greatly to be regretted that the newspapers and the theater have largely taken the place of the lyceum of half a century ago; for, as Professor Curry well observes:

"The Muse of Eloquence and the Muse of Liberty, it has been said, are twin sisters. A free people must be a race of speakers. The perversion or neglect of oratory has always been accompanied by the degradation of freedom.

"The importance of speaking to a true national life, and to the forwarding of all reforms, can hardly be overestimated; but it is no less necessary to the development of the individual. Expression is the manifestation of life, and speaking in some form is vitally necessary for the assimilation of truth and the awakening to a consciousness of personal power.

"Since the invention of printing, the written word has been overestimated in education, and living speech has been greatly neglected. Recent discoveries of the necessity of developing the motor centers have revived interest in the living voice."

In speaking of the usual partial treatment of the vital subject he is considering, our author says:

"The usual view is that every defect in the use of the voice is associated with some local constriction, and that for every abnormal habit or action some exercise to restore the specific part can always be found. While this is true, it is but half a truth. Every abnormal action or condition has its cause in the mind. Hence technical training must always be united with work for the removal of the causes of faults, and for the awakening of the primary actions and conditions. This enables the student to become himself conscious of right modes of expression, develops him without imitation or mechanical rules, and produces no artificial results. Even when the right technical exercise is prescribed for a fault in reading or speaking it is often ineffective on account of wrong or mechanical practice on the part of the student, or a lack of attention on the part of teacher or student to the real psychological causes of the abnormal conditions."

The two purposes hinted at above are kept ever in view by the author and are emphasized in so clear and practical a manner as to be readily grasped by the thoughtful student.

The work contains twenty-two chapters devoted to such subjects as the following: "Unprinted Elements of Expression," "Concentration and Its Expression," "Attitude of Mind and Inflection," "Response of the Organism," "Conditions and Qualities of Voice," "Voice and Body," "Logical Relations of Ideas," "Modes of Emphasis," "Spontaneous Actions of the Mind and Modulations of the Voice," "Tone-Color," "Moulding Tone into Words," "Force and Its Expression," "Support and Strength of Voice," "Flexibility of Voice," "Assimilation and Sympathy," "Movement," "Action," and "Unity of Delivery."

Many of the chapters are subdivided into a number of important divisions. In all cases the subjects are handled in a masterly manner. It is a book that it is a pleasure to recommend.

The Politics of Utility By James MacKaye.
Paper. Price 50 cents net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

WITH AN IMPERVIOUS armor of facts and a relentless logic, Mr. MacKaye marches on in this volume to certain definite and far-reaching conclusions. In a previous volume, having formulated the theory of the technology of happiness, his object in the present volume is to apply it, to exhibit it as an actual working test of proposed or practical policies.

The five chapters of which the book is composed treat respectively of "The Social Mechanism," "Competition," "Private and Public Monopoly," "Pantocracy," and "The Next Step." His conclusion concerning competition is that it has not a single good point. On every vital issue it is opposed to a just system. There is no more dismal delusion than that of its beneficence. It is a mechanism for maintaining and continually increasing an output of unhappiness.

Of monopoly he declares: "If the nation does not own the monopolies, the monopolies will own the nation." And again: "Socialism is but consistent democracy." "It is founded upon the same principle upon which democracy is founded." In other words, this author would have us democratize industry as well as government.

The chapter on "Pantocracy" is one of great force. Theoretically it is unanswerable. That pantocracy is found to stand every test whereby competition has failed is the general

conclusion. Competition, according to the author, is a mechanism which nature employs to attain a single specified end, adaptability to survive. Under it more unhappiness than happiness is produced by humanity. Under pantocracy this would be reversed. Unhappiness would be reduced to the minimum and happiness increased to the maximum.

The great object of life is not to create wealth but to create happiness. It is not merely to build towns, but to build *happy* towns. There is no hurry about the development of our resources. Let them wait until a system is discovered whereby these resources may be used to produce happiness rather than misery. Until we in America can work out this experiment let immigration be prohibited and a protective system kept in force. Then let pantocracy be tried—on a small scale at first, but as fast as its utility is demonstrated let it be extended. When its success is established here it will be adopted by the nations of the earth.

The scheme is beautiful, inspiring and well reasoned. The danger is that some refined, subtle but powerful elements may have been unseen or neglected. For example, the author claims that the competitive system produces more unhappiness than happiness. This cannot be proved. To make the assertion is to ignore certain spiritual forces which often rise superior to environment. It is also to ignore the edaptive power of nature. I doubt if any system of human government or industry, including slavery, except in a limited or temporary form, ever produced more misery than happiness. The spirit can rise above disease, want, bereavement, slavery, imprisonment and death. In a certain sense every man is the master of his fate, "the captain of his soul." The early Christians taught the world lessons along this line, and later our Christian Science brethren have reinforced this view. Byron shows how the Prisoner of Chillon becomes reconciled even to his dungeon. We all know how hope springs eternal in the human breast; and so I doubt if even competition, with all its horrors, has produced more unhappiness than happiness. But that it produces too much unhappiness all must admit. That there is a better way no sane man after reading this book can doubt. But the book must be taken in a broad and generous sense. The reader must not stumble over single utterances. Let him study well the author's argument, find his meaning, mark well his conclusions, and then

answer if he can. But let him answer fairly and in view of all the facts. He may be able to set aside some minor inferences, but to overthrow the general conclusion, that in order to reach the highest production of human happiness the world must adopt some system other than the competition of to-day, he will find a Herculean task.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Beyond Good and Evil. Prelude to a Philosophy of the Future. By Friedrich Nietzsche. Authorized translation by Helen Zimmern. Cloth. Pp. 268. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

AS A THINKER Nietzsche penetrates to the depths—far beyond the point where the ordinary mind can follow. He sees things in their higher and therefore to the world in seemingly new relations. He is in some sense the Copernicus of modern philosophy. Take for example this statement:

"The great epochs of our life are the points when we gain courage to rebaptize our badness as the best in us."

What a wealth of meaning, what a depth of philosophy to those who have the understanding heart, and yet what nonsense, not to say blasphemy, to those who do not understand.

The book is to be read and meditated on by the few. To the multitude it will be simply the massing of words, words without coherence and almost without meaning; and indeed there are too many, but yet the volume has flashes of wit and many luminous passages. What could be more neatly turned than this?

"To seduce their neighbor to a favorable opinion, and afterwards to believe implicitly in this opinion of their neighbor—who can do this conjuring trick so well as women?"

Or again, this:

"Poets act shamelessly toward their experiences; they exploit them."

On the other hand, the following, while profoundly true, would hardly be safe in the present age of the world to proclaim to the promiscuous assembly:

"Jesus said to the Jews: 'The law was for servants; love God as I love him, as his Son! What have we sons of God to do with morals?'"

The general impression made by the book is that it emanates from a mind of tremendous individuality, a mind perceiving things in an

unaccustomed light; that truth is ever in flux that what is true to one in the higher realm cannot be true to another nor to himself on successive days; and yet that there is a great and eternal verity which the soul may forever pursue though it may never fully grasp.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

The Japanese Nation in Evolution. By William Elliot Griffis, D.D., L.H.D. Cloth. Pp. 408. Price, \$1.25 net, postage 10 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

FEW OCCIDENTAL writers are better qualified to intelligently treat of Japan and the Japanese than is Dr. Griffis. He was one of the first teachers to go to Japan after Commodore Perry opened her ports to the world. He has occupied a chair in the Imperial University of Japan and is the author of other notable works dealing with Japanese life, folk-lore, art and history. His writings evince a mastery of his subject that is rare among Western writers, and a deep sympathy with and admiration for Japan which make his pages glow with an interest never present when an author considers a subject in a colorless manner.

This volume is far more than a vivid and entertaining pen-picture of the wonderful unfoldment of Japan's national life during the past half century, as it evolved under the very gaze of the author; for here we find a luminous backward glance. Indeed, Dr. Griffis presents the most comprehensive and informing brief historical sketch of the rise of the Japanese people, from prehistoric times to the present, that we have seen from any Occidental source. The work is one that should find a place in all well-ordered libraries, as it contains precisely the very information that all intelligent people wish to possess about this wonderful people, presented in a most charming manner. The volume is beautifully illustrated with a number of full-page half-tone illustrations.

Hindu Literature; Or, The Ancient Books of India. By Elizabeth A. Reed, A.M. Cloth. Pp. 410. Price, \$1.50. Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Company.

THIS is an extremely valuable work and one that will be welcomed by all who desire to obtain an intelligent conception of the great philosophies of India; for it presents in a brief, concise and yet thoroughly connected manner

an outline of the great sacred books of the East, with illuminating extracts from each. In the preparation of the volume Mrs. Reed consulted many of the foremost Oriental scholars, including Professor Max Müller and Sir M. Monier-Williams, of whom rendered valuable assistance in revising certain portions of the work. The quotations have been chosen from the best available translations. The work is arranged in chronological order and gives the reader a clear idea of the fundamental thought contained in the great religious books of India, including the Vedas, the Brahmanas, the *Code of Manu*, the *Upanishads*, the *Ramayana*, the *Maha-Bharata*, the *Bhagavad-Gita*, the *Puranas*, and the Krishna legends. Mrs. Reed has the gift of making her work as interesting as romance, and this fact, together with its accuracy of statement, renders the volume one of the most valuable books of the kind in the English language.

AMY C. RICH.

The British State Telegraphs. By Hugo Richard Meyer, sometime Assistant Professor in the University of Chicago. Cloth. Pp. 408. New York: The Macmillan Company.

THE THING which seems most of all to trouble ex-professor Meyer in regard to the public ownership problem in Great Britain is the fact that the employees of city and state have been able to secure an occasional advance in wages. Public ownership then is not so cheap as private ownership. The public servants even have the temerity to organize, and, worse still, to enter politics in order to secure a living wage. Their action is characterized as nothing less than bribery. They are parasites on the body politic.

The fact that for ages the common people of England have been deprived of the use of vast estates which are theirs by divine right, that they have been exploited by the powerful through special privilege and by every form of political trickery, weighs little with this author. Economy is his key-note. How to save on labor, avoid taxation and make profit on capital is the standpoint from which the book is written. To prove his contentions he gives tables of statistics which may or may not be misleading or even directly false. He claims to have made careful investigations, and few have time to follow him, but his work is open to suspicion. His conclusions are in the main directly contrary to those of the recent commis-

sion appointed to investigate public ownership in Great Britain. He writes as one who holds a brief for capitalistic interests. Those who read this or any one of the author's five volumes should keep in mind the standpoint from which he looks at things.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

We-Ism: The Religion of Humanity. By Captain W. E. P. French, U.S.A. Paper. Pp. 48. New York: The Wilshire Book Company.

THIS little booklet from the pen of Captain W. E. P. French, one of the valued contributors to THE ARENA, is full of admirable things, sometimes expressed in verse, at other times garmented in well-chosen prose, and all breathing the message of peace and good will that is coming from the hearts and lips of so many of the finest workers in the ranks of present-day Socialism. This book is instinct with the spirit of William Morris and Edward Bellamy. The following extracts from the "Creed of Collectivism" will give a fair idea of our author's thought:

"We believe in the Religion of Humanity, whose God is Love and in which Love is the fulfilling of the Law.

"We believe that from the Union of Communism and Coöperation shall be born the highest and freest Individuality to which the Human Race should justly attain.

"We believe in the Immortality of the Soul that is uncantered by Greed, Force, Fraud or Cruelty, and that is ripened by generous Thought, high Resolve and helpful Deed; in the Resurrection of the Body Politic from the Death of Conservatism, the Grave of Reaction and the yellow Dust of Gold; and in the Heaven of universal well-being for Everybody in this, our World.

"We believe in the greatest Good to All, and that Each should work for All and All for Each.

"We believe in the Solidarity and Interdependence of Humankind; that we are all Children of the Common Mother; that Women should have more Rights, Privileges and Immunities than Men, and that the Children should have more than Both.

"We acknowledge that the Community is of greater Value than the Individual, that it is nobler to serve the Race than Self. that Altruism is the highest Virtue and that Selfishness is the basic Crime.

"We believe in the free and equal partner-

ship of Brain and Brawn, of Mind and Muscle, of Thought and Labor; and we believe in their joint Ownership of the Earth and all that is therein.

"We believe that Capital—the dead and inert material thing—is the Creation of Labor—the living God, the Coördination of Force and Matter, the Marriage of the Head and the Hand—and we believe that the Product, the Thing created, is the inalienable Property of the Producer and Creator.

"We believe in a Community of Interest for the Community.

"We believe in Freedom of Mind, Freedom of Body, Freedom of Speech, Freedom to work, Freedom to play, and Freedom to do any and all Things that do not interfere with the Freedom of our Fellows.

"We believe in the Dignity and Nobility of all honest Labor; that only useful, productive or pleasant Work should be done; and that every Human Being has not only the Right of free access to Materials, Machinery and Land, but the Right to express in Beauty and Art 'the Joy of Working.

"We believe that the Government of the Servants of the People should be by the People, that all Law should originate with the People, and that the People have the right and the power to amend, suspend or do away with all Laws at any Time.

"We believe that the Will of the People is the Supreme Law, and its Voice the Mandate of God.

"We believe that Liberty is the eternal Watchword, and that None is free while One is denied the Rights of All.

"We believe in the benevolent Assimilation of every natural and artificial Monopoly, Opportunity and Public Utility by, and for, ALL THE PEOPLE; but we believe, also, in the individual Ownership of the individual Tool and the Necessities, Comforts and Luxuries of Life."

There are also several popular songs to be sung to well-known airs in this little volume. The following are a few stanzas from "Comradehood," written to be sung to the air of "America":

"O Comrades, far and near,
Raise the chant loud and clear
Of Love's good song.
In our resistless might,
Thunder the creed of Right,
Justice and Truth unite
Against the wrong.

"Hark! it sweeps 'round the earth,
Promise of our rebirth,
Of Comradehood;
Promise of Liberty,
Freedom's Equality,
Loving Fraternity,
The Common Good.

"Shout it till we are heard,
And ev'ry heart is stirred
To do and dare;
Shout till the world shall ring,
Shout till the ruth shall sting,
Shout till all people sing
The self-same air.

"Spangled with Hope's bright stars,
Striped with the Sunrise bars
Flag ever true.
Red blood of Brotherhood,
White milk of Motherhood,
Blue of our Faith in Good,
Red, White and Blue!

"Never shall lust of gold,
Greed, or the Trust's cursed hold,
Old Glory shame.
Lift we our hearts to Thee,
First flag of Liberty,
Banner that set man free,
We bless Thy name!"

How to Invest Your Savings. By Facas F. Marcossou. Illuminated Boards. Price, 50 cents. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

IN THE present stage of human progress savings are one of life's essentials; therefore how to save and invest savings is an important consideration. No more sensible little book than this by Mr. Marcossou has ever been issued. It explains in simple form the nature of investment and shows what kinds are safe. It defines financial terms so that all may understand them and points out the pitfalls of speculation. The book is of special value to wage-earners.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Twenty-Three Tales By Tolstoi. Translated by Louise and Alymer Maude. Cloth. Pp. 270. Price, 75 cents net, postage 5 cents. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THIS excellent little volume will be prized by all lovers of Tolstoi and his work. The twenty-three short stories which make up the book have been selected with rare discrimination, and the translations, like all the

former translations of Tolstoi's writings by Louise and Aylmer Maude, are fine pieces of literary work. The volume contains such gems from the great Russian's short stories as the following: "Where Love Is, God Is," "What Men Live By," "God Sees the Truth, but Waits," "The Story of Ivan the Fool," "The Godson," and "How Much Land Does a Man Need?"

Tolstoi himself placed great stress on the value and importance of the short story as a medium of literary expression, as is shown by the following passage from *What Is Art?*

"The artist of the future will understand that to compose a fairy-tale, a little song which will touch, a lullaby or a riddle which will entertain, a jest which will amuse, or to draw a sketch such as will delight dozens of generations or millions of children and adults, is incomparably more important and more fruitful than to compose a novel, or a symphony, or paint a picture, of the kind which diverts some members of the wealthy classes for a short time and is then for ever forgotten. The region of this art of the simplest feelings accessible to all is enormous, and it is as yet almost untouched."

AMY C. RICH.

The Road. By Jack London. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 224. Price, \$2.00 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

THERE is something very grim and tragically suggestive in Jack London's latest work, *The Road*. It is a vivid pen-picture of the morally disintegrating influence of tramp life, which is pressed downward at almost every turn by prevailing legal machinery no less than the indifference and cynical contempt of society. The book is autobiographical in character, giving the personal experiences of Mr. London on the road and including a striking pen-picture of his arrest under the charge of vagrancy and his sentence to thirty days in the chain gang, for no other crime than that he was walking through an American city without any visible means of support. The days were when the condition of the unfortunate of our people awakened general solicitude, and the machinery of justice no less than society in general strove to help uplift the unfortunate rather than become a party to the downward pressure; but that day seems to have passed since class and privileged interests have become the pre-

dominating factor in American political life. Mr. London's book is far from pleasing reading, but it carries a tremendous lesson with it—a lesson that men of conscience and high-minded patriots cannot afford to overlook. It is a book that will help on the social revolution that is making for a better and nobler civilization in which the rights of man will take precedence over the arrogant demand of property interests. The book is profusely illustrated and in every way handsomely gotten up.

His Wife. By Warren Cheney. Cloth. Pp. 396. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

MR. CHENEY's stories deal with life in Alaska when the Russians owned that territory and small settlements were established on account of the fur industry. The life described is therefore unfamiliar to readers of fiction, while the author treats his subjects in an unhackneyed manner. This is peculiarly the case with his last story, *His Wife*.

In it one Luka Strukof comes home to find his idolized wife dead. He believes she is merely sleeping and sends his daughter and all sympathizing friends from the house, locks the door and remains beside the dead. The daughter takes refuge with the old commandant of the post and his wife, two quaint and lovable people. On the following morning it is found that Luka and his dead wife have disappeared. The husband's mind has become unhinged and he has taken his wife far away to an ice-surrounded cave. For a time he returns at night to get food, but at length he sets out for his old home, a long way from the post. His brother finds him and takes him to their father's house where the insane man, meeting the affianced wife of the brother, imagines she is his own lost wife. The brother and family urge her to humor him, thinking that in time he will awaken from his dream. Then a strange thing happens. The betrothed wife of the young brother, who has never loved the man whom her father has selected for her after the fashion of the Russians, falls in love with Luka. They are about to fly when the brother appears and a desperate battle ensues in which Luka thinks he has killed his brother. Then the two fly, but Luka says that though they will appear as man and wife before the world, the dead brother will ever be between

them. They return to the old trading post, and a series of exciting happenings occur in rapid succession, while the somber shadow envelops the two and the reader feels at all times that he is treading on the precipitous edge of a tragedy. But in the end the brother comes back, and after a strong scene in which the woman, who by mutual consent is given her choice of the men, chooses Luka, the story ends happily.

There is also another charming love story paralleling the stronger and more gloomy tale. The daughter of Luka and the bashful son of the commandant have their days of anxiety and doubt as they slowly move toward each other.

The story is an admirable companion to Mr. Cheney's former romance of the Northwest, *The Challenge*.

Rosalind at Red Gate. By Meredith Nicholson. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 388. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is we think the best American mystery story of the year. It is inferior to *The House of a Thousand Candles*, but immeasurably superior to *The Port of Missing Men*. In the latter novel our readers will remember that the author tried to imitate the Dumas school of swash-buckling medieval romances, but by casting his story in the familiar present he made a tale so glaringly impossible as to be an affront even to the credulity of easy-going novel readers. There are many improbable not to say impossible situations in *Rosalind at Red Gate*, but the romance is far less absurdly improbable than *The Port of Missing Men* and it is written in Mr. Nicholson's happiest vein. This author is to the mystery novelists of America what Sir Conan Doyle is to those of England,—incomparably the most finished and interesting of the class. *Rosalind at Red Gate* will doubtless prove highly popular with lovers of this kind of fiction.

Mam' Linda. By Will N. Harben. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 388. Price, \$1.50. New York: Harper Brothers.

WILL HARBEN is doing for the present-day common life of the southern communities a work very similar to that which Hamlin Garland has done for western communities. Both these writers are choosing to depict in

all its phases the common life of rural and small town communities with photographic accuracy.

In the portrayal of most of his characters and in the setting or background of his romance, Mr. Harben is a realist of realists in the best sense of that word, but in other respects his handling of the story is romantic rather than realistic. He crowds enough action and exciting episodes into his pages to satisfy a Dumas, and there is much of the sensational and melodramatic element here that marks many of the great works of the leading apostles of romanticism. But it is in the portrayal of his hero and heroine, the extreme idealization of these paragons, that the strong line of demarcation between the realist of the Tolstoi or Ibsen school and the romanticist is most apparent. The story is full of action and contains many strongly dramatic passages. It will satisfy the general novel reader who desires an exciting love romance, but its chief value, apart from the pen-picture of present-day Southern life, is found in the magnificent effort to arouse the moral sentiment of the South on the negro question. Mr. Harben is a southerner and has the strong feeling of all true southerners for Dixie. He understands as do only those who have lived in the South and are intimately acquainted with conditions there, the trying and complicated position which obtains, owing to the negro population and the fiery element of the white society that imagines that examples of lawlessness and extreme brutality are more helpful to society than the orderly workings of law in the punishment of grave crimes. Mr. Harben makes a noble plea for law and order, for justice and the example of right, of law and of rigid conformity to the punishment prescribed for criminal procedure in cases of crimes committed by negroes, that mark the administration of justice in regard to other citizens.

The book is one that cannot fail to do much good, as it is a wise, sane, just and eminently common-sense plea for the only course than can in the long run minify race friction and disorder.

Stars of the Stage: Ellen Terry. By Christopher St. John. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 97. Price, \$1.00 net. New York: John Lane Company.

THIS little volume is one of a series edited

by J. T. Grein, dealing with the life and work of eminent actors and dramatists. The series when complete will include biographies of Mr. Beerbohm Tree, Sir Charles Wyndham, W. S. Gilbert, G. B. Shaw, H. A. Jones, Pinero, Duse and Bernhardt.

Mr. St. John's sketch of Miss Terry is sympathetic and gives a very complete account of her life from early childhood to the present time, together with critical comments on the various parts in which she has appeared. The volume is fully illustrated and will be valued by all who are interested in the development of dramatic art, and especially by friends of Miss Terry.

AMY C. RICH.

The Boys of the Old Glee Club. By James Whitcomb Riley. Illustrated by Will Vawter. Cloth. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

This reminiscent poem, written in Riley's popular Hoosier dialect, will appeal to the poet's host of admirers with compelling force. It is instinct with that human interest that is the chief charm of Riley's verse, and it will be especially enjoyed by the "Boys in Blue." The illustrations that accompany the text have been drawn by Will Vawter and will rank with the very best drawings of the season. The volume is a superb holiday gift-book by reason of its artistic make-up and the more than twelve full-page drawings that illustrate the text.

Rob the Ranger. A Story of the Fight for Canada. By Herbert Strang. With eight full-page pictures in colors. Cloth. Pp. 369. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

On the Trail of the Arabs. A Story of the Last Days of the Arab Slave Trade. By Herbert Strang. With nine full-page drawings in black and white. Cloth. Pp. 428. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

MR. STRANG has taken up the work that the popular English writer, Henty, carried on so successfully for many years, and he has already written several notable books, the most important being *In Clive's Command*, *Fighting on the Congo*, *Rob the Ranger*, and *On the Trail of the Arabs*.

Young folks who enjoy the works of Henty,

Ellis and Carlton will find in Mr. Strang's works stories that are just as true to history as Henty's and even stronger in general interest and imaginative power, while they are incomparably better works from a literary point-of-view. Henty's stories were of real value because almost every volume contained a vivid pen-picture of some great historical event. As a rule the author was very true to the facts of history and he succeeded in clothing them in so interesting a manner as to awaken an interest in the subject which frequently led to further historical researches. Mr. Strang is following in this pathway and doing his work better than his predecessor.

In *Rob the Ranger* we have a boys' book of the stirring struggle between the English and the French for the possession of Canada. An Indian tale with far too many killings to be pleasant or in some respects profitable reading, yet this story gives a vivid description of the sanguinary struggles in which the red man figured conspicuously.

In *On the Trail of the Arabs* Mr. Strang has given a striking and interesting story depicting the Arab slave trade in Africa and the struggle to wipe it out. Incidentally there is much valuable descriptive matter and other information that will be helpful to the young reader. In his preface the author says, in speaking of the story: "It is a picture of the last days of the Arab domination, when the remnant of Tipu Tib's hordes in remote fastnesses pursued their evil traffic in humanity."

The author's purpose has been to show native races at their best, as they may be when oppression is replaced by sympathy. Both books will be enjoyed by boys who love adventure tales full of spirited action and hairbreadth escapes.

Some Excellent Children's Books.

The Jewelled Toad. By Isabel M. Johnston. Illustrated by W. W. Denslow. Decorated Boards. Pp. 212. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS volume is of the fairy-story class, very clever, and written in such a manner as to charm all children who love fairy tales. It is very superior to most books of the kind and contains many things that show that the author is awake to evil conditions in countries other than that over which the avaricious and cruel king presided.

Towsey, the little forest girl who befriends and cares for the wild animals, is the character that will chiefly appeal to all the little folks, and they will follow her adventures and those of her friends with the deepest interest, trembling when she is in peril, rejoicing when she is successful in befriending the helpless creatures; and great will be their pleasure when they find the little girl with the loving heart becomes the queen of the land.

It is an admirable companion book to the justly popular *Wizard of Oz*, and we think it is fully equal to that volume.

Mother Goose's Puzzle Pictures. A Book for Children. Cloth 1/2p. 78. Price, 50 cents. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

THIS is a unique book for very young children, quite out of the general run of books for the little folks in that each picture will give the child something interesting to do, which trains the mind to observe things closely. The publishers' description of the little book is so excellent that we extract a passage or two as giving a fair idea of the just claims which are made for it:

"Everybody is by this time familiar with the latest theory among educators according to which the puzzle-picture—whereby one means, of course, the picture in which some given object is at once outlined and yet hidden by lines apparently belonging to other objects—has been decided of the highest value in training the powers of observation in the mind of the young. The theory itself has passed into general acceptance, but thus far the practical difficulty among the teachers who sought to apply it has been to get the youngsters interested in the search. That difficulty has been overcome in this new series of books.

"In the present volume, the child will read all the familiar Mother Goose rhymes, will see the pictures illustrating them, and will be asked to discover therein one of the objects named in the rhyme. He will, for instance, read how 'Naughty Johnny Green' put poor pussy in the well; will see a picture of her rescue at the hands of 'Big Johnny Stout,' and is called upon to discover the whereabouts, in that same picture, of the wicked Master Green, who is hiding from the wrath of the rescuer."

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

WITH THIS issue THE ARENA commences its Thirty-ninth Volume. It now contains 128 pages in each issue. It carries two forms of coated paper, which admit of fine illustrations. These improvements we have had long in mind, and while they materially increase the cost of manufacture they make possible improvements which will be appreciated by all our readers. This month's issue will appeal to all earnest men and women who dare or care to think. Its contents are rich and varied and are an earnest of what may be expected each month during the coming year.

Political, Social and Economic Discussions: Among the papers dealing with political, social and economic thought we wish to call special attention to Mr. CARL VROOMAN's exceptionally strong and important paper on the railroad question. Mr. VROOMAN was formerly a regent in the Agricultural College of Kansas. During the past few years he has made an exhaustive study of great politico-social questions, most prominent among which has been that of the railroads. In order to be able to know whereof he spoke, he spent many months of indefatigable study in this country, examining the railroad systems, interviewing prominent people and utilizing the various official reports and data of experts relating to the question. Armed with these facts, he went to Europe in order to carry forward a comparative study. He spent about two years in Europe, making this question the master issue during his research. Returning to America, he has prosecuted still further studies on this side of the Atlantic. He is therefore in a position to speak authoritatively. He is a clear reasoner and a fundamental thinker. His paper is an important contribution to one of the overshadowing questions now before the American people.

Of almost equal interest at the present time is the masterly and authoritative paper by ARTHUR B. HAYES, Solicitor of Internal Revenue, Department of the Interior, Washington, on *Inheritance Taxes*. Mr. HAYES has made this question, which is more and more coming to the front as a great live issue, the subject of most painstaking and exhaustive research, in order to make a popular presentation of the matter. His article embraces much important historical data, judicial rulings and the reasons for such rulings. The paper is one that all persons interested in the subject will wish to read and preserve, for the Inheritance Tax is rapidly becoming a live issue in the political arena, and this paper is without question the most valuable magazine discussion of the case that has yet appeared.

The Probable Self-Destruction of the Trust is another extremely thoughtful and valuable contribution dealing with a question that is much in the public mind. The author, Mr. PHILIP RAPPAPOST, is well known to our readers, both as a contributor to this magazine and as the author of some valuable works.

Zionism or Socialism: Which Will Solve the Jewish Question is a contribution that will appeal to thinking Hebrews.

The Editorials in "The Mirror of the Present" and the news records of Public-Ownership, Direct-Legislation, Proportional Representation and the Cooperative movements, all prepared expressly for THE ARENA by specialists, further help to make the January ARENA indispensable to all who would keep abreast of the living issues in the political, social and economic worlds.

Literature, Art and the Drama: In Professor ARCHIBALD HENDERSON's paper on the Rimini story we have a fine and scholarly paper that will appeal with peculiar force to all lovers of good literature. It is an exceptionally interesting and informing contribution dealing with a theme that has held irresistible charm for great poets since the days of Chaucer.

The paper by the Editor of THE ARENA on Mr. PARTRIDGE's portraits of great poets, philosophers, thinkers and emancipators, and his sketch of ROBERT BROWNING's poetry, will prove attractive to most of our readers; while those persons interested in a great America drama will find great pleasure in Kenyon West's appreciation of the life and work of MINNIE MADDERN FISKE, who is without question the greatest actress in the New World.

Philosophical and Religious Papers: The scholarly contribution on *The Religious and Secular Distinguished*, by Mr. THEODORE SCHROEDER, will doubtless occasion some discussion. Indeed, the Editor of THE ARENA has questioned some of his propositions in an extended foot-note accompanying the paper.

The review of Rev. R. J. Campbell's *New Theology Sermons* and the Editorial on *The Church and the Social Problems of the Hour* are other papers that will interest readers who wish to keep in touch with the advanced religious thought of the present.

The Illustrations in this number are an attractive feature and a feature that during 1908 will add greatly to the interest of THE ARENA.



Photo by Marcant. New York.

RICHARD MANSFIELD.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them.—HEINE.*

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THE DIRECT-VOTE SYSTEM.

BY WILLIAM D. MACKENZIE.

DIRECT-LEGISLATION is the most important issue before the American people. We cannot hope for a just and equitable solution of the great social, industrial and financial problems which confront us until the people regain full control over the powers of government. It is a non-partisan issue. The rule of the people has been championed by prominent men in both of our great national parties, by genuine Republicans as well as by "fundamental Democrats," and it has invariably been opposed by the beneficiaries and defenders of machine-rule, regardless of party lines. The two states which first adopted the initiative and referendum, South Dakota and Oregon, are usually classed as Republican; while Oklahoma, which has just been admitted to the Union with an initiative and referendum provision in its state constitution, has a Democratic governor and legislature. The principle of Direct-Legislation has also received strong support from Prohibitionists, Populists, Socialists, and independents.

In this article it is proposed to summarize the arguments which justify this great popular movement, to review the progress which has already been achieved,

and to give a bird's-eye-view of the situation at the beginning of the year 1908.

Within the past seventy-five years there has been developed in the United States a system of party conventions with party machines and bosses, which is extra-constitutional and extra-legal. Representative government under party control is a clumsy and ineffective system. In the party platforms there is no separation of issues, and the party machinery does not always work so that the popular will may be enacted into legislation. In the second place, the system easily adapts itself to corrupt practices. When a corporation is seeking special privileges at the public expense it is obviously impossible to attempt to bribe all the voters, but unfortunately it is often a comparatively inexpensive process to buy up a majority of a city council or the leaders of a party convention. It is a notorious fact that party primaries and conventions are often manipulated by the creatures and agents of corporate interests, and that party machines and party bosses are often owned and controlled by trusts and other private interests who use them



PROF. FRANK PARSONS.

to obtain and hold special privileges for which the people are compelled to pay dearly. In this way city councils, state legislatures, and even courts of justice, are often converted into instruments of monopoly and extortion.

These conditions call for a remedy. In theory we have the best government in the world. In practice, since the rise of privileged interests operating through money-controlled machines, our public servants have frequently defeated the ends of good government and trampled on the rights of the people. The great majority of our judges and legislators are personally incorruptible; and yet predatory wealth and corporate greed have usually found a way to gain their ends and to maintain their privileges, while the people have looked on in dumb amazement and despair. In recent years there has been a great civic uprising against political corruption and trustocracy, but our legislative bodies, municipal, state, and national, have not readily responded to the popular demands

for reform. What is needed is a system which will restore genuine representative government by making our legislative bodies directly responsive to the will of the majority.

The only system which meets this requirement is the Initiative and Referendum. The Referendum is the submission of a measure by the Legislature or other representative body, to the voters for approval or rejection. It is compulsory when all but emergency measures *must* be submitted, optional when submission *may* be demanded by a certain percentage (usually five per cent.) of the voters. The Initiative provides that a certain percentage (usually five or eight) of the voters may propose measures, which are afterwards submitted to a direct ballot of the people. The Referendum gives the people veto power only. The Initiative gives them complete and direct legislative power so far as they choose to exercise it. The object in view is not to abolish the representative system, but to substitute a guarded representative system for an irresponsible one.

As far back as 1778, the people of Massachusetts voted upon a proposed State Constitution. It is not surprising that the states of New England, where the people were accustomed to self-government through town meetings, should be the first to submit constitutional enactments to a direct vote of the people. The example of Massachusetts has been followed by many other states, which have submitted constitutions and constitutional amendments to a referendum vote.

The little republic of Switzerland was the first country in the world to apply the direct-vote system to laws as well as to constitutional amendments, and her experience in direct-legislation has been a valuable object-lesson to political reformers in other countries. Since 1874 the Swiss people have applied the initiative and referendum to federal as well as local legislation. Several well-known

American publicists, after investigating the workings of the Swiss system, have testified to the excellent results which it has produced, and their testimony has not been successfully called in question by any one. Professor Frank Parsons, after spending several weeks in Switzerland, and interviewing citizens of every walk in life, has recently stated that he *"did not find one man who wished to go back to the old plan of final legislation by elected delegates without chance of appeal to the people."* He states that the new methods have proved useful in checking corruption and controlling monopoly, that they are "wisely conservative and intelligently progressive," that everything is now fair and honest—"no lobbies, no jobs, no machine legislation."

For the past nine years South Dakota has had an imperfect initiative and referendum provision in her state constitution. Although it has not yet been applied to any great extent in actual legislation, this provision has exerted a favorable influence. Prominent citizens of the state have testified that the adoption of the initiative and referendum has served to prevent chartermongers and railway speculators from pressing their schemes on the legislature. In 1908, three bills of the South Dakota Legislature are to be voted upon under the referendum. One of these bills provides for a game-law, another for greater restriction in the granting of divorces, and the third bill relates to theatrical performances on Sunday.

In Oregon the initiative and referendum have been in operation since 1902, and the system has been applied there in a way to test its merits and general tendencies as they were never before tested in our country. As a result of initiative petitions, several state laws and constitutional amendments were submitted to the voters in the elections of 1904 and 1906. What are the results? In the first place, the popular ballots on these questions indicate very clearly the trend of public opinion on some of the burning



HON. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.

questions of the day. The people of Oregon are evidently progressive but not ultra-radical in their political tendencies. For some of the propositions voted upon, there were such overwhelming popular majorities that they will stand for years to come, as an expression of the people's will, which no elected representative or executive official will dare to ignore. In the election of 1906, another significant fact was brought to light. The greatest vote on any question submitted to the people was 83,889, and the lowest, 64,513, while the total vote for governor was 96,715. This is a clear indication that the less intelligent voters had no definite convictions on the questions submitted and merely voted their party ticket for governor and other State officials. In this way they automatically disfranchised themselves on the questions submitted, so that the referendum vote reflected the maximum intelligence of the people of Oregon. The experience of Switzerland, South Dakota, and Oregon is sufficient to justify the statement that



GOVERNOR GEORGE A. CHAMBERLAIN,
Of Oregon.

direct legislation is a beneficial and practical reform.

There are two other states (Montana and Oklahoma) in which the initiative and referendum have been legally established, but in which the system has not yet been practically tested. Nevada has the referendum, but not the initiative. A constitutional amendment for the initiative and the referendum has been adopted by the people of Utah, but the legislature of that state has failed to take action. Texas has the advisory initiative within the parties. Illinois has a Public-Opinion law. Missouri, Maine and North Dakota have recently submitted constitutional amendments for the initiative and referendum. In November, 1906, the people of Delaware, by a vote of eight to one, declared for the advisory initiative and advisory referendum in state affairs. The movement is also making promising headway in other states.

In the present Congress, 114 members of the National House of Representatives, and several United States Senators are

pledged to the establishment of the direct-vote system.

We have referred to the fact that the Direct-Legislation movement is non-partisan and is strongly advocated by many of the greatest men of our time, regardless of party affiliations. Space forbids extended citations of views and opinions, but the following extracts from the words of statesmen and publicists will indicate the views of many of the leading thinkers of the hour.

Hon. John Wanamaker of Philadelphia, formerly Postmaster-General, has expressed his sympathy with the movement in these words: "I heartily approve of the idea of giving the people a veto on corrupt legislation. The movement to secure for the people a more direct and immediate control over legislation shall have my support. . . . I am willing to trust public questions to the intelligence and conscience of the people."

Senator Albert J. Hopkins of Illinois said, in 1902: "I do not agree with Alexander Hamilton, that the people cannot be trusted. I think the experience of more than a hundred years under our constitutional form of government has demonstrated beyond all question, that upon all great national issues, the consensus of the opinion of the great mass of the people has proven better than the judgment of a single man or set of men, I care not how eminent they may have been.

"I favor any principle, I care not what it may be called, that will enlarge the power of the people on all questions, state and national, that affect the well-being of the citizens."

Senator R. M. La Follette of Wisconsin says: "In my judgment the public interests would be promoted if a majority of the voters possessed the option of directing by ballot, the action of their representatives on any important issue, under proper regulations, insuring full discussion and mature consideration upon such issue by the voters, prior to balloting thereon."

Senator Jonathan Bourne, Jr., of Oregon said in 1907: "In my humble opinion,

Oregon's Direct-Legislation system is the safest and most conservative plan of government ever invented. There is no possibility of any sudden overturn of policies or principles by change of parties in office—no great change can be made without the consent of the majority voting on that particular question separate from all others. The initiative especially makes available all the statesmanship there is among all the people. Any man or group of men having a good idea can enlist for one or more campaigns and get it before the people for approval or rejection. No boss nor political machine nor corrupt legislator can prevent a fair dealing and decision by the supreme power, the sovereign people."

Hon. George E. Chamberlain, Governor of Oregon, writing to the president of the National Federation for People's Rule, says: "I approve the formation of a National Initiative and Referendum committee, and firmly believe that the correction of most of the evils which afflict us will never be accomplished until the people take back the power which they have unconsciously surrendered to conventions, political machines and party bosses."

Hon. Frank L. Dingley, a Maine Republican leader, writes: "I am sure that if the people will use the initiative and referendum, they will do much for representative government. I do not contemplate diminishing my zeal in the good work."

Hon. William J. Bryan has been one of the most faithful and persistent champions of the people's rule. In 1905 Mr. Bryan said: "The initiative and the referendum do not displace representative government; they simply bring the government nearer to the people, and by perfecting representative government they rather strengthen than weaken it." His more recent utterances on this subject are still fresh in the minds of the people.

Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, Ohio, said in 1906: "I am always heartily in favor of any movement tending to give



HON. WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

the people's will expression on public questions, and to secure the enactment of legislation in accord therewith."

Governor Joseph W. Folk of Missouri was interviewed on this subject in 1906 by the *St. Louis Star-Chronicle*. He was asked: "In your opinion, Governor, what is the remedy for needless legislation and sandbagging measures?" He replied: "It is the initiative, the referendum and the recall. If we are to have government of the people, by the people, the nearer it is brought to the people the better." At the last session of the Missouri legislature an initiative and referendum bill, which was strongly recommended by Governor Folk, passed both houses by a large majority.

In the Southern States several members of the national House of Representatives and other leading men have expressed their sympathy with the movement. Hon. Morris Sheppard of Texas says: "I am heartily in favor of every reform making more certain and sure the rule of the people." Hon. John Lamb of the third



DAVID J. BREWER,
Associate Justice United States Supreme Court.

Virginia district says: "I am, and always have been, an earnest advocate of the people's rights—am an original referendum advocate."

Hon. R. N. Hackett of North Carolina, Democrat, elected in place of Representative Blackburn, who refused to pledge for the people's rule, announced his position in these words: "I am unqualifiedly in favor of majority-rule in this country, 'unawed by power, and unbribed by gain,' by whatever honest and fair means it can be obtained."

President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University wrote to Mr. George H. Shibley in July, 1907: "I believe in both the initiative and referendum."

Justice David J. Brewer of the United States Supreme Court is also a believer in Direct-Legislation. In an address before the Civic Forum of New York city in November, 1907, he is quoted as saying: "The more constant and universal the voice of the people, the nearer the approach to an ideal government. Initiative and referendum make public opinion

the quality controlling. The more promptly and more fully public officers carry into effect such public opinion, the more truly is government of and by the people realized."

Representative E. Lincoln Fulton of Oklahoma is taking an active part in the movement. In the House of Representatives he has recently introduced a constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum, a constitutional amendment for the recall, and a bill for the advisory initiative and advisory referendum in national affairs.

Among others who are known to favor Direct-Legislation and who have earnestly indorsed the proposition to form a National Initiative and Referendum Committee are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance; Mr. Louis F. Post, editor of *The Public*; ex-Senator T. M. Patterson of Colorado, Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, Jr., Mr. Henry George, Jr., Hon. George Fred. Williams of Massachusetts, ex-Senator R. F. Pettigrew of South



HON. GEORGE FRED. WILLIAMS.



ELTWEED POMEROY.

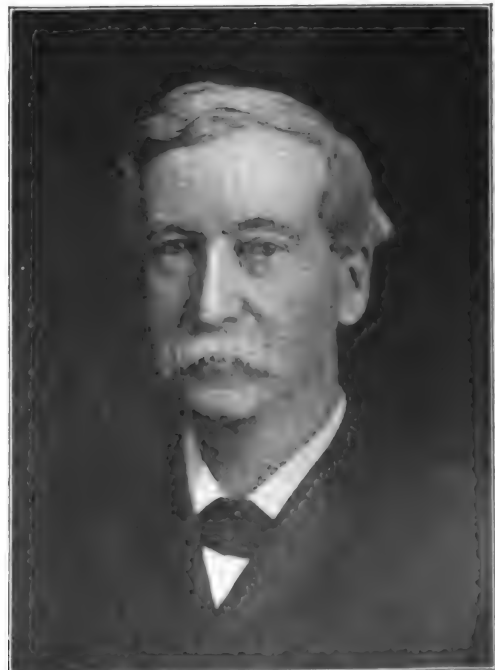
Dakota, Hon. Frederic C. Howe of Ohio, Mr. B. O. Flower, editor of *THE ARENA*; Mr. Albert Brandt, publisher of *THE ARENA*; President Mitchell of the United Mine Workers, Dr. C. F. Taylor of Philadelphia, editor of *The Medical World* and *The Equity Series*; Hon. Champ Clark of Missouri, ex-Senator Wilkinson Call of Florida, Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma and ex-Governor Lucius F. C. Garvin of Rhode Island.

Systems of government, as well as social and industrial systems, are undergoing a natural process of evolution. It is primarily because the movement for direct legislation is in line with evolutionary forces, that it is gaining ground so rapidly in the United States. But due credit should be given to the individuals and organizations through whose efforts the movement has been initiated and maintained.

One of the first books which brought the initiative and referendum to the attention of the American public was *The Swiss Republic*, by Hon. Boyd Winchester, formerly United States minister at Berne.

This book appeared in 1891. Mr. W. D. McCracken's *Rise of the Swiss Republic* and Mr. J. W. Sullivan's *Direct Legislation Through the Initiative and Referendum* were published in 1892. In 1894 Mr. Sullivan started the *Direct-Legislation Record*, the editorship of which was afterwards transferred to Mr. Eltweed Pomeroy of New Jersey. Mr. Pomeroy has also rendered valuable service by extensive lecture tours and propaganda work in connection with the National Direct-Legislation League.

Mr. Henry D. Lloyd, a man of rare intellectual powers, lofty ideals and generous instincts, was another of the pioneer workers in the nineties. In all the progressive movements of the time, he was found invariably on the side of the people. In his home in Winnetka, Illinois, he led a movement to pledge candidates for public office to refer all important measures to a direct vote of the citizens. This method has since been applied in other towns and cities, and is usually known as the "Winnetka plan."



HON. LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN,
Ex-Governor of Rhode Island.

Professor Frank Parsons, who has rendered such valuable service in various fields of social and economic reform, is one of the best-known advocates of the initiative and referendum. His work entitled, *Direct-Legislation*, published in the Equity Series in 1900, is a perfect mine of information on the subject and his arguments for direct legislation are presented with such accuracy, clearness and completeness, that to any candid mind they are irresistible.

Another active and very successful worker for the direct-vote system is Mr. George H. Shibley, who is at the head of the National Federation for People's Rule. His temperament is optimistic and he combines in a rare degree the qualities of the scholar, the moral idealist, and the practical man of affairs. In 1900 he formulated a program for the establishment of the direct-vote system, and, taking up his residence in the National Capital, he has since devoted his time and ability, as well as his private income, to this most timely movement. One of the main

features of his program is that non-partisan organizations shall systematically question the nominees of the several parties as to whether, if elected, they will vote for the termination of machine-rule and the establishment of the direct-vote system. This method has proved very successful in every state where it has had a fair trial. Recognizing the difficulties in the way of amending the Federal Constitution, it is proposed, as a part of Mr. Shibley's program, to establish the direct-vote system in national affairs by statute law—the Advisory Initiative and Advisory Referendum.

The president and executive council of the American Federation of Labor have done much to forward the movement. As far back as 1892 the Federation made direct legislation its sole political demand. In 1891, under the broad-minded leadership of Mr. Samuel Gompers, the Federation began an active campaign for direct legislation. The success which has been achieved in Missouri, Montana and other states, is largely due to the coöperation of the labor unions in questioning candidates. The Federation of Labor at the last national convention, held in Norfolk, Virginia, in November, 1907, issued an appeal to all labor unions, farmers' and other non-partisan organizations, and to the general public for funds to defray the expenses of a national initiative and referendum committee which will be affiliated with the National Federation for People's Rule and which will question candidates for public office, beginning at the primaries and local conventions. It is planned to have a branch of this national committee in every county of the United States during the national campaign of 1908.

Great credit is also due to the state Referendum leagues and Direct-Legislation leagues which have been affiliated with the national organization, as well as to the granges, farmers' unions, and other independent organizations which are coöperating in the work. Splendid work is being done in Massachusetts by Hon.



GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.



SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

Robert Treat Paine, Jr., Hon. George Fred. Williams, Professor Frank Parsons, Mr. Ralph Albertson and others. The campaign which is being waged in Ohio under the able leadership of Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow is well known to the readers of *THE ARENA*. Hon. W. S. U'Ren of Oregon, Mr. H. B. Maurer of New York, and Mr. Francis I. du Pont of Delaware, are also conspicuous in the ranks of the active workers, and there are many others whose names might be mentioned.

With 114 members of the present National House of Representatives and several Senators pledged to the establishment of the direct-vote system, with several states already won, and others swinging into line, with the system established in several cities outside of those states, with the assured coöperation of the American Federation of Labor and other non-partisan organizations in the campaign of 1908, the outlook is a most hopeful one. While there are difficulties to be faced, the trend of events is such as to justify the expectation that the direct-vote system

before many years have elapsed, will be completely established in municipal, state and national affairs. There will be no backward steps. It is hardly conceivable that the people of Oregon, for example, after they have once felt the sense of freedom and power that comes from voting directly on laws that affect their own welfare, should deliberately surrender their power. All kinds of schemes will doubtless be invented to break down the system or to render it inoperative, but the enlightened public sentiment which inaugurated the system may be trusted to maintain it. No conspiracy of silence or misrepresentation can long conceal the fact that the direct-vote system is a great success where ever it has been tried. In the natural course of events the citizens of other states will become interested, and the system will spread from one state to another until the rule of the people will completely displace the rule of the machine.

The opponents of the initiative and the referendum claim that the people are not competent to pass upon intricate ques-



REV. HERBERT S. BIGELOW.



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GOVERNOR JAMES H. HIGGINS,
Of Rhode Island.

tions of public policy. From their viewpoint, the people should elect representatives to do their thinking for them. This conception is hostile to the principle of democracy, or the rule of the people, on which our government was founded. The representative system was intended to be an instrument for registering and enforcing the popular will. Every political party recognizes, at least in theory, that the people are competent to decide public questions for themselves, for each party adopts a platform of principles upon which its candidates stand and on which the party solicits the votes of the people.

When the individual citizen employs an architect, no one questions his right to instruct him on the general plan of the house to be built, and to accept or reject the detailed plans which are afterwards worked out by the architect. In a legal case no one questions the right of the individual citizen to accept or reject the advice offered by his attorney. Is there any good reason why the citizens in their collective capacity should not have a similar right to

suggest legislation to their representatives, and to accept or reject the legislative plans after they are worked out in detail? Your architect and your attorney are not your masters but your servants or agents. So your representatives in Congress, the State Legislature or City Council, should not be your rulers, as they are under present conditions, but your servants or agents.

The people may make some mistakes in voting directly on public measures, just as the average citizen may make mistakes in deciding upon the kind of house he wishes his architect to build for him, or in deciding to enter upon a legal suit; but in collective as well as in individual affairs, we learn wisdom through our mistakes. Better an occasional error of judgment with the chance to correct it, than blind submission to laws, however perfect, which are imposed from without. The experience of Switzerland has been that the people move very slowly in the exercise of their direct-legislative powers. Contrary to common belief, the initiative and referendum make for a progressive conservatism rather than for a wild and headlong radicalism.

The exercise of political power when applied directly to separate and distinct questions of public policy cannot fail to exert a powerful educational influence on the voters. It tends not only to make them more intelligent, but also more patriotic and devoted to the public welfare. It is not necessary that the voters should all be political or economic experts. In intricate questions of public policy, the average citizen will naturally rely on the judgment of those who have made a special study of these problems. And he can safely do so after the Initiative and Referendum have removed the graft-motive from politics.

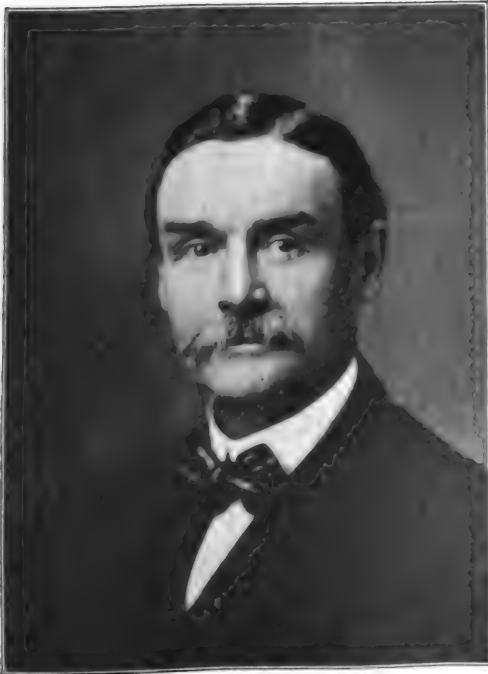
Admitting that some of the people are now incompetent to vote on important questions of public policy, the fact remains that the rule of the majority will tend to create those social conditions which will make for better manhood and

womanhood. Machine-rule is always the rule of the privileged classes and the breeder of corruption and official faithlessness. The natural tendency of the people's rule will be to equalize and broaden opportunities, and thus to develop a higher grade of citizenship.

In national affairs no one expects that more than a few issues—those of the most vital importance—would be submitted to a referendum vote. The National Congress would continue to legislate and would take final action on all emergency measures which for lack of time could not be referred for a direct vote of the people. It is safe to predict, however, that under the Initiative and Referendum some of the ancient and venerable issues of party politics would quickly disappear from the arena of debate, and their place would be taken by new issues growing out of the new social and economic conditions of our times. Under the initiative system the prohibition of the liquor traffic, the inheritance tax, the taxation of land values, the national ownership of railroads and telegraphs and other new issues would be



JOHN M. STAHL,
President Farmers' National Congress.



GOVERNOR COE I. CRAWFORD,
Of South Dakota.

submitted to a direct vote. If any or all of these measures were overwhelmingly defeated, they would probably be withdrawn for a time from the field of practical politics. If, on any issue, the result proved to be close, it would naturally be submitted to another referendum vote as soon as the legal limitations would permit, but there is no reason to fear that the voters would have to give up shoemaking or farming or selling goods in order to settle the affairs of state.

We are living in a period of increasing social unrest. Great social and economic changes are impending. If the ship of state is to be steered safely through the coming years of storm and stress, the rule of the people must be restored. The best safeguard against violence and disorder, the best "safety-valve for discontent" is the direct-vote system, under which the will of the majority may always be freely expressed and enacted into law without hindrance or unnecessary delay.

WILLIAM D. MACKENZIE.

Washington, D. C.

THE RIMINI STORY IN MODERN DRAMA.

BY PROFESSOR ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, Ph.D.,
Of the University of North Carolina.

THE TWO American writers who have reshaped the Da Rimini story into dramatic form are George H. Boker, and F. Marion Crawford, and be it said to their credit that neither of these writers has proved the fruitlessness of rehandling the theme which in Dante's hands took its most perfect and enduring form. Indeed, it has been said that Crawford's play is a better "acting play" and promises more success from a dramatic point-of-view than either Phillips' or D'Annunzio's play, while Boker's play was in its day, all things considered, a genuine success.

George H. Boker, born in 1823, was at one time minister from the United States to Constantinople, and his *Plays and Poems*, in two volumes, which went certainly into as many as three editions, were comparatively well known during his lifetime. While Phillips' play is restrained art of the Greek type, and Maeterlinck's is even more Grecian in the eternal immanence of Destiny, Boker's *Francesca da Rimini* harks back to the manner of the dramatists who lived in the "spacious times" of Queen Elizabeth. Unlike Phillips, D'Annunzio or Crawford, Boker has introduced the heads of the houses of Polenta and Malatesta, one of them playing a very prominent part, while he has made the court jester the instrument in betraying to the hunchback, Lanciotto, the illicit love of his wife and brother. Boker follows Boccaccio's version of the story, in which Francesca is tricked into her marriage, but he makes no mention of the fact that Paolo was married at the time.

Instead of making Francesca a mere pawn upon the chessboard of Guelph and Ghibelline fortune, Boker gives her

the ultimate choice of refusal in the matter of the marriage, but so persistently is she urged by her father, who is a political intriguer of the most accomplished type, that at last she unwillingly consents in order to save her father and insure the integrity of the house of Polenta. One deception is added to another, and when the fearful end comes, we see in it not the mere aimless working of a blind fate but the inevitable fall of the sword of retributive justice.

The great actor, Lawrence Barrett, played Boker's "Francesca da Rimini" in the year 1882, and for several years thereafter, throughout the United States. William P. Trent is authority for the statement that the play was a "conspicuous success." I had the pleasure of reading the very copy of the play that Mr. Barrett studied before he put it on the stage; this copy contained the stage notes in Barrett's handwriting, as well as his signature.

The tragedy of F. Marion Crawford, entitled "Francesca da Rimini" and translated into French by the author of *Vies Imaginaires*, Marcel Schwob, first appeared in 1902, and was successfully produced at the *Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt* on April 22d of that year. Bolder far than others who have dramatized the story, Crawford went straight to the old chronicles for the materials and chronology of the play, reserving only Boccaccio's story of the deception of Francesca, which indeed cannot be proven untrue. According to certain of the old chronicles, the historical sources relied upon by Crawford, the date of the tragedy is given as 1289, so that Paolo and Francesca have loved each other for fourteen years before Giovanni discovers their secret. This leads to a total redis-

tribution of dramatic values. The bloom and innocence of youth is exchanged for the fire and passion of a greater maturity. And this change is symbolized, one feels, by the exchange of the medium of poetry for that of prose.

Francesca does not scruple to justify her long-established relations with Paolo, on the ground of the indefensible deception of her marriage. When a woman is heard one day in the courtyard below denouncing Paolo Malatesta as a coward and a betrayer, Francesca's jealousy and suspicion are instantly aroused and further confirmed when Paolo announces his intention of leaving for Florence that day to accept the post of captain of the guards. When Paolo hurries away to silence the traducer, whom he has recognized as his wife, Beatrice, in disguise, Francesca is left a prey to her worst fears: "a woman crying out his name—a woman leading a child—and on this very day he talks of leaving me!"

In the first agony of her disillusionment, Francesca, caught unawares, unconsciously betrays to Concordia, Giovanni's little daughter, the secret of her love for Paolo; and Concordia in turn unwittingly betrays it to Giovanni. In the meantime Beatrice has been arrested and is to be tried, among other prisoners, before Giovanni as lord of the *haute et basse justice*. Francesca is resolved that this woman shall be brought to trial while Paolo is equally resolved upon her escape. He bribes the gaoler to let Beatrice escape, but when Francesca insists that the woman be summoned, Paolo in desperation makes a sign to the gaoler. This sign is misconstrued, for the gaoler returns in a few moments with the announcement that the woman has strangled herself. Full of tragic intensity is the final scene, in which the face of the murdered woman is uncovered and recognized by all as the face of Beatrice—a scene fittingly closing upon Giovanni's solemn imperative: "Paolo Malatesta, bury your wife."

We know from history that Paolo left

Florence very shortly after he had been chosen Captain of the People. "We do not know," says Litta, in his *Famiglie celebri d'Italia*, "what very pressing business recalled him to Rimini: perhaps it was that very ardent love for Francesca da Rimini by which he was enthralled. . . ." So we find Paolo, whom we know from tradition as "more given to the arts of peace than to the exercises of war," secretly returning to Rimini; but not unsuspected by Giovanni, who is notified of Paolo's sudden departure from Florence. The poison has been at work, and Giovanni has turned from a blunt, open-hearted man into a crafty conspirator. His conversation with Francesca in the garden outside her chamber, her nervousness over his suggestion that they go indoors, where Paolo is concealed, her betrayal of profoundest interest in Paolo's welfare, all confirm Giovanni's worst suspicions. With Machiavellian art he concocts a story of Paolo's treachery, claiming to have been warned by the Florentine government that Paolo is planning to betray him and secure possession of Rimini. By easy and subtle gradations Giovanni leads the unsuspecting Francesca to confess that it is to Rimini that Paolo is most likely to come, when Giovanni darkly asserts: "Yes, I think it is likely that you will see him here to-day."

The final scene, in Francesca's chamber, is the last fluttering struggle of these prisoners of hope. Neither is blind to the imminent danger, but they give themselves up to the rapture of present happiness. As they are reading the tale of Launcelot and Guinivere, a shadow falls across the page. Francesca glances up, and is just in time to receive the blow intended for Paolo. At the end Francesca drags herself to Paolo's side and cries exultantly to Giovanni, in a melodramatic tirade doubtless inspired by Bernhardt herself:

"Look! Look! This is what you have asked in vain and I have refused—what

you have longed for day and night—what you shall never have of me—look well! The kiss of love—supreme—eternal—true.”

Mr. Crawford's play is notable in many respects, especially for the hardy inventiveness which endows Beatrice with a significant rôle, steals from the story its note of youthful innocence and pity, and effects the tragic dénouement without the customary device of the feigned departure. The situations are dramatically effective and the action steadily progressive. The French critics, generally laudatory in their appreciation of the play, have taken exception to two features: “the long attachment of the lovers, and Malatesta's change from a violent and outspoken man to a stealthy, smiling assassin”; and yet, as Mrs. Wharton in her brilliant essay, *The Three Francescas*, acutely puts it, these are the most characteristic racial traits in the drama. “It is at these points,” she writes, “that Mr. Crawford has shown his insight into Italian character, and his courage in departing from stage conventions. He has had the audacity to draw his characters as Italians of the Middle Ages and not as scrupulous and sentimental modern altruists.”

Signor D'Annunzio's splendidly virile, brutally realistic, yet poetically conceived play, “*Francesca da Rimini*,” has had a remarkable history, almost unparalleled in the history of the stage. Acted for the first time by Eleonora Duse and her Italian company at Rome, on December 9, 1901, it caused almost a riot. The play required five hours for its initial performance, and many of the speeches were inaudible on account of the noise in the theater. After this inhospitable treatment the play was freely cut and acted with the greatest success in the chief cities of Italy. It was my good fortune to see Signora Duse and her Italian company play it exactly one year after its initial performance in Rome, and the only free space in the theater was on the stage.

The play has aroused the most animated discussion and will go down in dramatic history as a remarkable artistic triumph over violent and bitter opposition.

There is, indeed, when we recall the author, little wonder that the original uncut version of the play should have been so riotously assailed. D'Annunzio has been called the Byron, or perhaps he should be more properly styled the Oscar Wilde, of modern Italy. Italians—Italian men—declare it a disgrace to be in the same room with D'Annunzio, and anyone who knows the difficulty of shocking Italian men must realize at once the enormity of such a condemnation. The uncut version of “*Francesca da Rimini*” is tainted with pruriency and indecent suggestion, reminding one in its coarseness and breadth of the pre-Elizabethan drama. It is manifest that the theater-going public owes a debt of gratitude to Signora Duse for having modified and purified the play so thoroughly that as acted by her and her company no part of the play could offend even a delicate sensibility. Signora Duse, to whom the play was dedicated—“To the divine Eleonora Duse,” the dedication reads—has not only purified the play, but has so informed it with her genius that its dramatic qualities have been given that conspicuity that only great drama ever possesses. Her name is so linked with the play and the author and Italy, that it is scarcely too much to say that she and D'Annunzio were collaborators in the creation of “*Francesca da Rimini*.”

It is a most striking and most fitting circumstance that the greatest living Italian actress,—the compeer of Bernhardt and Modjeska, the interpreter of Silvia Pellico's *Francesca* at the age of eleven, and to-day acclaimed the greatest actress in the world—that these two should have joined hands in giving to the world a splendid revival of the pathetic love story cast by their countryman, Dante, in the exquisite mold of perfect poetry.

Of all the plays ever written upon the

theme of the Rimini story, none approaches D'Annunzio's tragedy in the suggesting of an act that is centuries old, in the imaging of an epoch long past, in the reconstruction, one might say, of the bloodiest, darkest and at the same time one of the most beauty-loving ages of all history. As Maurice Hewlett in his *Richard Yea and Nay* surpassed all novelists in giving to the twelfth-century story of the lion-hearted king the darkest, most realistic setting, so D'Annunzio in his "Francesca da Rimini" has surpassed all dramatists in the most terribly graphic delineation of that thirteenth century, when Dante wrote and Petrarch sang—the thirteenth century with all its tears and terror, its poetry and passion, its madness and blood.

Each scene might be a painting by an old Italian master, so graphic, so faithful to detail, so suggestive is it of a long vanished age. One realizes Signor D'Annunzio's wonderful art in this respect even in reading the play, but the impression of reality is complete when it is seen on the stage. Such faithfulness to detail is observed that the lovers are made to read from the old French romance of *Lancelot du Lac*, and the words they repeat are the actual words of the book, put literally into Italian. No pains were spared in this episodic portrayal of life in a medieval Italian city: costumes and architecture were faithful in every detail.

The wealth of characters in D'Annunzio's play,—soldiers, archers, musicians, jesters, merchants, maids, and so on—this very profusion gives an intensely vivid impression of teeming life and activity. Like Rostand's masterpiece, "Cyrano de Bergerac," like many of Shakespeare's plays, D'Annunzio's "Francesca da Rimini" is so full of life, movement and complexity, of men, women and events, as to seem in all verity a palpitating segment of the living world."

And these are Italians that D'Annunzio has projected against his minutely con-

structed, technically perfect background of dark and somber realism—Italians with genuine racial instincts, fierce, bloodthirsty, beauty-loving, passionate, luxurious. If Boker's "Francesca da Rimini" was objected to as an acting play on the score of blood-thirstiness, by the same token, the amount of bloodshed being criterion, D'Annunzio's play should not be tolerated on the stage. From the moment when Ostasio in the first act wounds his defenceless brother, until the last act, when Gianciotto slays with avenging sword his wife and brother, a crimson tide of blood wells up and suffuses every scene. Nor does D'Annunzio, like Phillips, follow the Greeks in the belief that deeds of blood had better take place off the stage, for the fighting, slaughtering and murdering take place before the very eyes of the spectators; as George Moore would say, "right bang in front of the audience!"

D'Annunzio sticks to Boccaccio's version of the story and the play opens at the house of Guido de Minore, father of Francesca, discovering Ostasio, her brother, engaged in discussion with a notary concerning the trick that is to be played upon her. He muses over his sister in the following beautiful passage:

"Ah! she were worth a crown! How beautiful!
No blade is straighter than the gaze she plants
Straight in the eyes of whoso speaks with her.
But yesterday she said: 'What man is this
To whom you give me, brother?' When she goes
Her great hair all about her to her knees
She gladdens me like ensigns in the wind
Over a conquered city. . . . Then it seems
The eagle of our house sits on her wrist
Like a jessed falcon straining for high prey.
But yesterday she said: 'What man is this
You give me to?' Ah, who shall see her end!"

Ostasio's scruples are at last overruled by motives of political expediency, and it is decided that the innocent Francesca is to be tricked into her marriage with the deformed Gianciotto. Paolo, armed with the power of attorney, is to compass the fraud, with the connivance of his brother, Francesca's father and her brother. The full sympathy of the

spectator is at once enlisted in behalf of the innocent and helpless girl.

Francesca and her lovely little sister, Samaritana, accompanied by their female slaves, now enter and the sisters grieve over their coming separation in a passage of touching tenderness. Francesca says to Samaritana:

"Peace, peace, dear soul,
My little dove. Why are you troubled? Peace.
You also, and ere long
Shall see your day of days
And leave your nest as I have left it; then
Your little bed shall stand
Empty beside my bed: and I no more
Shall hear through dreams at dawn
Your little naked feet run to the window
And no more see you white and bare-footed
Run to the window, O my little dove.
And no more hear you say to me 'Francesca,
Francesca, now the morning-star is born
And it has chased away the Pleiades.'"

The maids suddenly call out, "Madonna Francesca! Madonna Francesca!" summoning her to the balcony to catch a glimpse of her future husband—Paolo the Beautiful. She starts to mount the stairs, fears to look the future in the face, and overcome with emotion turns to Samaritana and bursts into tears. Paolo now appears beyond the closed gate, and Francesca, pale with intense feeling, plucks from the near-by rose-bush a full-blown, blood-red rose and offers it to him. Words cannot picture what D'Annunzio calls the "melodious grace of that mystic hour."

In the second act are disclosed the battlements of the Malatesta fortress, overlooking the city of Rimini. The signal for the coming battle is momentarily expected, and Francesca, unable to breathe shut up in her room among her trembling women, has ascended to the summit of the tower, that she may "hear the twanging of the bows." Paolo soon joins her and is bitterly upbraided for the base and cruel fraud he has practiced upon her. His remorse is deep and sincere, and he asks how he must die to expiate his sin. Francesca answers, "Like the slave at the rudder in the galley, the name of which is despera-

tion." While she is speaking the bells of Santa Columba peal forth the signal for the battle, and Paolo gives Francesca his helmet, resolved to prove his penitence by exposing himself to every possible danger. Francesca perceives in this ordeal the judgment of God, and prays to heaven that in view of so much bravery the soul of her brother-in-law may be purged from all stains of treachery, through God's love.

In the heat of the conflict, while the air is filled with missiles, an arrow passes through Paolo's beautiful hair. Francesca cries out and seizes his head in her hands. So unnerved is Paolo by her touch that he confesses his love for her, his dread of the future. Francesca forbids him ever again to give countenance to the thought. Just at this moment Gianciotto appears and announces Paolo's election as Captain of the People by the Florentines. Francesca brings a cup of wine to her husband, who drains it. She then refills it and offers it to Paolo with the words:

"O brother of my lord, drink of the cup
Thy brother drinks of . . ."

a symbol of deepest, most portentous significance.

The third act opens upon a scene of surpassing loveliness, the very jewel of the play. This is the bedchamber of Francesca, panelled with pictures from the romance of Tristan, while upon the pale-blue curtains of the bed are embroidered some lines from a love song. Soon a traveling merchant enters of whom Francesca buys many beautiful dress stuffs, all the while artfully inquiring news of Paolo, in whose train the merchant has come to Rimini from Florence. As soon as the merchant retires, Paolo enters and then begins the beautiful love scene in which the lovers are swept away upon the wings of the wind of destiny. They stand side by side at the lectern and read alternately from the story of Launcelot and Guinevere. Their foreheads bow closer

toward each other, their cheeks are almost touching, and as he reads the lines:

"The Queen doth look upon the knight
Who does not dare to more audaciously address
her.
She takes him by the chin, and upon the lips
She doth long and fondly kiss him,—"

he makes the same movement toward Francesca and touches her lightly upon the lips. I recall with vividness the moving impression, as of quick nature itself, given by the sad, deprecating and yet tender tone with which the divine Duse says the two words, "No, Paolo," as she turns her face from him. For dramatic effectiveness this situation is unequaled throughout the play.

The beauty of this scene, in milieu, stage setting and in poetic art is worthy of one who claims the same country as Dante, and by contrast with the fierce din and clangor of battle in the preceding act its loveliness is made the more apparent. If the "grim-visaged war" of Guelph and Ghibelline seems a lurid image of the fierce Italy of Rienzi and Mattarazzo, this fair scene of youth and love might be an illuminated page from the bright, insouciant Italy of Romola or Boccaccio.

Malatestino, brother to Gianciotto and Paolo, a savage and cruel youth, has been nursed back to health by Francesca, through a long illness occasioned by his wounds, and in particular the loss of an eye. Her gentle nursing has awakened in him the most passionate love, but when he addresses his words of "wild, baneful desire" to her, she repulses him with such horror that he is angered beyond bounds. He darkly insinuates that his one eye has seen very clearly the veiled love of the beautiful Paolo and the perfidious Francesca.

Gianciotto presently enters and is left alone with Malatestino, who gradually betrays to him by hint and insinuation his suspicions of Paolo and Francesca. It is his cunning that devises the stratagem of a feigned departure, in order to entrap the guilty pair.

In breathless suspense the spectator now awaits the fall of the avenging sword. The fifth act shows the same scene as the third. Francesca, fully dressed lies upon the bed asleep. Her, women are conversing in low tones in the semi-darkness, breathing more freely now that the crook-back and the blind one are gone. Francesca awakens in fright, with the cry, "Paolo!" and it is but a few moments before Paolo himself appears. He takes Francesca into a mad embrace, and all else is forgotten in the insatiable passion of their kisses.

But suddenly a tremendous knocking comes at the door, and Gianciotto's terrible voice is heard calling, "Francesca! Open! Francesca!" She goes slowly to the door, bidding Paolo escape through the trap-door, but unknown to her, as she opens the door Paolo's mantle catches in the handle of the trap-door and holds him fast. Gianciotto lunges at him with tremendous force and pierces instead Francesca, who hurls herself between the two. Paolo catches her sinking form and as he closes her dying lips with his own he receives Gianciotto's sword. The lame one bends down in silence, and as the lovers fall to the floor, locked in each other's arms, Gianciotto lets himself fall upon one knee and over the other breaks in twain the bloody sword.

Of all the interpreters of the Da Rimini story, D'Annunzio has followed Boccaccio's version closest. Not only has he aroused in the beginning of the play the spectator's warmest sympathy for the lovely Francesca, who is deceived by all those nearest her into her marriage with Gianciotto, but in the end he still follows Boccaccio. Gianciotto's blow is intended for Paolo alone, according to Boccaccio, but by ill-hap pierces Francesca, who tried to intercept it; whereupon Gianciotto in desperation turned again upon Paolo and slew him. Although Orabile, Paolo's wife, plays no part in D'Annunzio's play, yet her name is several times mentioned.

I have already spoken of D'Annunzio's wonderful art in his realistic presentation of Italian life in the thirteenth century. This is genuine devotion to art which gives as much care to the picturing of medieval life as to the development of human character. But it would seem that this feature is so stressed that the story in D'Annunzio's hands becomes less a tragedy of love than a tragedy of blood. Everywhere passion, license, deception, hatred, treachery and bloodshed reign supreme. A brother wounds his unarmed brother, a son poisons his father, a captor kills his defenseless prisoner, a brother sells his beautiful sister for a troop of a hundred horsemen. The third act is the only one in which blood does not freely flow before your eyes; and this act well nigh redeems the play, for it is a very jewel shining forth from its dark and somber setting of falsehood, treachery and blood. This act, with its keen touches of delicate humor, its subtle revelations of womanliness, best reveals the fascinating character of D'Annunzio's *Francesca*.

Of the play in its entirety one might say, without fear of misinterpretation, that it is Shakespearean in luxuriance and complexity, in character and motive, in movement and action. The poetry

is tense, strong, yet beautiful, a veritable flame of speech. It leaps from the heart of the situation, revealing all the definite realities of the passion. About it there is no trace of modernity, of modern subtilty. "Behind all its lyrical outcries," says the translator, Arthur Symons, "there is a hard grip on the sheer facts of the age. By a great sweep we are borne back to Italy, Dante and the Pre-Renaissance."

François Villon, the French lyricist, once wrote these lines:

"Where is the Queen of Herod's kiss,
And Phryne in her beauty bare;
By what strange sea does Tomyris
With Dido and Cassandra share
Divine Proserpine's despair?
The wind has blown them all away—
For what poor ghost does Helen care?
Where are the girls of yesterday?"

Alas for lovers, pair by pair!
The wind has blown them all away,
The young and yare, the fond and fair,
Where are the snows of yesterday?"

Ah, no, Monsieur Villon, the wind has not blown them all away,—since a Phillips, a Crawford and a D'Annunzio live to catch and image in imperishable beauty that *Francesca da Rimini* who is the darling of the world.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

Chapel Hill, N. C.

JUDICIAL SUPREMACY.

BY HON. WALTER CLARK, LL.D.,

Chief-Justice of North Carolina.

**Note:* Late in November the distinguished Chief-Justice of North Carolina, Hon. Walter Clark LL.D. delivered an address before the Economic Club of Boston which was received with marked approval. Justice Clark is one of the strongest, clearest and most fundamental thinkers and advocates of pure democracy in public life in America to-day and he is one of the ablest of our leading judges. He served for fourteen years as associate justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, and then was nominated for the most

honorable position in the state,—that of Chief Justice. He was opposed by the railway corporations and the tobacco trust but he was elected by the largest majority ever given to a candidate in the state.

The address delivered in Boston was so timely and so clearly did it present a very serious question that affects in a vital way the life of democratic government that we requested Justice Clark to put the substance of this address into a paper for THE ARENA that the many thousands of serious-

minded men and women all over the nation might be brought face to face with a situation the gravity of which it would be difficult to overestimate. This he has done, and we herewith present it,

urging all friends of free institutions to give it the careful consideration it so richly deserves.

Editor of *THE ARENA*.

AT THE last session of Congress there was presented to the world one of the most singular spectacles known to history. The evils of our railroad managements, which are manifold and serious, had engaged the thoughts of the people. In sympathy with their just demands the President had recommended to Congress the enactment of remedial legislation. The House of Representatives after full debate passed a bill for Railroad Regulation. It went to the Senate. In that body it was discussed and debated. The necessity for such legislation and the public demand for it were admitted by all. As to the justice and propriety of the measures proposed, there was slight difference of opinion. But there was elaborate and long discussion. Over what? Why, whether the subordinate Federal judges would issue their mandate to stop the execution of an Act of the American Congress, passed by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States and approved by the President, and if they did so whether such mandates would be approved by the majority of the Supreme Court. Nowhere else on the globe at any time has such a spectacle been presented. In no other country in all time has it ever been claimed that the judges thereof had power to impose their veto upon the action of the law-making power. Elsewhere the judges have been bound by the laws and are not superior to them.

The text-books tell us that the supreme power in any government is the law-making power. The courts are not authorized to legislate. They have no power save what is conferred by the Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof. Yet there were 90 Senators, the representatives of 45 sovereign States turning over volumes of reports and guessing and prophesying as to what

five elderly lawyers would or would not permit, if the Congress should enact it. And the final action taken, shriveled and reduced in dimension, weakened and inconsistent, to evade, if possible, the apprehended judicial veto is still but a guess for no one yet knows, or can foretell, what approval or disapproval a majority of the court may place upon the formulated enactment of the law-making power.

Not all the world besides, with all their armies and navies combined, can control, or hinder, or negative the will of the 90,000,000 of the American people, expressed by their Congress and Executive, as to the management of their domestic affairs. Only God in heaven has power to say them nay. Whence then comes this power of five men to nullify legislation or to shape it by fear of nullification? They are placed in the judicial office by no vote of the people, and holding for life, are not responsible to that public opinion which is the corner-stone of a Republican government.

So vast a power as that of setting aside the will of a great people duly expressed in the enactment of their laws challenges attention. It is not a sufficient reply to say that it has been done. The question remains was it ever rightfully done, when and by whom was the power conferred, is it binding on this generation and is its continuance safe. We should throw the lead and sound the depths ere the noble ship strikes the reef.

One of the great fundamental ideas of all Republican constitutions is that the legislative, executive and judicial departments shall remain separate and distinct from each other. The Federal Constitution and the Constitutions of most, but not of all, the States give the Executive a veto upon legislation but this is

not absolute and is subject to be disregarded if the statute is reenacted by a designated vote, varying in different states, but usually a two-thirds vote of each House. So the legislative department remains sovereign over legislation. After a statute is enacted, it is then for the Executive to execute the law thus made and for the judiciary to construe and apply, and not nullify, the statute. In Rhode Island, North Carolina, Ohio, West Virginia and Delaware, the State Constitution has conferred not even this qualified veto upon the Executive.

But if the judiciary has the power it claims, to set aside the statutes approved by the Executive then that department has an absolute veto which even the unanimous vote of both houses of the Law-making Department cannot overcome. The separation of the three Departments of Government no longer exists. The Legislative Department can enact no law and the Executive can put no law into force, if disapproved by a majority of the Highest Court. In short, instead of the separation and equality of three coördinate Departments, as enjoined by most Constitutions, we have in plain truth Judicial Supremacy.

The form of government amounts to little. The true enquiry is where does the ultimate governing power reside. In England, there are nominally King, Lords and Commons but the true Executive is a Committee of the House of Commons, known as the Cabinet. The King has not even the veto power which he has not exercised for 200 years. The veto has become sole prerogative of the House of Lords, who exercise it only upon sufferance and there is now on foot a movement to deprive them of even that. The judges have never had in England any power to set aside an act of Parliament but are subject to removal, without any charge, by a majority vote of that body.

In ancient Rome, there remained a Senate, and Tribunes of the people, and the Republican formula, "The Sen-

ate and the Roman People" was carried at the head of the legions till the last day of the Empire, long centuries after all power had passed from the *Curia* and the *Comitia* to the barracks of the Pretorian Guards and during all these centuries there was no will or law, or power in Rome save that of their master.

In France, years after Napoleon was crowned and had become Emperor in name as well as in fact, the coins, the standards of the army, the laws, the public buildings and legal documents all still bore the superscription the "French Republic."

Forms of government remain long after a total change of the substance. We should not delude ourselves with the idea that the people govern in this country and that through the Congress and State Legislatures they shape their own destinies, when in truth and in fact they can not pass a single statute, of any kind or nature, however urgently demanded unless the statute shall meet the approval of a majority of the lawyers who happen at the time to compose the highest court. In some States two lawyers (a majority of three) can thus prevent or nullify all legislation. In other States three or four lawyers (according as the Court may have 5 or 7 judges) hold the absolute unrestricted power to destroy the announcement of the popular will by the legislature and five lawyers, a majority of the Supreme Court of the Union, staid, venerable, conservative and by reason of their years not unnaturally averse to new measures, can at will bring any movement of the people or of Congress to an imperative halt. Ninety millions must stand instantly still at their command. The form of the enactment of all laws, if the fact were truly expressed would be "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, if the majority of the Supreme Court shall assent thereto," for Congress can enact nothing against their consent.

In what I have said, and in what I shall say, there is absolutely nothing

new. It is novel only because it is old. It has been often and better said, and more clearly and ably stated than I can possibly state it. I will not weary you by citations from the best and ablest statesmen of the age that formed the Constitution. Their views can be readily found by those who shall care to examine the subject. The passage of the years and the progress of events have made the situation more acute and more dangerous than most may be aware.

In that exquisite little poem by the late Secretary John Hay, he tells of the steamer

"With her furnace crammed with rosin and pine
And a nigger squat on her safety valve."

And then the fire

"broke out as she cleared the bar."

And the passengers had

"Faith in his cussedness
That he would hold her nose agin the bank
Till the last galoot was ashore."

And he tells us

"Jim Bludsoe's ghost went up alone
In the smoke of the Prairie Belle."

We live in an age of wonderful development. The 3,000,000 of 1787 have become 90,000,000; the 13 small colonies clinging to the Atlantic coast have become 46 great commonwealths reaching to the silent oceans; the population climbing the Alleghenies, has swarmed across the Mississippi, breasted the Rocky Mountains and pausing but a moment on the shores of the Pacific has unfurled the flag in possessions so much farther to the West, that we call it "The East." No longer from New Hampshire to Georgia, but from Maine to Manila, from Porto Rico and Panama to the Pole, now floats the flag of the Great Republic. And our development has been greater than our increase in population or our expansion in territory. Labor-saving machinery has made our productive force per man 20-fold, 50-fold and in some cases 200-fold. Universal education has sharpened the intel-

lect and elevated the masses. They think, they move, they feel their power and they know that they can assert it and have a right to do so. Material wealth has multiplied faster than men. The earth has given up its unsuspected treasures. Our single bank of 1790 has been replaced by more than 15,000 banks. Our 75 post-offices have become 75,000 and the rural delivery carries the mail to the country firesides. The railroad, the steamboat, the telegraph, the telephone, have brought the masses closer together and the quick exchange of intelligence makes prompt organization feasible.

With limitless power of men and means, with quickened intelligence and unconquerable independence, with her engines "crammed with rosin and pine" this great throbbing, pulsing ship of State has swung off from Pier 138—to quote Mark Twain. Its safety valve is the free expression of the people's will and its execution as their chosen representatives have written it on the statute books. But as the great ship heads down stream, we find the Court "squat on the safety valve." It held that the legal tender act was invalid and then that it was valid. It held for 100 years that the rich might be taxed on their incomes and then suddenly by the change of a single judge, five against four, it held that the almost unanimous vote of both Houses of Congress and approval of the President had no effect in these United States and thus, contrary to law, this one lawyer transferred more than \$100,000,000 of annual taxation from the superfluous wealth of the rich and placed it on the backs of the poor where that burden has remained for 14 years. No King in Europe could have thus repealed such a statute enacted by his people without an explosion that would have brought the very pillars of the State about his head. The people of New York in pity for the overtaxed laborers in a certain calling passed an act limiting their hours of labor. The highest court

of the State saw no occasion or right to intervene, but the Federal Supreme Court interfering with purely local legislation which could affect no one but the residents of that State told the people of New York that they could not free the bondsmen and bondswomen who were laboring beyond their strength.

Up till 1844 the United States Supreme Court held that corporations were not "citizens" and hence a non-resident corporation could not go into the Federal courts but must sue and be sued in the State courts. This was then changed by the court holding, to the advantage, as it has proved, of railroads and trusts, that a corporation is a "citizen." About the same time the court held with its new lights, that a corporation was a "citizen," it held that a negro was not a citizen. What the court would have held to be the status of a corporation composed of negroes is still a problem.

I might go on and give case after case of interference with legislation by the non-legislative branch of the government. But I am preferring no bill of indictment against any judges past or present. I am not questioning their ability or their motives. But as an American citizen, talking to American citizens, I do question the assertion by the judiciary of the power to set aside the will of the people so lightly and so often. I plainly see the danger of thwarting that will to the extent that it has been done, and to the greater extent which is threatened.

There is a law in physics "the greater the repression the greater the explosion." If the fire "breaks out when the ship of State has crossed the bar" Jim Bludsoe's ghost may not "go up alone in the smoke of the Prairie Belle." Society will be shaken to its foundations. In the language of the day, "It is best not to monkey with the safety valve."

One of our own poets has said:

"The moor at Marston felt its tread
Through Jersey snows the march it led."

It was called the spirit of liberty.

It was the movement of a growing people expanding their chests, feeling their power and resolved to live their own lives more in their own way. Charles the First was a moral man and a good king, as kings go. In his claim of prerogative, he was undoubtedly right, if past customs and acquiescence could give right and if the hand of the dead could chill and repress the beating hearts of the living but England had outlived feudalism and exactions of baron and king. At Naseby, at Edgehill, at Marston Moor the troopers of Cromwell trampled the outworn order of things into the mire. The restoration of 1660 was upon condition of a statute recognizing the extinction of feudalism. But the restored Stuarts did not recognize the new spirit of the age. James II. still thought it possible that a king could reign in England. But since 1688, though there have been many kings in England no king has reigned there. The first statute of William and Mary formulated what had been gained and the first eight Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, our Federal Bill of Rights, are taken from that statute.

George the Third thought he could reign in America, if not in England. Lexington and Concord, and Bunker Hill and Saratoga and Yorktown shattered his dream. If we could not be governed by a hereditary king, can the will of the people be held in check and nullified by five lawyers? If a State enacts rate regulation of common carriers shall a subordinate Federal judge throw the statute back in our faces. If Congress shall enact regulation of carriers, taxation of incomes, and the legal tender quality of our money, shall the judges say to the contrary? If our Congress and our Legislatures cannot legislate for us, where did a few lawyers, wearing gowns, get the right to say what our laws shall be? Who gave them the power? This generation did, not, for the laws express the public will

contrary to the will of the judges. The only reply that comes to us is that the generation of 1787, most of whom have been dead more than 100 years, gave these judges the power to deny to this generation the right to make their own laws. As that generation spent themselves in a patriotic struggle for the right of self-government they could hardly have intended to deny that right to us if they could. The claim has never borne examination. It reminds me of an incident which occurred several years ago in a court in North Carolina. Counsel on one side in support of a motion made a statement of facts which seemed meritorious to the judge. The opposing counsel observed it and when he came to reply, said: "I see the court is impressed by the statement made by Brother A—, but I can assure your Honor that there is absolutely nothing in it except *the imperturbable perpendicularity of assertion on the part of counsel.*"

The doctrine of judicial supremacy, of the right of the courts to disallow laws, rests upon no other basis. It did not exist in England. No judge there has ever asserted it to be a judicial function. It did not exist under the first Constitution of the United States. Our second Constitution which was created by the Federal Convention in Philadelphia in 1787 contains no word or a line conferring such power on the courts or giving any intimation of so doing. That convention sat with closed doors, under a resolution that no member should divulge its proceeding. The Journal was kept secret and first published 49 years later with Madison's notes. From that we see that the proposition to give to the judges of Supreme Court power to hold an act of Congress unconstitutional was proposed and that in its least objectionable form, *i. e.*, before the ratification of an act (as with the Presidential veto). It was supported by Mr. Madison, afterwards President, and by James Wilson, afterwards Judge of the United States Supreme Court, and others,

but was voted down on June 4th, receiving the votes of only two states. The motion was renewed no less than three times, *i. e.*, on June 6th, July 21st, and finally on August 15th, and at no time received the votes of more than three States, though thus earnestly pressed by influential members. On this last occasion, Mr. Mercer, thus voiced the sentiment of the Convention: "He disapproved of the doctrine that the judges, as expositors of the Constitution should have authority to declare a law void. He thought laws ought to be well and cautiously made, and then to be uncontrovertible."

The doctrine had been announced by the Supreme Courts of Rhode Island, New Jersey and Virginia and North Carolina not long before the Federal Convention met and the innovation (for it was such) must have been well known to that body but though persistently pressed and by such able men, the Convention four times decisively and finally refused to adopt it. The origin of the decisions in those four States, as well as can be learned, was this: though the king could exercise no veto power in England the laws of the Provincial Assemblies were sent to him and "allowed" or "disallowed" by his privy council. After the Revolution, the Governors of North Carolina and Rhode Island had no veto (as is still the case) and I believe that at that time neither the governor of New Jersey or Virginia possessed it. The Courts thinking that there should be a bridle somewhere for the new democracy assumed the vacant privy council veto. In Rhode Island there was a movement for impeachment but the legislature instead merely dropped the judges from office at their next meeting, they being annually elected by the legislature.

After the decisive refusal of the Convention of 1787 to give this authority to the judges, the matter lay quiet for 14 years when it was announced by John Marshall in *Marbury versus Madison*, in an *obiter dictum*. But as the Court

though asserting its abstract right to declare an act unconstitutional concluded by dismissing the action because Congress had not allowed it to issue a mandamus no issue was raised with President Jefferson who it was known, would not permit execution of the order of the court.

The power was not conferred. The Constitution shows that. The Convention refused to give it. The Journals are evidence of this. It is a power without precedent. It is unknown in England whence we derive our legal origins. A distinguished North Carolinian, Major E. J. Hale, while our Consul to Manchester delivered a lecture on the Constitution of the United States. A noble Earl who sat in front of him, asked: "You do not mean to say that your Congress and Senate can pass a law, and the President approve it and then any little Judge in the land can hold it invalid, and, on appeal, a majority of the Supreme Court can kill it, without power of resurrection?" He was told that this was true. "O Heavens," he said, "what would we not give for a thing like that to keep these Gladstonians down."

It is true that in England there is no written Constitution but if the judges possessed the power they could hold an act unconstitutional, because "contrary to the Magna Charta," or "not due process of law," or because "interfering with the right to contract" and for other sonorous reasons so readily given by our courts. In Germany, France, Norway and Sweden, Canada and Australia and other countries, all of which, even Russia, Japan and Persia now have constitutions, this invasion of the legislative domain by the courts setting aside a law is equally known. Ask a French judge why he does not so hold. He will turn his palms down, shrug his shoulders and say: "Those Deputies know as much about the Constitution as I do." A recent attempt to introduce the doctrine in the new Commonwealth

of Australia was promptly negatived.

If the Constitution had conferred the power on the judges it would not have made it absolute but would surely have made it reviewable like the Presidential veto. And it would have made it enforceable. But President Jefferson disregarded it when the Court made its judgment. In the Georgia case Jackson left it unenforced, merely saying "John Marshall has made his decree, now let him enforce it," and it was never of any effect. Mr. Lincoln did the same in the Merryman case. The whole country knows how little the Dred Scott decision was of any effect.

In short, the doctrine is without previous precedent, is without authority in the Constitution, is unnecessary because not required elsewhere, and unenforceable except at the pleasure of the Executive and its exercise is undemocratic and unsafe.

But, it may be asked, suppose an act is against the very letter of the Constitution, which is very rarely the case. The answer is that as in other countries, the members of the legislature are sworn to obey the Constitution. There is equal patriotism and in so large a body usually more legal ability than in the Court. If the Legislature or Congress mistake the Constitution, the people can correct it at the next election. Whereas if the Court mistakes it, the unanimous vote of the whole electorate is powerless to correct it.

No more adroit flattery can be addressed by lawyers to a judge than the implied suggestion that while the legislature has been ignorant, or wilfully disregarding of their oaths to obey the Constitution, or corrupt, the courts are superior to all these things. But are judges infallible? They are not so when at the bar. What divine unction falls upon them on ascending the bench? We all know that the minority of the court is fallible and those who have ever heard the comments of the lawyers of the losing party in a cause will doubt if

the majority of the court are as infallible as they think.

I cannot better conclude than in the following words of the late Judge Seymour D. Thompson in his address to the State Bar Association of Texas, in 1896. Judge Thompson was one of the leading lawyers of this country. He was the author of many legal works, for many years editor of the *American Law Review* and at one time Judge of the Court of Appeals of Missouri. I quote from 30 *American Law Review*, September, 1896, pp. 697-699. He said:

"There is danger, real danger, that the people will see at one sweeping glance that all the powers of their government, Federal and State, lie at the feet of us lawyers, that is to say, at the feet of a judicial oligarchy; that those powers are being steadily exercised in behalf of the wealthy and powerful classes, and to the prejudice of the scattered and segregated people; that the power thus seized includes the power of amending the Constitution; the power of superintending the action, not merely of Congress, but also of the State Legislatures; the power of degrading the powers of the two houses of Congress, in making those investigations which they may deem accessory to wise legislation, to the powers which an English court has ascribed to British Colonial legislatures; the power of superintending the judiciary of the States, of annulling their judgments and commanding them what judgments to render; the power of denying to Congress the power to raise revenue by a method employed by all governments; making the fundamental

sovereign powers of government, such as the power of taxation, the subject of barter between corrupt legislatures and private adventurers; holding that a venal legislature, temporarily invested with power, may corruptly bargain away those essential attributes of sovereignty and for all time; that corporate franchises bought from corrupt legislatures are sanctified and placed forever beyond recall by the people; that great trusts and combinations may place their yokes upon the necks of the people of the United States, who must groan forever under the weight, without remedy and without hope; that trial by jury and the ordinary criminal justice of the States, which ought to be kept near the people, are to be set aside, and Federal court injunctions substituted therefor; that those injunctions extend to preventing laboring men quitting their employment, although they are liable to be discharged by their employers at any time, thus creating and perpetuating a state of slavery. There is danger that the people will see these things all at once; see their enrobed judges doing their thinking on the side of the rich and powerful; see them look with solemn cynicism upon the sufferings of the masses, nor heed the earthquake when it begins to rock beneath their feet; see them present a spectacle not unlike that of Nero fiddling while Rome burns. There is danger that the people will see all this at one sudden glance, and that the furies will then break loose and that all hell will ride on their wings."

WALTER CLARK.

Raleigh, N. C.

A GLANCE AT PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S ADMINISTRATION AND HIS PERSONALITY.

BY HON. JOHN D. WORKS.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT became President of the United States, in the first instance, by the hand of an assassin, and not by choice of the people. Much fear was entertained and freely expressed, that his supposed impetuous and imperative disposition, and lack of that caution and deliberation so necessary to the proper administration of so great an office would unfit him for the position. But his administration of the affairs of government during his incumbency, thus brought about, was a surprise to many and gave very general satisfaction. The tragic event by which the office was cast upon him, and the grave responsibilities it involved, seemed to subdue his natural tendency and render him more cautious and conservative than was supposed to be possible. His retention in office of the advisors of his predecessor was wise, and inspired confidence; and his choice of other members of his cabinet, and other officials in the executive department of the government, have been very generally approved and commended. His fearless independence, and evident integrity of purpose, appealed to public sentiment, and when the time for the selection of a president by popular choice came on, there was perhaps no more popular public official in the country. He was nominated by his party, practically without opposition, and triumphantly elected. With such an endorsement, and expression of public approval, and favor, much was expected of his future conduct of the office. But it must be confessed by the candid and unbiased observer of events that this expectation has not been realized. His later administration of our domestic public affairs has been a distinct disappointment. The traits of character apparently inbred in his disposition, which were feared and dreaded in the beginning, have been made manifest more and more as time passed. His ambition to rule, absolutely, in affairs of government, his intolerance of opposition, his intemperate attacks upon those who failed to agree with him, and his masterful attempts to dominate and control not only his own department of government but the legislative and judicial departments as well, have startled the more conservative and thoughtful citizen as a dangerous innovation and a peril to our republican institutions. Our forefathers very wisely separated the management and administration of our governmental affairs into departments; executive, legislative and judicial, and made and intended them to be, as far as possible, independent of each other. This intention has been, in a great measure, subverted, in the present administration, by the efforts of the president to make the other departments subservient, not only to the executive department, but to his own personal and unrestrained will. Never in the history of this country has the personal influence of the president upon the legislative and judicial departments of the government been so openly and persistently exercised in order to accomplish his wishes and enforce his personal ideas and policies; and never has the assumed power been so arbitrarily and ruthlessly enforced. The opportunity and means to this end are furnished unfortunately, by the powers that are legally given him, and which, if rightly exercised, may be used without offense to the letter or spirit of the law, or the

institutions and principles of government. He is given the appointing power in the judicial department, which is a potent means of securing the services of those who agree with his views and policies, and who may be trusted to carry out and enforce them, conscientiously, of course, because they do believe in them. In the legislative branch of the government, his power is much more potent and far-reaching. He has control of the vast federal patronage to bestow it where he chooses. By a pernicious custom, which however, the president may violate, at his will, a large part of this patronage in the way of appointment to office, has been farmed out to senators and representatives in their respective states and districts by permitting them to name the appointees to certain offices. It is one of the singular phases of political life that these officials should prize this questionable privilege so highly. But, as they do, for that and other reasons such senators and representatives, elected to serve the country, and not seekers for place, are anxious to keep in favor with the president. To do so, they must, if he demands it, support his policies and do his bidding. The demand has undoubtedly been made, and the fear of just such consequences has warped the judgment and influenced the conduct, on public questions, of vital interest to the country, of many law-makers. Not that the President has threatened such consequences, to secure such action, but the mere knowledge that he possessed the power to deprive them of the patronage they so highly prize has been enough. It is a sad commentary on our institutions and laws, and our public officials, that the performance, or failure to perform public duties, should be influenced by such selfish and ignoble desires and base purposes. But no observer of events can doubt it. The domination and control of the legislative department of government, serious as it is, is of infinitely less consequence than the intimidation or attempted intimidation of the judiciary.

It is no idle saying that the judiciary is the great bulwark of human liberty, protector of individual rights and the preserver of our most sacred institutions. The federal judiciary stands preëminent for intelligence, fearless honesty and integrity, and judicial knowledge. There may be some individual exceptions, but they are rare and few in number. If reports be true, the President has denounced, in unmeasured terms, at least one federal judge for differing with his views of the law and its enforcement. By so doing, he has made it publicly known that all judges so differing with his views will fall under his displeasure. No one would be found to intimate that the President would purposely interfere with the due administration of justice, or attempt to intimidate a judicial officer in the performance of his duties. Nevertheless, the open denunciation of the judicial act of one judge for a decision rendered by him, is calculated to influence his action if the question should come before him again and would be well calculated to influence other judges in the performance of similar duties, in the result of which the President is known to be interested.

This tendency of the President to denounce those who do not agree with him has led him into many indiscretions, and his arbitrary methods, his lack of restraint, and determination to have his own way, have made him a conspicuous example of the danger to our institutions of unchecked, and uncontrolled power, intended to bring both the legislative and judicial departments into his way of thinking, and thus accomplish his ends. The existence of the custom of distributing patronage to legislators at the will of the executive, and which, under such conditions, allowed as a favor, is a political power in the President that may be fraught with far-reaching consequences. The power to withdraw the favor is a constant menace to any law-maker who is independent enough to act in opposition to the wishes of the executive. The estimate placed upon

this privilege of controlling appointments, within their districts, and the eagerness with which they take advantage of it, shows what a powerful weapon it is in the hands of the President. It is one of the greatest evils of this country to-day, and the use of it is most shameful. That the fear of losing the political advantage it affords members of Congress has warped their judgments, caused them in many instances to betray the interests of their constituents and their country, to subserve the purposes of the executive, no one can reasonably doubt. The crying evil of the day, in official life, is too much politics, too much selfish striving for political office and preferment. What the country needs, most of all, is broad-minded, unselfish, patriotic statesmanship, and a President of the United States, who stoops to accomplish his purposes by pandering to this debasing appetite for the spoils of office, however worthy those purposes may be, is an enemy to our republican institutions and the abetter of the most unworthy and dangerous tendencies in public life.

The one thing that seemed, at the outset of Mr. Roosevelt's career as President, to appeal to public favor was his fearless independence. It is a quality much to be commended, and a necessary qualification for the high office. But it must be accompanied by clear judgment, due caution, discrimination, conservatism and strict integrity, or it may be a most dangerous quality. In some of these the President has shown himself to be sadly lacking. If he sets his mind upon a certain course, he throws caution, discretion, to the winds. It must be so in his estimation, if he wills it to be so. If it is desired legislation, Congress must bend to his will. If it is a construction of an existing law, the judge must construe it his way or fall under his displeasure and meet with open criticism and denunciation. If, in his estimation, some person or corporation has violated the law, instead of placing the matter in the hands of the judicial, or law department,

to be dealt with in a legal and orderly way, he makes it an executive matter, takes it in control, denounces the supposed offenders as criminals, before trial and conviction, and tells the whole country what he is going to do about it and how. So, we have the unpleasant spectacle of the President of the United States going about the country denouncing its citizens as criminals, and enemies of the people, and telling the people what the policy of his administration is, and will be, in the prosecution of trusts and other alleged law-breakers.

No right-minded citizen will question the right of the President to call upon the law department of the government to prosecute and bring to justice any offender against its laws, whether he be high or low, rich or poor. That men in high places, possessed of great wealth and power, have shamelessly violated the laws of their country, and should be punished accordingly, is evident. But they should be tried, and punished, if guilty, according to the laws of the country, unaffected by the towering influence of the President. To denounce the supposed offender, before trial, thus prejudging his case, is in itself an offense against our principles of government, and is calculated to arouse violent prejudices and result in injustice and oppression. Indeed, it is seriously claimed that the intemperate assaults of the President on what is sometimes termed predatory wealth, and upon men at the head of large commercial and other business institutions; has precipitated a financial panic and business depression that has caused great loss and much suffering and distress. This charge is probably unjust and unfounded. The determination of the President that men and corporations believed to have violated the law shall be prosecuted and if found guilty, be punished, is to be commended. If this shall cause a financial panic, so be it. Let it come. If this country can prosper only by shielding criminals from prosecution and con-

viction it has no right to enjoy prosperity. The claim that protection of offenders against the law is necessary to protect the country from financial distress is a slander upon our institutions and our business standards of honesty and business integrity. The fact of the determination of the President to bring the guilty to justice, affords no reason for a financial panic. It is much more reasonable to suppose that the men suspected of crime, and denounced as criminals, and who possess almost unlimited power to bring on financial disorder, because of their vast wealth, have brought about such conditions, and have falsely attributed it to the action of the President. Nevertheless, the course of the President is justly subject to criticism and condemnation. His spectacular and intemperate attack, in public addresses, upon those whom he believes or suspects of being guilty of violations of the law are undignified and inappropriate and calculated to destroy public confidence in moneyed men and moneyed institutions. The course taken by the President is a species of imperialism and misuse of his great office and calculated to bring him into public disfavor and lower the office of President of the United States in the estimation, not only of our own people, but of foreign countries. The earnest and diligent prosecution of violators of law without respect to persons, by the law department of the government, is worthy of the highest commendation and should be sustained by public opinion, but the public utterances of the President upon the subject, are too obviously out of place, and savor too much of unworthy bravado and appeal to public prejudice, too much of the spectacular, too much of an effort to arouse public sentiment in his own favor to meet with the approval of the conservative thinking citizen.

The writer is a Republican, and in the main believes in its principles, but is without sympathy for the effort to place the party above the country, and turn

the government into a political machine, or the use of it for personal or political advantage. There has been altogether too much of this during the present administration. Therefore, it may be taken as fortunate for the country that Mr. Roosevelt pledged himself not to be a candidate for a third term. It will be more fortunate if the Republican party can rise above the influences of the present administration in the selection of a candidate for the presidency. The people are growing restive under the present party domination of politics for personal ends and selfish purposes. They are sighing for some revival of the old-time statesmanship and patriotic devotion to the country's needs, to the exclusion of mere party advantage. The former close adherence to political parties is fast giving way to a spirit of independence in political affairs that gives promise of better things. Perhaps nothing has contributed more to this spirit of independence than the unwarranted and arbitrary domination of every department of the government by the one man above all others who, while he occupies his present position should stand for the fearless and independent action of every department and every officer, in the interest of the whole country uninfluenced by public prejudice or clamor, party dictation, or presidential domination or influence. In this respect the President has signally failed. Notwithstanding this, the country has never lost faith in the sincerity of his intentions or the integrity and honesty of his purposes. The country believes that his avowed intention to suppress crime and the violation of federal laws has been sincere, but the manner in which the avowals have been made, and the times of making them, have been unfortunate and not to his credit or the credit of the office of the President of the United States.

JOHN D. WORKS.

Los Angeles, Calif.

HENRIK IBSEN'S "THE MASTER BUILDER."

BY WILLIAM MAILLY.

THE PRODUCTION of "The Master Builder" by Madame Alla Nazimova and her company at the Bijou Theater, New York, naturally aroused discussion as to the play's meaning and significance. I say "naturally," because no other play of Henrik Ibsen has proven so baffling to those who have sought to fathom the motive underlying the dramatist's modern plays. This arises from the fact that in no other one of his plays is the dialogue so replete with hidden suggestion, until the claim of mysticism has been placed upon it.

And yet, read in the light of modern psychology and illuminated by the vivid interpretation of Madame Nazimova's company, there is nothing at all mystical about the play. It is merely an exposition of the eternal conflict between the elemental and the divine in man's nature, the struggle of the individual will to surmount and overcome forces which are stronger than the individual and which involve the spiritual development of the race. The lesson is that not one of us can expect to rise at the cost of human happiness without paying a price as high as the one we have exacted.

If ever Ibsen showed that the destiny of the individual is bound up with that of his fellows, and that none can escape responsibility to society, then he shows it in this play. It is that which makes its interest so intense and which gives it, without its exhibiting any of the customary dramatic action, such tragic significance. We are carried along by the force of the conflict expressed in a dialogue resembling that of an ordinary conversation. We are listening to people talking as people usually talk, using every-day language, and yet this is not an ordinary conversation; it has a deeper meaning than appears on the

surface—these people are discussing questions which reach to the depths of human consciousness, and their souls are at stake in the struggle.

No mere life-and-death matter is this. As to whether Halvard Solness perishes physically or not, does not much concern us. We know that his death but symbolizes the destiny of his soul, that soul which is part of a universal force, and we feel that the toll which Solness pays is the toll we shall all pay for placing our own selfish interests above that of our fellows, and for winning success over their broken lives.

Ibsen has not pronounced anything new in "The Master Builder"—only he has pronounced it in the terms of our modern life so that we can accept it according to our common experience.

Halvard Solness is the master builder. He has become preëminent as an architect by the exercise of his dominant will and a cruel disregard for the happiness of others. He has subdued all things to his will until he has almost come to believe that he is gifted with a supernatural power which enables him to accomplish whatever he chooses. What is called "luck" by other people he conceives to be a direct result of his own power to will what he desires and he feels that this power to will has its inspiration in a mighty inexplicable force which propels him forward to supremacy.

Years before Halvard Solness and his wife, Aline, dwelt in the home of her parents. He was unknown and struggling. He chafed for an opportunity to advance. One day he noticed a crack in one of the chimneys of the old house and the thought came to him that that crack might some day cause a fire. The thought grew into a wish. He figured that with the old home destroyed he could

build anew on his own plans and gain recognition for his ability. One day the fire did take place and under the circumstances he had mentally outlined, though he learned afterwards that the crack in the chimney had nothing to do with it. This first inspired him with faith in his own power to will.

But fast upon this consummation of his wish came calamity. As a result of exposure his wife sickened and their two babies died. She never recovered from the shock and gradually became an anemic, sickly, suspicious, loveless woman feeling her own incapacity and the neglect of her self-centered husband. We see her now still brooding over the loss of her old home and children until her mind has become affected and she talks of the burned dolls of her childhood which she had cherished with the instinct of a born

mother. She can only prattle monotonously of her duty, for life and love have lost their meaning for her.

Halvard Solness, therefore, throughout his successful career has been confronted with this human wreck. He feels himself chained to a dead woman. He longs for companionship and love; for years his yearning for these have gone unsatisfied. His wife is at once an irritation and a



ACT I.—"THE MASTER BUILDER."
(Madame Alla Nazimova).

rebuke to him. He speaks of the great debt he owes her and he has built a new home in the hope that this will repay her in some measure for the misery which he has brought upon her. But all that he might do cannot restore to his wife her lost happiness and vanished opportunities.

In the same way he had turned from building churches, temples to a God whom he had believed was displeased with

his work, to "building homes for human beings," seeking to make reparation for the evil he had wrought, helping others to enjoy what he had thrust from himself and his wife. Thus, goaded by ambition, tortured by remorse, longing for love and happiness, we find him at the zenith of his career.

But now he has reached the stage where he begins to fear for the future. He realizes that he cannot hold his hard-won place much longer, but he clings on with desperation. He sees the younger generation growing up around him, preparing to take his crown from him. He fears especially Ragnar Brovik, a young man in his employ and the son of Knut Brovik, an architect whom Solness had ruined in the competitive struggle and whom he also employs. Young Ragnar has ability and Solness knows that if ever this ability is free to exercise itself and receives recognition Ragnar will supersede him. To prevent this Solness seeks to keep Ragnar in his employ and to accomplish this also employs Kaia Fosli, a young woman who has been engaged to Ragnar for some years but whom Solness has subordinated to his will and made believe he loves her.

This fear of the younger generation has become almost an obsession with Solness and his failure to cast it off causes him to doubt his own mental soundness. He has had such absolute faith in himself heretofore that to have that faith shaken is to him an indication of insanity. His overwhelming ambition cannot brook a thought of capitulating to younger men. Before this thought all feelings of remorse or kindness take flight. The ego in him is the supreme ruler.

At this critical moment enters Hilda Wangel. Ten years before, Solness had met her when he had hung a wreath on the vane of a church he had built, as was the custom. He had noticed among the crowd beneath him one little girl more enthusiastic than the rest. Afterwards he had visited this girl's home and, intoxicated with his success and presumably somewhat under the influence of wine, he

had taken the girl in his arms and kissed her, telling her he would make her his little princess ten years later and give her a kingdom.

The physical element in Solness is so strong that at times it cannot help showing itself. He has not been squeamish in his relations with women. He admits to the family doctor that he has had a great deal to do with women in his time. This he had not regarded seriously; he was merely satisfying himself in this as in other things. When he had clasped that little girl in his arms he had longed for her—the troll in him had called for her—but he had left her ungratified. Then he had forgotten all about her.

But Hilda had remembered, and now just as Solness is confiding to Dr. Herdal his fear of the younger generation there is a knock at the door. That knock is as significant as the hammering at the gate in "Macbeth" or the slamming of the door in "A Doll's House." The younger generation, the generation which renews and revivifies the race, the generation of hope and aspiration, of destruction and reconstruction, enters in the person of Hilda Wangel. She has come to demand her kingdom.

Hilda Wangel is pulsating with warm life and ambition. She loves adventure, and the joy of climbing high, of reaching heights heretofore untrod, thrills her. Nothing that has ever been done before but can be done again and done even better. For all of this, the passing generation of achievement and fulfilment has its fascination for her. She clings to old ideals while pushing on to realize new ones. She has both faith in the old and hope for the new. Hilda comes to renew Solness' faith in himself, to give him new courage, to rekindle his waning ambition so that he can again climb high up and show he is a Master Builder. But she is also to be the means of destroying him, just as the younger generation at once both sustains and supplants the old. She is the element which develops within the old society to burst it asunder.



ACT II.—"THE MASTER BUILDER."

But above all Hilda is also the incarnation of Solness' old desires arising to smite him. Throughout his headstrong, egotistic life but one wish had been left ungratified. When Hilda reminds him of his embracing her and his promise to her he divines that he "must have thought all that. I must have wished it—have willed it—have longed to do it. And then—." He asks himself may not that have been the explanation for her coming to him. That ungratified wish which his will had formulated, reincarnated and invigorated by time, has ripened for fulfilment. And he whose will has always been dominant heretofore finds that will dominated by this stronger will which he himself first quickened into life years before. From that moment his end comes inexorably.

Coincident with this the dramatist clearly shows us six distinct and strongly contrasted types of the older and younger generation. Of the former, there are

Solness, his wife and Knut Brovik; of the latter, Ragnar, Hilda, and Kaia Fosli. Solness fears Ragnar; his wife instinctively fears first Kaia and then Hilda, recognizing her own lack of power over her husband; and Knut Brovik, hating Solness, passes away ere the consummation of his hope that his son will win the place of which he himself had been cheated.

Gradually Hilda learns Solness' situation. In a poignant scene he reveals his soul to her. She is the one person in all these years in whom he could confide, because he feels she understands him while he recognizes her power over him. He tells her the story of his unhappy life. The troll in her has conquered the troll in him. She is indeed, as he says, a very bird of prey, while she is also the dawning day that brings light and hope to him.

On the other hand, Hilda sees Solness chained to his wife by a sense of duty

which she despises; the younger generation chafes under conventional bonds which would restrict its freedom. She recognizes in Ragnar Brovik her natural enemy. He too, is the younger generation, full of ambition but, unlike her, skeptical of the older generation, doubting its wisdom, sure that the new generation contains all that is great and creative, that the passing generation can never climb as high again as before.

Hilda also sees that Solness is losing his grip on himself. If she is to have her kingdom, she must inspire him to heights which will make him reckless of marital responsibilities and impervious to the assault of the new, iconoclastic generation. She taunts him with his sickly conscience and rebukes him for his fear of others whom he should not fear.

Then to buttress his waning confidence in himself and to manifest to others Solness' strength and his ability to stand alone, she has him endorse some of Ragnar's drawings, even though Solness knows he is signing away his power while he does it. There is nothing for him to do then but discharge Ragnar and with the latter goes Kaia. Thus is turned loose the force which is to reshape the old forms into the new.

Urged on by Hilda to show her control over him and to display his own prowess, Solness decides, over the protests of his feeble wife, to climb the tower of his new home and place the wreath on the vane. When he wavers Hilda urges him on. His wife and their friends recognize her power over him. Later, Mrs. Solness, hypnotized by Hilda's expressions of sympathy and her exuberant youth, tells Hilda her wretched story (here again the older generation surrenders to the younger one), how she blames herself for failing to do her duty to her husband. For a moment Hilda is almost overcome by her sympathy for Mrs. Solness and is about to go away when Solness appeals to her. He cannot live without her now. The troll in her is

aroused again and she demands her kingdom. He is her kingdom.

Solness responds to her. He will climb the tower. He will rise again as high as before and then, having proven himself worthy of her, they will build together "castles in the air" out of their happiness and for themselves alone. He climbs the tower but at the very moment of his and Hilda's triumph, he falls to his death. And though transfixed at the sight of his fall, Hilda rejoices that her Master Builder reached the height she had dreamed for him, even though he fell in doing so.

Throughout all of Halvard Solness' life he was creating the Nemesis which came to him in the shape of Hilda Wangel. He was fashioning her when he was ruthlessly tearing himself to the front over his fellow creatures, making men and women the victims of his will. It was in the order of things that he should perish by the will of a thing of his own fashioning.

In the warp and woof of the present we weave the web of the future. Try as we may, we cannot escape from ourselves, from our own thoughts and deeds. They are the crucible of our souls. We may climb as high as we build, but we cannot remain on the heights if our souls be not purified and strengthened by the struggle upward. The rarified air of freedom and truth will send us earthward again, if we have acquired a dizzy conscience through a knowledge of our own misdeeds. And ever the race recreates itself, dispensing with that which is superfluous and injurious, retaining that which is needful and strengthening.

This is what is to be gotten out of "The Master Builder." What may have been puzzling or enigmatical in the book becomes clear and understandable, on the stage. The characters take on new life and deeper meaning. We are fascinated and stimulated by the revelation of this conflict between the old and the new, the passing of the one, the coming of the other, the



ACT III.—"THE MASTER BUILDER".

(This is the climax of the Play—group are watching Solness ascend the Tower.

struggling of souls in the net of circumstance.

Madame Nazimova illuminates the play with flashes of genius, that divine quality which is at once so recognizable and yet so indescribable. From the moment that she enters, free and unrestrained, the personification of youth, with alpenstock in hand, greeting Solness with a confident, expectant smile, her passionate, longing soul in her eyes, both a wise and a wild thing, we see in her Solness' Fate, that younger generation which is at the same time to inspire and ruin him. All the indefinable charm of the adolescence of youth is there, with the mystic personality that drapes her like a veil. She is that which appeals to the physical and spiritual in Solness, emblematic of the ideals which come too late for him to

realize. Such a performance is baffling in its analysis but clear as crystal, and arrived at by methods of which Madame Nazimova has shown herself a master.

A thoroughly capable company, particularly Mr. Walter Hampden in the difficult character of Solness, was in complete accord with Madame Nazimova and made the entire production a highly satisfactory one.

"The Master Builder" is almost purely an intellectual performance and one reflecting soul processes which are profoundly moving. It is a drama of motives which are rendered translucent by the interpretation of a dynamic dialogue rich in that superb artistry of which Ibsen was such a consummate master.

WILLIAM MAILLY.

New York City.

WAS MANSFIELD A GENIUS?

BY HARRY WANDMACHER.

RICHARD MANSFIELD has gone. A host of admirers mourned his loss deeply and sincerely. The most praised and the most criticized of actors he undoubtedly was. Hence it is difficult for us to determine precisely his true rank. Mr. William Winter said he was a genius and our leading actor. Mr. Daniel Frohman stated: "I am not confident that posterity will remember him as a great genius in his art." "To call him a genius would be easy, is tempting, but would probably be inaccurate," asserts the *Brooklyn Eagle*. The *New York American* said: "Whether Richard Mansfield was the greatest American actor or was no actor at all will never be settled as long as human beings remain subject to differences of opinion. But no one can doubt that Mansfield was a genius." Mr. Harrison Grey Fiske said: "It cannot be said that the sacred fire flamed in his soul." In the *New York Evening Post* we saw this statement: "Mr. Mansfield, although an intelligent, original, attractive and popular performer, was not, except in a rather narrow range of eccentric parts, a great or even a remarkable actor." The *New York Times* said: "Richard Mansfield was for many years our greatest actor." Alan Dale said he was our "worst actor." Thus we have a maze of conflicting opinions, but, from a study of Mansfield's acting, we will try to reach some definite, reasonable conclusion as to what he really was.

Being human he had faults, both as man and actor. On his personal weaknesses we need not dwell at length. They are irrelevant in judging his position as an actor. His egotism, his eccentricities, his tempestuous temper did not affect the exercise of his powers.

Cæsar, even in his prime, had numerous faults; still he was a man of marvelous abilities: one of the colossal towers of antiquity. Of despicable habits, of unscrupulous character, Napoleon was, nevertheless, one of the most wonderful men of all time. Pitt's faults were many, chief among them being his excessive vanity. His power as an orator existed, however, in spite of his defects. Edwin Forrest's greatness as an actor was conceded despite his erratic ways and his jealousy of Macready. Some of the stories about Mansfield's irritability are true. Frequently he flared up in uncontrollable anger. He was at one time sued for assault. Often he harangued his audiences. Human nature is ever prone, though, to make a mountain out of an ant-hill. For one true incident related, a hundred false ones have been told. Notwithstanding his foibles, attributable chiefly to his high-strung temperament, he had many warm personal friends. Of very generous impulses, he performed many deeds of kindness, unasked for and unsought. Devoted to his wife, Mrs. Beatrice Cameron Mansfield, he led a pure home life. She, likewise, was strongly attached to him.

Eliminating, therefore, much consideration of his personal habits in a discussion of his merits as an actor, we come to his defects as such. They were glaring, consisting (1) of exasperating mannerisms of voice; (2) of lack of versatility; and (3) of the want of true humor.

(1) His mannerisms of voice—a choppy and indistinct utterance—were manifest mostly in the quiet, calm scenes of his plays, never in the big scenes when all his feelings were thoroughly aroused.

But, oftentimes, during the rest of the entire play, line after line was spoiled by his tyrannous mannerisms. Whether one was in the orchestra, or stood in the topmost part of the gallery, or sat in the balcony, the result was the same: his defects produced an unpleasing effect. Many times one was unable to distinguish some of his words. Clear elocution is certainly the crucial point in acting. If an audience does not hear an actor's lines, no matter what the intellectual or spiritual powers of the actor may be, it will go away dissatisfied. It is not contended that Mansfield's voice was not good: no other actor on our stage has a voice as rich and powerful as was his. The obnoxious elocutionary faults, the wrong use of his voice, were condemnable.

(2) Some critics have considered Mansfield as a very versatile actor. This he was not. Playing a dozen or more parts does not necessarily make an actor versatile. Almost all the parts Mansfield portrayed were Mansfield parts—parts especially suitable for his peculiar personality. Eccentric character parts, volcanic and also even repulsive, were the ones he took great delight in drawing. To this narrow sphere he practically confined himself. He could not play Hamlet or Romeo, being temperamentally unfit for them. He did play Brutus but failed to make a success of it. And his acting in "Don Carlos" failed to interest the audience until almost eleven o'clock when generally people leave the theater. Then, indeed, like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky, he suddenly electrified his audience with his denunciation speech. But—that was all: the rest of the play was dull. His "Ivan the Terrible" was one mass of vivid externals and failed to produce a tragic effect.

(3) His humor was ever of the same kind, not gay or cheerful, but sardonic and biting. What humor there was in "Peer Gynt," "A Parisian Romance," and in fact, in all the plays in his recent

repertoires, was bitter and satiric and seemed just to fit his idiosyncrasies.

For the above reasons, stated concisely as possible, many critics expressed the opinion that Mansfield was not a great actor. And, outside of a discussion of certain parts of his acting, we must coincide in this judgment. However, if his acting was not great and rather limited, why was it that ever and anon in his *big scenes* he enkindled a tremendous and unrestrained enthusiasm in his audiences? If his mannerisms repelled, something must have attracted. What was it?

Sarah Bernhardt is a great actress. There was always, however, even in her plays, one scene in which she overwhelmed her hearers. In Sardou's "La Sorciere," the newest play she presented in New York, she created a wonderful effect by her terrible, astonishingly forceful denunciation of the Inquisition. Most of all in the ghost scene in "Macbeth" does Robert Mantell arouse his auditors. In the heated argument in the second act in "The Duel" Otis Skinner rose to a lofty height. David Warfield in his new play "A Grand Army Man" has one emotional scene in the second act which presents the chance to profoundly affect and inspire his audience. So with Mansfield's performances: the *big scenes only* as acted by him well-nigh overawed us. Thus they remain imprinted indelibly on our minds while the slight impression made by the rest of the play is afterwards eradicated. No sincere critic will deny that in his massive scenes, shaking off his mannerisms, breaking loose from his vagaries, Mansfield rose to heights of matchless, incomparable power. Those flashes of some irresistible force were, indisputably, the salient features of his acting. And what was that power?

At those times Mansfield's voice shone forth in all its glory. Expressive eyes and features are helpful; the makeup is essential; the scenery is the background; but the voice is the chief means an actor



MR. MANSFIELD IN THE FIRST THREE ACTS OF "PEER GYNT."

has for the actual interpretation of his characters. For, in the realm of the art of acting, is not the voice the harp of the soul, the intellect the hand that plays, and the music that flows forth the tingling thrill, the ecstasy of soul for which every heart longs and yearns? So strong, so sympathetic an individuality did Mansfield's voice possess, so sonorous

and resonant was it, that once heard, in his great scenes it left an ineffaceable impression. It rang true! It gripped the heart strings! It overwhelmed with the onrush of his mighty power behind it! The kindling glow in us was made to grow into a holier flame by Mansfield's unique power—now awing us in the closing pathetic act of "Peer Gynt," as the dismal wind when it howls through the forest; then, as the solemn tones of an organ, uttering an accent of touching sadness in the revelation scenes in "The Scarlet Letter"; again, heaving and surging, as the resistless tempest-beaten billows of the deep, during that terrific storm of mingled despair and wrath in the tent scene in "Richard III." Then and elsewhere we saw Mansfield the man: Mansfield the man wielding

some extraordinary power. What was it?

In his introduction to "King Lear," Hazlitt says "That the greatest strength of genius is shown in describing the strongest passions." Let us, therefore, look at some of Mansfield's big scenes and from what he there did and from the effect he produced see if he showed his greatest strength in describing the strong-

est passions. If so, then let us endeavor to ascertain whether his greatest strength was the strength of talent or genius. That is: Did those moments show he was really inspired? Did he then reveal the divine fire of genius?

After a life of mad aspiration, of foolish striving, Peer Gynt comes back to his native land. In the throes of ghastly ruin he is querulous and irascible. Still he is repentant; his heart is touched. Eventually he finds himself near the hut of Solveig, the sweetheart of his young manhood days. He staggers to the hut when she appears in the doorway. Dropping on the ground beside her, burying his shaggy head in her lap, he cries out his sins. In her he finds true forgiveness. There he finds himself with God's imprint on his brow. There in her faith, in her hope, in her love, he finds his true self. There in her he finds

what we all so fondly and fervently pray for, God's blessing. Throughout this last act we saw Mansfield describing strong passions with great power. He cringed in terror; he writhed in agony; in great horror of mind he shrieked aloud with a penitent spirit; his outcry pealed through the air, impressing every



MR. MANSFIELD IN THE FOURTH ACT OF "PEER GYNT."

mind, piercing every heart and carrying conviction of the truth we know so well but forget so often: that love is the one solace of human life. As Mr. Winterø Winter has said of Mansfield's acting in this long play: "At the close the actor, out of his own nature and because he could not help it, struck a true note."

"Don Carlos" proved a complicated

tragedy giving Mansfield one big scene in the fourth act. Don Carlos, after a series of plots, realizes that Posa, his dearest friend, has been foully murdered by the King. He is mourning over the dead body when the King and some followers enter. The King attempts means of conciliation with Don Carlos, but, looking up, Mansfield, as Don Carlos, turns upon the crowd, opens the sluice gates of a torrent of passion, unmercifully and scathingly rebukes and defies the King and his followers. His eyes blaze with a righteous power. His features are illuminated with the fire of a great tragic crisis. His emotions pour forth like a volcanic eruption with tremendous fury. With a wonderful volume of sound, with penetrating incisiveness, he uses his resonant voice. Every note in the gamut of human feelings he touches: love and hatred, tender pathos and withering scorn, bitter sarcasm and despairing anguish. Seldom has one seen, as on the first night when

"Don Carlos" was produced in New York, an audience roused to such enthusiastic acclamation. Stirred deeply, all agog, the audience welcomed this volcanic speech: it created a veritable furor. Thrusting aside all repression, Mansfield permitted himself to be swept away by his tortured feelings. Love and dignity and passion there were in the remarkable outburst.

In the inordinate ambition of Richard III. to be King, the silent voice of conscience was hushed. But, having achieved his object, the struggle began between his evil nature and his conscience. While sleeping he dreamt of the appearance before him of the ghosts of his murdered victims each of them saying that despair and death were at hand. With a wild shriek of delirium he awoke and jumped from his couch. Whirling his sword around his head he broke out into frantic utterance. This one opportunity called for the exhibition of all of Mansfield's power to describe deep passions. The whole speech—like a thunderbolt of blind agony, an outburst of spasmodic remorse, a whirlwind of ungovernable frenzy—revealed the fire of an authentic inspiration. Mansfield made Richard III. stand for an evil character who, having ridiculed conscience, is ultimately made to feel its inexorable force. This we saw, this we felt, because of Mansfield's remarkable delivery of this passage.

The rendition of the lines beginning "Hath not a Jew eyes?" down to "The villany you teach me I will execute; and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction," has ever afforded the greatest actors the opportunity to display their great ability. Here the cruelty, the hatred, the plea for justice, the demand for revenge of a determined Jew are mingled. Needless to say, Mansfield took advantage of the chance and described the passions of Shylock with feverish vehemence, with the complete vigor of his emotional energy,



MR. MANSFIELD AS "RICHARD III."

with the utmost strength of his resonant voice. He held his audience in a grip of steel. If before his auditors were jarred by his ludicrous mannerisms, then everything was different. Then everybody heard. Then every soul was thrilled. Indeed, like a huge magnet, the irradiation of his powers drew out our pent up emotions. Mr. William Winter is authority for the statement that "not since the prime of Edwin Booth has an audience heard this tremendous speech spoken as Mansfield delivered it."

Throughout the melodramatic play of "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" Mansfield startled us with his ability in quickly changing from the upright Dr. Jekyll into the depraved Mr. Hyde. It was in the last act, though, the farewell to life and the sweet woman to whom he had been engaged, where Mansfield rose to the full height of his powers in describing the passions of a doomed wretch. With a remorseful spirit Dr. Jekyll struggled again and again to escape his inevitable doom. He thought he succeeded: he went to the window and called to his beloved to come back. "Agnes, Agnes," he cried out, with a pitiful anguish that touched all to the quick. She and others came back; they knocked on the door. Inside his better nature still battled for the upper hand. But, rent between two contending forces, he at last succumbed and, unwillingly, was again transformed into Mr. Hyde. "A cry followed; he reeled, staggered, clutched at the table and held on, staring with injected eyes, gasping with open mouth; and as I looked there came, I thought, a change—he seemed to swell—his face became suddenly black and the features seemed to melt and alter—and the next moment I had sprung to my feet and leaped back against the wall, my arm raised to shield me from that prodigy, my mind submerged in terror." Then, knowing nothing was left but self-destruction, he drank the contents of a phial at one gulp. Those outside then entered, having forced an entrance. They beheld



MR. MANSFIELD IN "JEKYLL AND HYDE."

him writhing on the floor, still twitching with a semblance of life: but he soon gasped his last. The above is Stevenson's own description: and no better picture could be painted of Mansfield's acting and its effect.

As Rev. Arthur Dimmesdale Mansfield stirred his audience deeply in two places. One of them was in the revelation of his innermost soul on the scaffold in the second act in the passage "I, whom you behold in these black garments of the priesthood—am utterly a pollution and a lie." Into this he infused his greatest strength. His rich voice quivered with the emotions rankling in his breast. Like the plaintive wail of a lost soul his voice cried out. With a deep spiritual power, he disclosed the tremulous disquietude of a restless heart. The other place was the disclosure in the last act of "The Scarlet Letter" that had been a burning torture on his own

breast for seven long years. His public confession to the crowd in the market place of his own guilt, accompanying the revelation of the letter, was delivered with a piercing earnestness. He cried out "with a voice that rose over them all, high, solemn and majestic—yet always had a tremor through it and sometimes a shriek, a struggling up out of a fathomless depth of remorse and woe." As Hawthorne has described the effect of the young minister's confession upon the crowd before him, so Mansfield affected his auditors, for their "hearts were thoroughly appalled, yet overflowed with tearful sympathy." And in the two scenes mentioned the breath of mighty emotions swept through his trembling frame.

In thinking of Mansfield's performance of Baron Chevrier in "A Parisian Romance" one naturally first remembers the banquet scene. Having led a worldly life in defiance alike of moral and physical laws, Baron Chevrier was beginning slowly to fail in bodily strength. Just prior to the banquet he was attacked by epilepsy, springing from his disordered organism. By the exercise of his indomitable will, however, he made himself, apparently, joyful and pleasant in the company of the diners. While eating he proposed a toast to material nature. Again he was stricken with a fit. Again he strove with tremendous strength of will to down the onslaught of the disease. But it could not be done. A hideous disease and consequent death confronted him and to them, eventually, he would have to succumb. The figure trembling with convulsions, the glass of wine shaking violently in his hand, his fingers twitching nervously, his thick, husky voice attempting, almost vainly, to speak, the note of exultant gross materialism in his words, mingled with both strength and weakness, both frenzy and fear—all these illumined a scene that, repugnant as it was, yet thrilled with a sort of diabolical charm and showed the nervous, pulsating power of Mansfield.

The embodiment by Mansfield of Beau Brummel, inherently chivalrous and refined, but inclined to the world of fashion—a portrait of vanity rushing headlong to destruction—was excellent. It was, however, only in the last act when describing the emotions of a broken-down man that he gripped the sensibilities. Little by little we perceived the downward steps in the gallant's career until in the last scene we discovered him in his attic—friendless, pitiful, wretched. The dingy place was dark and silent, quite bare of furniture. The spirit of the once proud Beau Brummel was broken; his mind, once clear and strong, was weakened to the verge of lunacy; his body was enfeebled by intense grief and anguish, consequent, of course, upon his downfall. The whole man, pallid and emaciated, was but a specter of the gallant in his successful days. The failure to recognize his old friends, the singing of the song, the handling of the snuff-box were superb touches of pathetic acting, and exhibited a power of melancholy utterance such as Mansfield displayed in few other plays. He presented a moving picture of a noble but vain nature that was shipwrecked, going to pieces on the rocks of adversity and poverty.

Thus we have scenes in which Mansfield was at his very best, in which he described the strongest emotions with his greatest strength. And now the question remaining to be answered is: What was that greatest strength of his? Was it the strength of talent or genius? What was it?

The one thing that loomed large in Mansfield, that put him on a higher plane aloof from all other actors on the English-speaking stage, that dominated those splendid opportunities for describing the strongest passions with a warm glow, a heartfelt sympathy, that came from him with an impelling force that thrilled, that fascinated, that enlightened, that edified, that inspired—was his genius. And Mansfield's genius was manifestly

the power of the soul in him, which Emerson says "is not an organ; is not a function; is not a faculty; is not the intellect or the will but the master of the intellect and the will. When it breathes through the intellect it is genius." Mansfield's whole heart and soul, whence came his ardent feelings, was wrapped up in those scenes because he had an opportunity to be himself. He had the chance to lay bare his own soul: how he thrilled us in doing so! He had the chance to describe the strongest passions: how successfully he grasped it! He was impulsive and emotional: is there one of a fiery disposition who is not? He was downright sincere. He was in dead earnest. His must have been



MR. MANSFIELD AS THE BARON CHEVRIAL IN "A PARISIAN ROMANCE."

an artistic temperament with all its concomitant soulful energy that had to have some outlet. Those scenes demonstrated it. Carlyle said: "Let a man but speak forth with genuine earnestness the thought, the emotion, the actual condition of his own heart, and other men, so strangely are we all knit together by the tie of sympathy, must and will give heed to him. His words, if they are earnest and sincere, will find some response within us; for, in spite of all casual varieties in outward rank or inward, as face answers to face so does

the heart of man to man." Is it not evident from the foregoing descriptions of his acting that Mansfield's soul breathed through his intellect? Is it not manifest that Mansfield rigorously adhered to the above precept of Carlyle? Is it not, therefore, proper to call him a genius?

A short time since a well known journalist exclaimed: "Give us more oratory on the stage, in the pulpit and in public life!" "Oratory," says one modern writer, "is the impassioned out-

pouring of a heart—a heart full to bursting; it is the absolute giving of soul to soul.” “It comes, if it come at all, like the outbursting of a fountain from the earth, or the bursting forth of volcanic fires, with spontaneous, original, native force,” said Daniel Webster. And the orators whose oratory fits the above descriptions—Demosthenes, Cicero, Mirabeau—were geniuses. Contend that Mansfield was cynical, cranky and arrogant. Say he was vain, moody, bad-tempered. It is admitted. But he was a man, every inch of him. The backbone, the courage, the rugged strength were there. Afraid of no man he frankly expressed his opinions. He was no sham, no hypocrite; he never curried favor. There was nothing base about him, nothing mean. He spoke as he did in his big scenes because he had to. The things we do best are the things we do by blind instinct—blind to us, not to Him who knoweth everything. Mansfield let himself loose because he could n’t help himself. He gave vent to his feelings—feelings deep and true—because he could n’t help himself. That indefinable something was in him: it was irrepressible: it had to come out. Look askance at his weaknesses, if you will, shrug your shoulders at his mistakes as an actor, if you must. All fair-minded men condemn him therefor. There was love, though, in his soul for all of God’s children. Pity, too, was present, and pathos. His wild, free soul spoke to ours. We had to listen. Tears glistened in our eyes; a lump was in our throats. We had to love him then, for he loved us. Love always wins love. For a moment—a brief, fleeting moment, ’t is true—our soul, responded to his. Was he hard, cold, always waxing wroth, always repelling? No! Was there not some of the divine fire in him? Ah, Yes! For in every human breast there is at least a spark of it. Sometimes, mayhap, it burned dimly in him; at times it flickered. But it was there! It never died out! And in his big scenes

it blazed forth triumphantly. Unfettered by his mannerisms it sought expression then with the wildness of a bird freed from its shackles soaring to the unknown heights. Is not a man, therefore, in whom we saw this “impassioned outpouring,” this breaking forth of a force like “volcanic fires” entitled to be called a genius?

“Give me a spark of Nature’s fire
That’s all the learning I desire;—
Then my muse though homely in attire
May touch the heart.”

Nature’s Fire! A Tongue of Flame! The Power of the Soul! This it is that marks the line of differentiation between talent and genius. Will the brilliant rays of even the most powerful searchlight give any illumination whatever in the face of the resplendent rays of the noon-day sun? A searchlight is the work of man; the sun is the central fire of the universe which warms the earth and makes things grow. Talent also is man’s industry only; genius is the divine fire, plus and animating man’s industry; it warms the hearts of men and makes them think. Mansfield’s genius was composed of his spiritual force, his electrical energy, the fire of deep human passion blazing within him, which force or energy or fire must, though, have inspired his intellect to assiduous toil. We know he was a great worker for he himself had written of “those long, lone hours, with our heads in our hands—those long months of infinite toil.” Lax he never was. With tireless industry he stuck to his tasks. He thought, he lingered over his parts. He brooded, he meditated long over them. “First get the feeling of a rôle, and the doing will come inevitably,” he once said. “Work from the center outward. Grip the idea, the theme.” Hence we see it was the feeling of a rôle he first sought to get. Whatever of human sorrow and human misery, of poignant grief and thrilling horror his various characters had felt, he, too, experienced. What passions, spiritual or otherwise, had



MR. MANSFIELD AS "BEAU BRUMMEL."

convulsively shaken Peer Gynt's body and soul, he felt. What soul-stirring agony poor Beaus Brummel suffered in his miserable end, he went through. What deep spiritual suffering affected Rev. Arthur Dimmesdale, he endured. What despair and remorse Richard III. had undergone, he passed through. Then, having gripped the central theme of a character, he studied the rôle. And then, on the stage, he presented to us a picture of the part—which we saw. But more, he invested that picture with all the warmth of his own life—which we felt. In short, not only the power of his mind, the result of his study, was discernible in his acting: we felt also the power of his soul—full, mighty, inspiring.

Mansfield in his article on "Man and The Actor," in the *Atlantic Monthly*, about a year and a half ago, said if an actor is to satisfy everyone, that is, if he is to be an ideal actor, "he should possess the commanding power of Cæsar, the wisdom of Solomon, the eloquence of Demosthenes, the patience of Job, the face and form of Antinous, and the strength and endurance of Hercules." Of these requisites it is certainly true he himself did not possess the wisdom of Solomon nor the patience of Job. But he did have some of the commanding power of Cæsar and some of the eloquence of Demosthenes. Hamlet, in his advice to the players, says: "Speak the speech, I pray you, as I pronounced it to you, trippingly on the tongue; but if you mouth it, as many of your players do, I had as lief the town-crier spoke my lines." That Mansfield did not speak many lines trippingly on the tongue but mouthed them, is too sadly true. Hamlet says further, however: "In the very torrent, tempest, and as I may say, the whirlwind of your passion, you must acquire and beget a temperance that may give it smoothness." That Mansfield in the whirlwind of passion of his strong scenes did speak smoothly, did make everybody hear, did stir and inspire every mind and soul, is

undeniable. And therein he showed his genius.

We must come to the conclusion, therefore, that even if Mansfield's mannerisms marred many of his quieter scenes and even if his limitations were apparent, still, because of the power evinced by him in his big scenes, he was a genius. And in the pure dynamics of genius he was without a peer. Some of the plays—"Beau Brummel," "The Scarlet Letter," "Don Carlos," and "Peer Gynt," for instance—could be criticized for various faults. Albeit, the thrilling scenes in those plays as well as in all those above-mentioned, as acted by Mansfield, constitute some of the greatest

examples of passionate expression, of nervous, electrical power, in the annals of the stage. That certainly attests the opinion it was the great vitalizing power of Mansfield's genius that made them moments of great inspiration. In all of them no feebleness was apparent. No hollow insincerity! No shallow affectation! No sluggish inactivity! No easy-going indifference! No languid delivery! All he did, in those massive scenes, was with sustained zeal, with transcendent force, with the full, impelling power of his towering genius!

HARRY WANDMACHER.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

THE EBB OF ECCLESIASTICISM.

BY GEORGE ALLAN ENGLAND A.M.

I.

NO SINGLE fact impresses the investigator of religious problems more forcibly than the failure of the modern Church as a whole to maintain its power in the social fabric of to-day. In almost every country of both hemispheres into which enlightenment and the spirit of progress have penetrated, a situation exists regarding organized religion which although differing locally as to degree and form, yet partakes of one general character—that of a more or less marked drift away from Church authority and influence. Here we find the movement just beginning; there it has assumed tangible proportions; elsewhere again it has become so marked that none but those who will not can fail to see it. This movement in its totality presents phenomena of singular interest to the student, portending as it does the eventual grave modification if not indeed the entire overthrow of a religious system which for nearly two thousand years has exercised incalculable influence up-

on the thoughts and lives of men.

Throughout the length and breadth of Europe the phenomena are taking place. In Russia, erstwhile conservative and orthodox Russia, the peasants are very largely becoming either indifferent to the Greek Church or are absolutely hostile to it. Mr. William English Walling's recent articles in the *New York Independent* make that abundantly clear. In Austria the "Fort von Rom" agitation partakes of the same character of revolt against ecclesiastical authority. In Germany the fight is on between reaction and a higher criticism of the weighty Teutonic type; while even in Italy and Spain—O, most Christian kingdoms!—anti-clerical riots, some of great severity, have recently taken place.* England is contributing her quota through

*In one of these last winter 15,000 persons participated at Rome. Thirty wreaths were laid on the monument of Giordano Bruno, the Italian philosopher, burned at the stake, February 17, 1600, by order of the Inquisition. Violent anti-clerical speeches were delivered. Similar manifestations took place in all the leading Italian towns. Recent anti-clerical political victories are significant.

the Education Bill discussion,* while France has not even yet quite regained her tranquility after the throes of Separation. Of France we are told by no less an authority than the *Catholic Quarterly Review* itself that in many large towns hundreds of thousands of persons are little better than heathen. Country churches are becoming more and more empty; there is one parish in France containing 161,000 people in which only two chapels and one church can be maintained. The masculine intellect of the nation has almost wholly escaped the influence of the Church.† Even Australia sends its mournful echo round the world in the selfsame key: "Much complaint is heard that churches are forsaken and that the young do not take the places of their fathers and mothers."‡

And in the United States of America, what is the situation of the Church as regards membership, attendance, influence, condition of the clergy? Are we at home immune from decadence of organized religion, or is the same story but repeating itself within our borders?

*Note: Since receiving this masterly paper we have read the Rev. R. J. Campbell's new and thought-arresting volume entitled *Christianity and the Social Order* which has just been issued by the Macmillan Company. In the first chapter is a vivid pen-picture of the decline of the church in England and Europe that is in such complete accord with Mr. England's presentation that we quote a few paragraphs:

"We are to-day confronted by the startling fact that in practically every part of Christendom the overwhelming majority of the population is alienated from Christianity as represented by the churches. In our own country nearly seventy-five per cent. of the adult population remains permanently out of touch with organized religion. . . . On the Continent this falling away of the people from the churches is more marked than in this country. Educated Germans frequently express their astonishment on coming to England at the fact that so many people go to church."

Mr. Campbell further points out that "spiritual religion" is "being choked to-day by ecclesiasticism in its various forms."—Editor of THE ARENA.

† Cf. Editorial in Lewiston Evening Journal, December 28, 1906.

‡ Dr. Charles Strong: *A Review of Australia*, 1906; in *Social Progress* for 1906, p. 1. Bishop Warren A. Candler of the M. E. Church states that 96 per cent. of the Cubans do not habitually attend Church.

In so far as any partial study can hope to do—a study which must for reasons of space avoid explanatory causes and confine itself to plain statements of fact—this paper aims to answer these questions in some detail. The conclusions may be safely left to another pen than mine.

II.

First as to church membership in the United States. And here we never shall do better than to take Dr. Josiah Strong's admirable little hand-book, *Social Progress*, from our shelf, open it at page 250 and read on for a few minutes. The rather elaborate tables may confuse us a little by their very completeness; but once we have studied them a trifle we shall begin to see our way to certain definite comprehensions of the problem. It will be made clear that in every denomination in the United States, out of the seven whose year-books afford the necessary data, the average church made smaller numerical gains in 1905 than in 1895. As regards benevolences, in only one church—the United Presbyterian—have these kept pace with the general increase of wealth. The rate of increase, too, in church membership is steadily diminishing.

"If the gain of the churches on the population during the first half of the century is represented by 80," says Dr. Strong, "during the last half it is represented by 20, during the last twenty years it is represented by 4, and during the last ten years it is represented by 1."§

Alone among the churches, the Roman Catholic reports a really progressive growth; and yet it is doubtful, says our "guide, philosopher and friend," whether this church is gaining ground or even holding its own except by immigration. The transference of Catholics from Europe to America is not, of course, an absolute gain but merely an apparent one. In this connection Dr. H. K. Carroll, late Special Agent of the United States Census Office, says:

§ *Sociological Progress*, 1906, p. 256.

"The figures standing for Catholic communicants are not the result of an actual count, as in most Protestant denominations. They are obtained in this way—first, there is an estimate of 'population' based on . . . the vital statistics, that is, the returns . . . for infant baptisms and deaths. These estimates are not made annually, at least in many cases. Catholic 'population' includes all baptised persons. . . .

"The number of communicants is estimated at 85 per cent. of the 'population.' It is not necessary to say that this method . . . is not in accordance with statistical science. . . .

"If the Catholic population is increasing at the rate indicated, the problem of providing the people with priests and churches would seem to be a pressing one; and yet the actual increase in priests in 1905 was only 99, and in houses of worship but 226, or scarcely two per cent."

Again, Ernest Untermann in his *Religion and Politics*, p. 6, is authority for the statement that:

"There were 10,976,757 bon fide Catholics in the United States in 1902. In 1890 there were 8,301,367. This is an increase of 2,675,390 in twelve years. But this increase is neither due to new converts nor to the increase of the population by birth. For the Roman Catholic immigration during those twelve years amounted to 2,705,134.

"In other words, despite the enormous increase of the general population during those twelve years, the Catholic Church has not increased by births; and although over two million new members immigrated, there was still a net loss of 29,794 members.

"That means either that more Catholics died than were born or immigrated, or that so many thousands left the Church. According to the testimony of the clergy themselves, the latter reason is mainly to blame for this decrease. . . ."

Church membership of all denomina-

tions as compiled by Dr. Carroll (quoted above) for the *Christian Advocate*, shows for 1905 a total of only 31,148,445 out of a population of some 83,609,000,* or less than three church members for every eight persons. And again, the average annual increase between 1901 and 1904 of all sects was 2,185 ministers, 2,769 churches and 817,170 communicants; while for 1905 the corresponding numbers were but 1,815, 1,636 and 519,155.

Even more significant is the diminution in the annual percentage of increase of total church membership. This increase in 1901 was 3.41 per cent.; in 1905 it had sunk to 1.69 per cent.—the "lowest rate on record." Inasmuch as the estimated annual increase of our population is 2.18 per cent., the church membership instead of (as formerly) creeping up in comparison with the population, is now falling behind.

"The most striking fact revealed by the study of the denominational year-books," says Dr. Strong (p. 255), "is the large and increasing number of barren churches; that is, those which do not report a single addition on confession of faith. The number of barren Congregational churches last year was 2,390, against 2,306 the year before, and 1,632 in 1895. The number of barren Presbyterian churches was 2,270, against 2,024 the previous year and 1,699 in 1895. . . . The number of Methodist-Episcopal 'charges' which reported no admissions on confession of faith last year was 2,276, against 2,046 the year before and 1,134 ten years earlier. Both the absolute number and the percentage of barren churches is increasing, having risen in the Congregational denomination from 30.5 per cent. in 1895 to 41.0 per cent. in 1905. . . . This increase in barren churches in recent years and the decided falling off in communicants is the more significant in view of the widespread effort to revive the old evangelical methods."

*Estimated for 1905 by the U. S. Comptroller of the Currency.

Possibly this brief table, compiled from Dr. Strong's conclusions showing the increase for 1905 of the various denominations, may be of value here:

Baptist.....	1.48	per cent.
Congregational.....	1.97	"
All Lutheran.....	2.82	"
All Methodist.....	1.61	"
All Presbyterian.....	1.54	"
Protestant Episcopal.....	2.37	"
Roman Catholic.....	1.79	"
Average increase, all of above.....	1.94	"
Average decrease, all bodies.....	1.69	"

It will be remembered that the total population increase was 2.18 per cent. The churches to-day in America, therefore, are not holding their own.

One curious and noteworthy fact is this: that those denominations which lay especial stress on "revivals" and "hell-fire" methods fare no better than those which do not. One excellent clergyman at their closing session of the "Institute of Evangelism" in Philadelphia very recently made an impassioned plea for brimstone, winding up with: "The preaching of to-day is made up too much of ethics! You are filling the minds of the people with other things than eternal retribution. Preach the Horrors of Hell *with all the enthusiasm of your soul!* . . ."

Who knows but the lesson of statistics might exert a salutary effect upon the well-meant zeal of such exponents of divine mercy?

By manner of summing up the general loss of interest in the church, as shown by membership, Dr. Strong concludes:

"From 1800 to 1850 there was a flowing tide of individualistic religion which swept over an increasing proportion of the population; but from the middle of the century on, the tide ran more slowly, and by 1900 it was practically stationary.

"We must not, therefore, be surprised to learn that the tide has now turned, and the statistics of the past year show that it has already begun to ebb."

III.

Still more marked than the decline in membership is the falling off in church

attendance throughout the country. Few rural dwellers but can recall the days when the little white meeting-house on the hill was crowded twice on every Sabbath. Now a scanty dozen or a score of worshipers come together, and these mainly of the feminine or infantile persuasion. The men prefer to go down and see the train come in, sit around the depot platform or the store, and read the colored supplements.

Some highly enlightening information for one who can read between the lines was given regarding the country church situation by the Hampden County (Massachusetts) Conference of Congregational Churches in its last year's report.* A few extracts will suffice:

"At the annual Conference . . . pessimism was the keynote.

"The tendency on the part of the community to get along without the Church is conspicuous.

"The summer business knocks the spiritual activities of the Church deader than a door-nail.

"The summer boarding business is steadily on the increase, but a very small number of the summer people show any favorable disposition toward the church.

"One year is much like another in X—.

"The Church has held its own, but has not progressed.

"General indifference to missionary enterprises.

"A general failure on the part of the members to take part in the prayer-meeting.

"Our Sunday-school is looking up, the Y. P. S. C. E. is looking down.

"There are no dissensions in the Church, but there are a large number of families who have not discovered what church-going means.

"The only striking event was when the steeple was struck by lightning."

As for the city churches—what of them? The majority of evidence seems to indicate a distinct falling-off in attendance. The

*Springfield, Massachusetts, September 22, 1906.

Boston *Journal* made an investigation not long ago of the situation in the Hub, with the result that although certain of the churches were reported as well filled, notably the Catholic ones, in others thousands of vacant seats were found. The New York churches are in many cases strikingly anemic.

"Every one," says the Rev. Madison C. Peters, "who knows the emptiness of the pews in nearly all the Protestant churches in New York, knows also that so far as Protestants are concerned, New Yorkers have ceased to be a church-going people.

"The failure of the Church to reach the people is not only a numerical failure—for numbers do n't always represent power and influence—but it is a failure of quality as well as quantity. By far the vast majority of the people of this city never enter a Protestant church except possibly to attend a funeral or witness a wedding."*

The Rev. Mr. Peters, by the way, is in a position to know, for he has given this question a great deal of thought, and has invented a number of antidotes for non-church-going. Among these is the illustrated Bible-talk, with moving pictures and soft cushions, which the New York *American* of March 5, 1906, headlines as "Bait" to draw people to church! "Bible Texts Sugar-Coated!" continues the *American*, in jocular vein. O, ye shades of Calvin!

Similar schemes have been worked all over the country to entice the unwary. From Des Moines I have the report of the Rev. John Comin who supplements his sermons with stereopticon views; while the Rev. L. W. Nine of the same place gives musicales every Sunday night, instead of sermons. And a *confrère* of these truly progressive men, the Rev. O. W. Fifer, "has given his word of honor to the members of his church that he won't talk more than twenty minutes on Sunday nights . . . and that the whole service won't last longer than forty-five minutes."†

*Philadelphia Press, December 30, 1906.

†Boston American, August 13, 1906.

Returning to our mutton, which for the time being is the actual numerical decline of urban church-going, the most striking confirmation of generally-held opinions is given by the Church News Association of New York. This body took a census on Sunday, November 15, 1902, at all the churches in the upper section of Manhattan Island. The result indicated that about twenty-five per cent. of the city population is to be found in the churches. The New York *Sun* in discussing this conclusion remarks that the church-going in London, as tabulated by the London *Daily News*, shows about the same percentage. The *Sun* goes on to say:

"In the uptown district of Manhattan . . . women were in a great majority among the attendants. . . . In the Roman Catholic churches they were two-thirds of the whole; in the Protestant, 56.6 per cent. Women and children together made up 73.4 per cent. of the Roman Catholic attendance and 67 of the Protestant. The whole number of men in the churches on that fine November Sunday was only 29,283, both Protestant and Catholic, out of a total population of the district estimated at 438,065. In the Catholic churches the percentage of men was about 26.5 per cent.; in the Protestant, about 32.9 per cent.

"At all times the pillar of the Church has been the faith of the women, but probably never before to so great an extent as now.

"The fact that of the total attendance 62 per cent. . . . were at the Roman Catholic churches, would seem to indicate that the percentage of the foreign (church-goers) is much the greater. . . .

"It is suggestive that in the two Christian Science churches of the region, the attendance . . . was more than a quarter of the aggregate attendance in the 17 Episcopal churches, and was only a third less than the aggregate in the 12 Baptist churches, though the actual Christian Science membership is only about one-seventh that of the Episcopal and one-third that of the Baptist. . . .

"The statistics as a whole are a repeated

demonstration of the fact that in New York, as in London, more than three-fourths of the population are neglectful of public religious worship.”*

Less judicial and restrained is the tone of the Rev. Dr. Anson P. Atterbury, president of the Federation of Churches. Dr. Atterbury, who recently headed a learned commission to lay the problem of non-church-going before President Roosevelt for his remedial touch, gives vent to his opinion in words which surely would never be permitted from a critic outside the pale. Says he:

“This city (New York) is becoming a nest of infidels. It is tottering on the verge of a terrible religious disruption. Unless the Christian people of the nation rise to its rescue, the metropolis is doomed! . . .

“The situation now is terrible. Churches are decreasing in number and power as the population of the great city grows. Commercialism has crowded out Christianity. . . .”

Not only Christianity, he might have added, but other faiths as well—the religious idea as a whole. Current opinion has it that the Jews hold with singular tenacity to their faith under all circumstances; but current opinion here is mistaken. Scientific thought and the stress of industrial exploitation have undermined even the Hebraic conservatism, until now an astonishing number of Jews rarely if ever see the inside of a synagogue. According to figures given by the *New York Times*, for April 21, 1907, 68 per cent. of Jewish families do not attend worship, as against 28 per cent. of Protestant, and 5.7 per cent. of Roman Catholic families.

The *Times* emphasizes two other points of importance in this same issue: first, that during the past 50 years the number of churches as compared with the growth of population has suffered a great decline; and, second, that the property-holdings of

religious bodies as a whole have vastly increased. In 1850 there was one Protestant church for about every 1,000 of population, while to-day in many urban districts the average is not over one per 10,000, with an average of one per 6,500. As population grows and secular education increases, religious interest wanes.

The monetary and property-interests of the Church, as though to offset decreasing spiritual grasp, show a strong upward tendency. According to statistics of the Federation of Churches, never have religious bodies in America been so rich as to-day. The article quoted above contains this direct statement of financial conditions:

“The Church is plethoric with material wealth. In New York City alone the churches own at least \$204,000,000, which is exempt from taxation. . . . But now that the Church is gorged with property, it finds it no longer has a hold, either spiritual or material, upon the masses of the people. They reject its call and its forms; they give little attention to its teachings. . . . Not all the individual churches are rich. On the contrary . . . many churches have a precarious time of it. But this also arises from the fact that their congregations have dwindled. Viewed as a whole, the Church is now vastly richer in property than it ever was. Never were there such splendid edifices of worship; the accompaniments, equipment, style and clerical salaries”—of the larger churches, be it understood—“are more sumptuous and commanding than ever before. . . . While, however, the Church’s material interests have bounded forward in increase of its real-estate values, in costliness of structures and in extent of endowments, its claim on the religious feelings of the masses has correspondingly declined.

“The little brick church of a century or fifty years ago was better filled proportionately and exercised far greater influence than many of our present capacious and impressive temples of worship.”

The underlying social causes of these

**Literary Digest*, December 5, 1903. Present conditions are very probably worse than they were five years ago, when these figures were compiled.

great general tendencies in the modern church—the loss of church membership and attendance, the accumulation of wealth and the atrophy of spiritual and intellectual leadership—must all possess keen interest to the student of present-day conditions; but any attempt to set forth these causes would lead us into a discussion far beyond the permissible limits of a single article. These causes, or such of them as may be analyzed with any degree of certainty, I shall hope to treat at some length in a subsequent article. For the time being we must confine ourselves to the groundwork of the subject, the skeleton of facts upon which our later theorizings may be constructed. And as the last great category of such facts, now that we have finished with the laity, we should consider the relation of the clergy itself in regard to the church-problem. What kind of leadership is the Church enjoying; what sort of ministerial timber is now being hewn out to replace that which must go the way of all timber whether sound or flawed?

IV.

To begin with, the Church is hard put to get timber of any reputable sort, not only here but also abroad. The German situation is well known, where (save in the Catholic Church) there has been observed a most marked falling off in theological students. In England the clergy are in no such ideal position as to warrant the belief that the profession would seem especially attractive. It might deter the ambitious candidate to reflect that in the past ten years over one hundred English clergymen (among them several Doctors of Divinity) have been admitted to almshouses as paupers; that of all the Episcopal ministers in the country, 6,000 receive less than £5 a week and the great majority much less.*

At home we find abundant evidence that the profession is waning. The theo-

logical seminaries very generally report a falling off in candidates—witness Harvard, Yale and Andover. This latter place, "which has already graduated more than 3,000 ministers, now has all told less than a score of students. It is well equipped, it has money, it has professors, it has prestige, it has everything except life. Smitten with decay, its death is only a question of time."[†]

So marked is this tendency that it has evoked more than one Jeremiah from clerical and other sources. Under the caption "Churches Can't Get Ministers," the *Philadelphia Press*, for January 5, 1907, says:

"Sincere alarm is being expressed by religious teachers all over the country and in Europe at the falling off in the numbers of candidates for the ministry.

"Theological seminaries of practically all bodies are graduating smaller classes than formerly, and the numbers of those entering the seminaries give no hope for any substantial increase in graduates for a number of years to come.

"So marked is this decline that grave fears are held as to the possibility of keeping churches supplied with ministers. Many men who in former times would have entered the theological seminaries are now fitting themselves for settlement-workers and for other social work of various kinds.

"It is pointed out that even now the supply does not equal the demands of the churches. The latest available statistics of all religious bodies in the United States gave the total number of churches, all bodies, at 199,972, and the total number of ministers at 152,575. In other words, there are scarcely more than three ministers for every four churches. . . . Unless conditions change, the plan of 'supplying' may have to be extended, and may even reach city churches. . . .

"Since 1900 the ministerial supply in

*Associated Sunday Magazines, November 4, 1906.

[†]Communication, "Why Young Men Do n't Enter the Ministry," the Rev. H. A. Westnall, in *Boston Herald*, May 28, by 1907.

the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America has declined 8 per cent., and in the Church of England 13 per cent. These percentages of decline are said not to be so large as they were in the five years preceding 1900, and there is little justification of some alarmists that there has been a falling off of 75 per cent. in the number of candidates for the ministry, notwithstanding the fact that some authorities hold that the number of candidates (for the ministry) is now no more than two-thirds of what it was a decade ago."

The *Press* adds: "This marked difference between the number of ministers and the number of churches is seen in very nearly all of the larger denominations. Baptists, for instance, have 52,919 churches and only 37,061 ministers. Disciples of Christ have 11,033 churches and 6,475 ministers; Lutherans, 13,373 churches and 7,585 ministers; Presbyterians, all bodies, have 15,702 churches and 12,650 ministers; Episcopalians, with 7,146 churches, have but 5,109 clergymen. The Reformed Churches have, 1,970 ministers to 2,536 churches. United Brethren have 4,407 churches and but 2,185 ministers. There are but few exceptions among American religious bodies to this disproportion between the number of churches and ministers. A notable one, however, is the Catholic Church, which has 11,637 churches and 14,104 clergymen."

By way of direct corroborative evidence, the recent Report of the Presbyterian General Assembly (held at Columbus, Ohio), possesses considerable interest. In this report the following statements occur:

"The Board has been made aware that its solicitude over the present period of decline in the number and quality of candidates presenting themselves for the Gospel ministry is shared by the boards of education of other denominations. Word has come from the Episcopal, Methodist and Lutheran bodies that the falling off, so noticeable a few years ago, is begin-

ning to have its direct effect on the Church.

"Dissatisfaction is felt in many quarters over the inability of the churches to secure the highest type of consecrated manhood for the ministry. Pulpit vacancies for distressingly long periods are more and more noticeable, and complaints are heard from committees on pulpit supply as to their inability to fill satisfactorily the places of those who are dropping from the ranks of the ministry.

"It is with grave concern that the Church at large should know of the facts that in thirty evangelical theological seminaries in our country, the Church is about 400 men short of the number studying ten years ago, despite the country's increase of 8,000,000 in population. There are one-third less men studying for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church than ten years ago . . . (when) there was one candidate for every 640 church members, while to-day there is one candidate for every 1,240 members.

"Is it not therefore incumbent upon the Church to engage in importunate prayer in behalf of the sons of the Church, that more of them may be led . . . to consecrate their talent to the work of the ministry?"

The *Chicago Tribune* has received reports from ten Methodist conferences in Illinois and neighboring states at which the subject of pulpit supply was discussed and the opinion expressed that unless quick action were taken there would be a dearth of preachers. What may be regarded as an extreme illustration of the present tendency comes from the Des Moines Conference, held at Council Bluffs, Iowa, where it was reported that 37 of the 217 pulpits were vacant because of the insufficient salary, whereas ten years ago there were ten more preachers than pulpits in the conference.

Along with the numerical decline of candidates comes a decadence of intellectual quality. The Church no longer is attracting to herself the minds of largest

caliber and finest quality, as formerly. The preaching-days of Beecher, Talmage, Phillips Brooks and other great pulpiteers are no longer with us. Of our modern and lesser lights, which one is a household word? Where now are the full-page sermons which our Monday newspapers used to spread before us almost if not quite in their entirety? How many of us feel that we have suffered loss in happening to skip the meager reports of church doings now supplied by the press? Is it not true that the utterances of the clergy as a whole have become singularly impotent to lead current thought in either religious or social matters?

v.

The concluding word need not be long. All indications whether in the field of church-membership, attendance, pulpit-supply or public influence point with entire unanimity toward a present and a steadily-accelerating decadence of church institutions in Europe and America. The situation here at home is becoming acute—so acute, in fact, that with no very good claim can we describe the United States as technically a Christian nation at all. Only three-eighths of us are church-members, and of that fraction very many are only nominally so, with neither faith nor interest in the church. "I should not say that our nation is in any sense a Christian nation," says the Rev. Dr. Joseph Silverman. "The majority of the people of this country are not Christians. The majority belong to the various other religions, or are members of no religion at all. There are over 40,000,000 people in this

country who are not Christians; and by what right can we call the nation Christian?"

The answer most commonly made, of course, is that our whole ethical life and thought, irrespective of creed, is so deeply tinged with the doctrines of the Nazarene that we may be excellent Christians in the broad use of the word, yet have no church affiliations. This point is not here under discussion, nor are the various causes which have led to the universal abandonment in so striking a manner of an interest in formal and orthodox faith—an abandonment shown even in the failing of "Free Thought" to hold the public interest. The ex-editor of a now defunct Free Thought magazine, which languished for some years before its death, told me not long ago that dogmatic religion was no longer even a live enough issue to support an effective opposition—that people were simply not interested to attack or defend it as formerly. I believe that is quite symptomatic of the situation, a situation characterized by so keen an observer as Rabbi Fleischer as one where "honest, unadulterated and unrationalized acceptance of the existing formulations of faith grows less and less." The causes of all this, I repeat, cannot be discussed here. They must be considered later, if justice is to be done them. For the present it seems quite within the facts to say that with the sole exception of the Christian Science faith, the Church has entered upon a period of marked decadence, and that dogmatic religion in these latter times of ours has "fallen on evil days."

GEORGE ALLAN ENGLAND.

Bryant's Pond, Me.

THE SYMBOLISM OF "THE TEMPEST."

BY GEORGE HERBERT CLARKE.

"WHY, IT turned out not to be a Tempest at all," lately remarked a friend who had adventured through the play for the first time. And that is precisely the truth of the matter.

"After long storms and tempests overblowne
The sun at length his joyous face doth cleare,"

sang one of Shakespeare's gentlest friends, Edmund Spenser, poet of Faery. And the master of the English drama has shown us in his greatest romantic comedy how true is this of human life and of non-human Nature. Indeed, the oneness of humanity and Nature and Deity, their accordant and unified symbolism, is everywhere suggested in "The Tempest," alike in its moments, its movement, and its motive. Into its higher, serener air are to be found converging all the old, familiar currents of life and thought,—the light-hearted joys of "A Midsummer Night's Dream" and "Twelfth Night," the courage and zest of the historical plays, and the cloudy glooms of "Lear" and "Hamlet," and all of these are here made tributary to one end,—the justifying of the idea of a God of goodness. Not that the earlier plays are less than this—indeed, in some instances they are much stronger both structurally and dramatically—but Shakespeare seems here to be but little concerned with his responsibilities as playwright (he follows the classical unities, it would appear, chiefly for the sake of avoiding mechanical preoccupations as far as possible), and much concerned with the final rounding of his philosophy of life. If "Hamlet" says No where "A Midsummer Night's Dream" says Yes, "The Tempest," for its part, utters Yes once again, but it is not the old Yes of care-free youth.

The Shakespeare of "The Tempest" seems to remind the Shakespeare of "Hamlet" and "Lear" that there is a wistful breath of would-be utterance in the great tragedies that must now be given its opportunity, a silver lining that must yet become the means and minister of a spreading glory. And "The Tempest" is the opportunity and the glory.

We enter the region of enchantment in the first act through the gateway of reality, and in the last act we are to regain reality through enchantment's aid. Life is one, Shakespeare seems to say, whether known or unknown, but its meanings will never be sounded by those of scoffing and unbelieving spirit. The mystery and the holiness of life, its vision and its reminiscence, are purely symbolic.

"... like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep."

As Prospero typifies Providence,—a progressive, dynamic Providence, who, in the climax of his force-power, rises into a higher love-power through a wonderful expression of self-renunciation; so Ariel typifies the light and aspirant in Nature and humanhood; and Caliban their baser and darker instincts. Service is sacred to the best in Ariel, but so is opportunity; service is repugnant to Caliban, because he has not yet understood that opportunity comes *through* service, that there is no freedom save moral freedom, and that moral freedom has to be earned and struggled for. Caliban's drunkenly triumphant song of rebellion contrasts

thus strangely with Ariel's lyric lilt of hope:

"Where the bee sucks, there suck I:
In a cowslip's bell I lie;
There I couch when owls do cry.
On the bat's back I do fly
After summer merrily.
Merrily, merrily, shall I live now
Under the blossom that hangs on the bough."

Upon these questions, and those of the remoter meanings of evil and the redemptive joys of love and loyal friendship Shakespeare touches slightly indeed, but very surely and sympathetically. His *finale* is one of universal restoration. Prospero recovers his dukedom; Alonzo

his son; Ferdinand his father; Miranda the real world; Gonzalo his friend; Ariel his freedom; Caliban his isle; the Boatswain and Captain their ship; and Sebastian and Antonio, presumably, their better selves. Hate turns out to be but a mask of love's, evil but a way to good, failure and misfortune a means of progress. The spiritual insight of the great master is nowhere more moving and inspiring than in this moment. God is, comes Shakespeare's quiet word, and life is; and God is for life, and life for God.

GEORGE HERBERT CLARKE.

Macon, Ga.

THE PEOPLING OF CANADA.

BY FRANK VROOMAN.

AT THE close of the Civil War Northwestern Canada was as much of a wilderness as was the American Great West at the time of the Louisiana purchase. Indeed, it was more so, for had not St. Louis been for a long time the seat of the new civilization, and had not Daniel Boone gone three hundred miles west of there because the state he founded was over-populated at ten to a square mile? In the middle sixties the Hudson's Bay Territory was still no part of Canada. Millions of buffalo trod the grass and wild flowers into the soil which is now making ready for one of the greatest granaries in the world. The Indian followed the buffalo. The fur-trader followed the Indian. Winnipeg was but a trading-post. There was scarcely a city or village excepting the trading settlements between Lake Superior and the Pacific. This was about one generation ago. Indeed, there was no Dominion of Canada before 1867. The Dominion of Canada has been made since the Civil War. In fact, one of the great indirect

results of that war was the confederation of Canada. The doctrine of State's Rights had been handled pretty freely on both sides of the line and Canada was not slow to learn that in union there is strength. Canada escaped the mistake of the thirteen original jealous colonies and later of the Southern States, and, excepting British Columbia, gave all power to the Central Government at Ottawa, not delegated to the provinces. This is a vast improvement on the American Constitution, which takes only such powers as are delegated to it by the States. There are no vacuums in the interstices in Canadian politics where offending corporations may hide, crossing the neutral right of way between state and nation.

It is not generally realized in the United States that the years of the Dominion of Canada are scarcely more than those of a single generation of men and that its years must be nearly as many again, or another generation, before it reaches a paltry three score years and ten. How brief a span in the history of nations!

How fleeting a moment in the history of mankind!

Manitoba was admitted to the Confederation in 1870, British Columbia in 1871, Prince Edward Island in 1873, and in 1882 the Northwest Territories of Alberta, Assiniboia, Athabasca and Saskatchewan were organized with local administration at Regina. These territories, now, since September 1, 1905, the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, were in the days of our "school geography" Hudson's Bay Territory or Rupert's Land. The resources of the country were beginning to be known through the phenomenal results of agriculture in Manitoba, and even before Confederation efforts were made to bring this vast and fertile tract out from under the Hudson's Bay Company's ownership and control. Successful negotiations in 1886—approved by the Canadian Parliament in 1869, led the Hudson's Bay Company, in consideration of certain lands near their trading posts and £300,000 sterling to surrender to Canada this wide domain. Out of the surveys that followed these negotiations grew the first Riel or Red River Rebellion, which resulted largely from the want of tact on the part of the Government Surveyors on the one hand and the ignorance of the half-breeds on the other.

Seven treaties were made with the Indian Tribes between 1871 and 1877, who received reservations and annuities of moneys and benefits for transferring their immemorial sovereignty to the Canadian Government. To the honor of the name and fame of Canada, these treaties have been faithfully kept, so that for the Indian relations of this Dominion no Canadian ever wore the blush of shame.

It may be said here that the history of the Indians north of the forty-ninth parallel has been radically different from that of the Indians south of it. One need not ask why, when one knows that not only Canada but the Hudson's Bay Company has kept faith with the Indian. No one who has ever traveled through the

farther north and had close associations with the northern Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company need be told of the secret of their success of two and a half centuries. If the Honorable Adventurers of the Hudson's Bay have made great dividends in fur, they have yielded security and comfort to the Indian Tribes, and to Canada, peace.

The second and more serious Riel Rebellion in the eighties grew out of a situation very similar to the first. Perhaps more than to any other one agency, credit for the speedy overthrow of this insurrection is due to Sir Adolphe Caron, now a resident of Ottawa and Quebec, an able lawyer and a charming host, who for the exercise of a brilliant military talent while Minister of Militia at the time of the second Riel uprising, probably by his foresight, decision and despatch saved Canada a long and bloody war. For this signal service he was knighted by Queen Victoria, and was for eighteen years Minister of the Crown, until the Liberals came into power.

The British North American Act of 1867, under which the former provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick became the Dominion of Canada, made provision in general terms for the addition of that vast and fertile area which both the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company, for their own profit, had been so long discouraging for purposes of settlement and agriculture. The farmer drives the fur-bearing animals away, and the furs of Canada have been for two and a half centuries practically the sole wealth of the Indian and the Hudson's Bay Company. The frozen spaces and the inhospitable wastes of the "Great Lone Land" were the bugbears kept well to the front before the world, and it was not until about eleven years ago that any great movement set in toward the settlement of the western portion of it. This was when the Liberal Party came into power.

On September the first, 1905, Alberta and Saskatchewan were added to the

provinces of Canada. These provinces were formed out of the Northwest Territories, Alberta, Assiniboia, Athabasca and Saskatchewan, with 63,523,000, 57,177,600, 153,260,000 and 69,200,000 acres respectively. Alberta, the new province, comprises now Alberta Territory, the western part of Athabasca to the sixtieth degree parallel which is also the northern boundary of British Columbia, and a strip off the western part of Assiniboia and Saskatchewan. Saskatchewan, the new province, comprises the part of the old Territories of Saskatchewan and Assiniboia to the Manitoba boundary line and the eastern part of Athabasca. These two provinces are principalities, each larger than France, both nearly as large as Alaska. Each is five times the area of Illinois and Iowa combined, and on the maps of both you could lay the maps of Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, Ohio, Minnesota, Michigan, New York, Kansas, Kentucky and throw in the New England States.

The mere element of bigness is of itself striking, almost startling, but it is not so interesting as some further facts, concerning this latest opened and last great virgin arable area on the North American Continent. The most striking features of this wonderland are the facts that there is surprisingly little unavailable soil and that nearly all of it is so wonderfully fertile. While the wheat crops in the United States in one year averaged 14.5 bushels to the acre, those of Manitoba averaged 26 and the Territories 25. This is a fair average comparison of amounts. But the Canadian wheat is better than ours. No. 1 Manitoba wheat has become famous and millers buy it to mix with our American wheat for the best flours. The old Territory of Saskatchewan had alone 50,000,000 acres which can all produce No. 1 Manitoba wheat, and all this will be under cultivation in a few years. At the very low average of twenty bushels, that would give a billion bushels a year. In the two present provinces with Manitoba are

171,000,000 acres of wheat lands—all capable of producing much the highest grade of wheat the world has yet known. When we consider that Canadian freights are cheaper to Europe; that farmers can sell worn-out land for eighty to one hundred and twenty dollars an acre in the United States and buy for eight to twelve dollars in Canada that which will produce forty to fifty per cent. more wheat of a better quality, is it any wonder they are leaving us?

Great Britain imports in wheat and flour the equivalent of 200,000,000 bushels of grain annually. The old territory of Saskatchewan, while feeding Canada, could feed Great Britain and France and the German Empire and have wheat to spare. And this is less than a third of the capacity of the new Northwest with its 171,000,000 acres of wheat lands.

The agricultural population of a country is the most useful and the most valuable. When we consider that from St. Paul alone, with their many household goods, horses and cattle, at times one thousand American farmers a week have been trekking across the Canadian frontier, and when we remember what is coming in at Castle Garden,—we pause. This American invasion has been going on now with increasing volume, for some years preëmption entries alone reaching 60,000 a year.

There was scarcely any interest in the Canadian West until Clifford Sifton took the helm of the Interior Department. The movements he inaugurated regarding immigration and transportation are the movements that have created the great Northwest of to-day. He was Attorney-General of Manitoba before he was appointed by Sir Wilfred Laurier the youngest member excepting the Prime Minister of what Mr. Stead has called the most effective and business-like Cabinet of modern times. When the great Northwest is supporting a population of 50,000,000 people, as it can and will do, yonder they will think of Clifford Sifton as indeed the "father of his country" for

he has been the creator of the new Northwest.

Clifford Sifton is one of the great constructive statesmen of Canada, one of the architects and builders of the New Canada, the Canada to which his chief and colleague referred recently when he said: "If the nineteenth century was the century of the United States the twentieth century is the century of Canada."

When Mr. Sifton took the reins, the white population of Manitoba was about 210,000. That of the Northwest Territories, now Alberta and Saskatchewan, as nearly as can be ascertained, was about 90,000. As matters stood at that time, there was practically no substantial increase in the population of Manitoba and the Territories: the movement out being just about as great as the movement inwards. Any addition from the outside was largely the result of a small movement from Eastern Canada, principally the province of Ontario. In particular, the present district of Alberta was suffering from serious stagnation. Settlers had begun to move out of Alberta in large numbers and there appeared to be at that time no immediate prospect of anything better. A careful examination of the condition of affairs showed that the main difficulty against which the settlers had to contend was the lack of a market for anything except wheat, which was not at that time raised in Alberta in any considerable quantities. The outward movement and the stagnation were immediately overcome by the construction of the Crow's Nest Pass Railway. It furnished an immediate market for enormous quantities of coarse grains and produce raised in Alberta, and in one short season raised the whole district from a state of financial stringency to one of comparative comfort. In addition to the temporary relief that was afforded, the market of the mining districts of Southern British Columbia was permanently rendered available for the farmers of the prairie regions. Thenceforward Alberta has been prosperous

and has attracted settlement in a volume which has increased year by year.

The southern portion of Alberta has also largely profited by the development of irrigation works. These were undertaken in the first instance by an irrigation company headed by Mr. E. T. Galt, of Montreal. They were given some assistance and encouragement by the Dominion Government and constructed extensive water courses and engaged in settlement work with the result that many thousands of settlers have been brought in and settled in their tract, and extensive farming operations are now carried on where nothing in the nature of agriculture was formerly possible. The sugar-beet industry, established at Raymond, which is carried on on an extensive scale, is the direct result of the irrigation work initiated by this company.

Later on, the C. P. R. was induced to accept from the Dominion Government as part of its land grant, 4,000,000 acres of land, which is practically to a large extent arid, and which requires irrigation. The company was induced to do this by the results of the Galt Company's irrigation work. The C. P. R. has now undertaken the necessary expenditure and this enormous tract is already artificially irrigated and under cultivation.

The two questions which were of importance in connection with the development of Western Canada were: First—the getting of an agricultural population, and, second—furnishing the necessary railway facilities.

In the early days many tracts of land were settled up, and, being distant from the railway, receiving no attention, and having no prospect of any, the settlers gradually abandoned their farms and left the district deserted. This had occurred so frequently that any careful observer must have been convinced that a rapid development of transportation facilities must accompany anything in the nature of active colonization work.

Bearing this in mind, the first thing

Mr. Sifton did was to secure agricultural settlers in large numbers, look after them upon arrival and locate them upon suitable lands. Steps had then to be taken to see that they were not left without any prospect of communication and facilities for transporting their products.

As to the work of getting settlers, the whole plan may be summed up in one sentence. They were procured by constant publication and advertising of the natural advantages of Western Canada as a field for settlement. A systematic and determined effort was made to convince the people of the world that North-western Canada was the best available place for intending settlers to locate. This was done by the use of every possible means of publicity, newspapers, circulars, pamphlets and publications of every description. The one rule that was followed in all publications was that no writer or agent was permitted to overstate the truth. It is somewhat remarkable that after eight years of this systematic campaign it is not known that there is a single case in which a settler has come to Canada and afterwards complained that the Government publications had misrepresented the facts.

It is considered that the money which has been expended has been economically and profitably expended because it will bring about an enormous development in the near future and in no other way could the attention of the world have been convincingly directed to the agricultural resources of the country. The Sifton settlement policy has been carried on upon the principle that the land itself is of no value to the Government or to the people as a political aggregation. The value of the land consists in its power to profitably support a population, and it is regarded as being vastly more important to have a prosperous settler upon a quarter section of land producing a certain amount of natural wealth year by year than to sell the land to some person who will pay interest upon the capital sum represented by its supposed value at such a

price as under ordinary circumstances could be procured, that is, at the beginning of the movement, from two dollars to six dollars per acre. There is no doubt that the phenomenal increase in the prosperity of Canada during the last few years has been due to the rapid development of the West as it is actually taking place and also in a considerable degree to the confidence in the future growth of the country engendered by the success of its settlement policy and the results which business men expect to flow from it in the future. By that I mean that the business men have engaged in extensive enterprises and resting confidently on their belief as to what will take place in the future they have, no doubt, gone further than they would have gone, were it not for their belief in the rapid expansion of Canadian commerce likely to take place as a result of the agricultural production of the Northwest.

The settlers have been the best advance agents for the Government. These have been uniformly contented and satisfied, if they have ever done any farming and known what good soil is, the discontented ones being a few remittance men who have never succeeded until their incomes ceased and they had to "root" or "die."

It has been said that soon there will not be a wheat farm more than nine miles from transportation. Over \$300,000,000 has been authorized to be spent on new railroads, all of which has grown out of the Sifton colonization plan, by which the inhabitable and cultivable areas of Canada have been practically doubled, and in which its population in another quarter of a century will have been multiplied by ten.

The net result of the Sifton immigration policy, now administered with great force and ability by Frank Oliver, the present Minister of the Interior, is that the tide of immigration, which began from practically nothing, has developed from the United States alone to five thousand a month. And now the ten years show 300,000 Americans who have

become Canadian farmers, with 325,000 from Great Britain and 260,000 from the rest of the world. This because the Canadian Government was not afraid to put the machinery of Government behind the task, to make it a national concern.

But this is not all. This work has been stronger and more far-sighted than at first it seems. It has been a strong factor in helping to correct a wrong world-tendency,—the movement away from the soil. It is not only in the acres they have made produce; it is not only in the men and wealth this work has brought to Canada; it is not only in the growing cities and railroads and national prosperity which have followed the realization of this program. They have laid the foundations for a healthy and normal and wholesome civilization, in checking the tendency away from the soil. In every civilized nation there has been an alarming tendency from the farm to the factory. Not only has the national character been deteriorating in congested industrial centers, but the world is on the point of making more goods than it can consume. A world-glut of goods is due about the time Japan and China, with their hordes of cheap labor, are in the field, equipped—and then a world-panic. One thing only can check this tendency, though this will not solve the whole international problem. That is the return to the soil. And nearly half the population of all Canada are tilling the soil. While this proportion remains, and while there are but few large and congested and reeking centers of industrialism, where millions live on inherited wealth or on their wits, and other millions are herded together with a tenure on life through the precarious law of supply and demand—Canada, next to the soil, must be strong and sane and free.

Canadian statesmanship has made a notable and worthy contribution to the cause of world progress. But what is Great Britain doing to meet the challenge of Canadian statesmanship? What are the English statesmen doing to match

the splendid policies of Sir Wilfred Laurier, of Mr. Sifton and Mr. Oliver?

To the plain, average sense of the plain, average man, it ought to go without saying that so long as there is an empty British acre capable of producing bread, there ought not to be an empty British stomach clamoring vainly for it. If Great Britain were ruled with the intelligence of Japanese statesmanship, the empty hands of England and the empty lands of Canada would somehow get together—and that in no haphazard, blind drift of fortuitous concourses of impecunious human atoms, but by intelligent foresight and oversight and plan and will.

There are at present twice as many people in England in a state of chronic destitution as there are people in all Canada, and it does not seem to have occurred to Great Britain that there is any vital relation between these two facts.

It has not been long since there were gigantic demonstrations in London of both men and women out of work and out of bread, who sent vast committees to Mr. Balfour, asking relief. This worthy statesman showed the palms of both hands and sent them away to shift for themselves—and to starve—saying nothing could be done, while English banks were rolling with uninvested wealth and British lands across seas were growing bunch-grass for wandering herds which could be used for raising food for the foodless and workless millions of mankind.

It so happens that on the day of this writing the despatches from London are full of a threatened railroad strike. They state that Mr. Bell, M.P., and secretary of the Railway Servants' Society, made the statement that there are over 100,000 men employed by the railroads of the United Kingdom who are paid less than five dollars a week. The railway managers declare they are receiving so many applications for these prospective empty jobs that their clerks cannot handle the mail. And yet there is a long editorial

in the same paper on the unequaled prosperity of Great Britain. Is there not something wrong here? Something radically—perhaps wickedly—wrong? Does it not take one's breath out of one's mouth, while shouting for the continued supremacy of Anglo-Saxon civilization, to think that here is the apex of it, the crown and glory of it this benign, divine *laissez-faire*—100,000 British workmen receiving less than five dollars a week and countless thousands who must be worse off, if they are ready to take their jobs?

Is it not worth drifting England's while to do something in so simple a problem of common humanity and commonwealth, when one stone will kill two birds so obviously and so easily?

Here is the problem. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has stated it from the British standpoint—and he has, of course, done his duty as Premier of Great Britain. There is nothing more to do. Thirteen million English people being ground to powder between the benign millstones of economic *laissez-faire*. Only he has not stated it this way. That is the end of it. Let them grind. The weak must perish. The strong must win. The race is to the swift, the battle to the strong. Reason is divorced from statecraft, and Chance, the blind God, must rule the world—excepting Germany and Japan—whose statesmen know better than to sacrifice to an exploded academic idea a potential industrial army of 13,000,000 people.

England is facing a stormy future with her enemies waxing strong, and in her own congested haunts is growing up a

deteriorating race—millions of men and women whose standard of living their rulers refuse to raise, whose labor they refuse to protect, who are being driven to the wall by the organized races of mankind. On the other hand hundreds of millions of fertile British acres are awaiting the plough and the seed and the toil. Who will help them together? Not Mr. Balfour. Not the present Premier. Not *laissez-faire*—“every fellow for himself” England. They must beg for bread, and, what is more pitiable, they must beg for work. And what is even yet more pathetic—tragic—they must beg for work which their brethren must starve to quit. If there is no divine reason in the world, there should be no constructive reason in politics. It is the philosophy of atheism and anarchy—individualism. Things may happen. They must never be brought about. The destinies of the destitute and helpless must be left to the whimsical movements of a blind, unreasoning chance.

No wonder the twentieth century stretches arms out to Canada and constructive nation-building, where, in the vast evolutionary movement, intelligence and will are themselves elements of the cosmic process by which the work of a hundred years is done in one year—and done better.

Let England do something constructive, putting into the hands of British subjects—not allowing to go by default to the Japanese—the splendid resources of Canadian prairie and forest and fishery and mine.

FRANK VROOMAN.

Victoria, B. C.

A POSSIBLE WAY OUT.

By HON. LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN.

NO DOUBT the Constitution of the United States is open to improvement. It is highly probable that certain amendments to that instrument, if submitted to the people, would receive a majority vote. Unquestionably the election of United States Senators directly by the people of the several states would be endorsed. Very likely, in view of the position already taken by many of the states, the substitution of popular election for appointment of judges of the Supreme Court would also be approved.

It is well-known, however, that the alteration of the National Constitution in any particular is an extraordinarily difficult matter.

But, without emphasizing the difficulty of making any changes, it is well worthy of full consideration whether the admitted failures in practical operation of our form of government may not be corrected without any amendment whatsoever of the nation's organic law.

In the first place, a great deal is still to be said in favor of the general plan adopted by the wise men who formed the National Constitution. The convention of 1787 was characterized necessarily by compromise, in which, many think, the democratic principles of the Declaration of Independence were sacrificed.

But sound reasons may even now be given for the powers conferred upon the several departments of the government and for the methods of selecting the officials who compose those departments.

For example: something is to be said in favor of having the upper and lower branches of Congress elected in a wholly diverse manner. Manifestly the election of senators by the voters of a state, and of representatives by the voters of Congressional districts, would constitute the two bodies much more alike than does the present arrangement.

Again, the direct election of a President, instead of his election by an electoral college, might lead, even more than at present, to the suppression of the minority vote in many of the states.

Finally, the appointment by the President, with the consent of the Senate, of United States judges, has given a very able judiciary, perhaps one more capable relatively than has resulted from the nomination of state judges by party conventions and their election by party vote.

The question therefore arises, May it not be possible to retain the acknowledged advantages of the present system and at the same time remove those features which have proved so highly objectionable?

This, I believe, can be done more quickly, and perhaps as effectually, without making any change whatsoever in the Federal Constitution.

The place for reform legislation to begin is with the election of the national House of Representatives. It will be observed that the method of selecting all the other high officials of the government is fixed very definitely by the organic law.

For President, "each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress," etc.

For judges, the President "shall nominate, and by and with the consent of the Senate shall appoint . . . judges of the Supreme Court."

For Senators: "The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years."

Turning now to the method of electing representatives in Congress, it will be

found that a far greater latitude is allowed. Thus: "The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states; and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for the electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature." Also, "the times, places and manner of holding elections for . . . representatives shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but *the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such requisitions.*"

In other words, the manner of electing representatives in Congress by the people of the several States is wholly determinable by Federal law.

The election, therefore, not of President, not of Federal judges, not of United States Senators, but of members of Congress, is the one organic reform which can be affected by legislation without any change of the National Constitution.

In the smallest States, which have but one member each, the present method of choosing him is the best. Like the Governor, he represents a majority of all the qualified electors who care to visit the polls and vote. But when we turn to the larger States, which elect from two to thirty-seven representatives, the voters of the respective States are not represented duly in Congress. The only way in which the people of a State can be fairly represented in a legislative body is by giving to each group of voters holding political opinions in common its proportional share of that body. It has been well said that a legislature should be like an exquisite mirror reflecting in miniature the leading political sentiments of the people.

The National House can be made truly representative of the people of the several States by the enactment by Congress of the following law, a modification of a bill proposed in the Fifty-second Congress by Hon. Tom. L. Johnson of Ohio.

"Section 1. The members of the House of Representatives shall be voted for at large in their respective States.

"Section 2. Any body of electors in any State, which polled at the last preceding Congressional election one per cent. of the total vote of the State, or which is endorsed by a petition of voters amounting to one per cent. of such total vote, may nominate any number of candidates not to exceed the number of seats to which such State is entitled in the House, and cause their names to be printed on an official ballot.

"Section 3 Each elector shall be entitled to vote for one person and no more; and the votes given to candidates shall count for the tickets to which the candidates belong, as well as individually for the candidate.

"Section 4. The sum of all the votes cast for all candidates in any State shall be divided by the number of seats to which such State is entitled, plus one, and the quotient to the nearest unit shall be known as the quota of representation.

"Section 5. The sum of all the votes cast for the tickets of each party or political body nominating candidates shall be severally divided by the quota of representation and the units of the quotients thus obtained will show the number of representatives to which each such body is entitled; and if the sum of such quotients be less than the number of seats to be filled the body of electors having the largest remainder after division of the sums of the votes cast, by the quota of representation, as herein specified, shall be entitled to the first vacancy, and so on until all the vacancies are filled.

"Section 6. The candidates of each body of electors nominating candidates and found entitled to representation under the foregoing rules, shall receive certificates of election in the order of the votes received, a candidate receiving the highest number of votes the first certificate, and so on; but in case of a tie,

with but one vacancy to be filled, the matter shall be determined by lot between the candidates so tied.

"Section 7. If a member of the House of Representatives shall die or resign, or his seat become vacant for any reason, the remainder of his term shall be served by the candidate having the next highest vote of the body of electors to which such member belongs."

Apply this law to an election of Congressmen in the State of Indiana, which is entitled to thirteen members. Each of the two great parties would, no doubt, nominate thirteen candidates, and minor parties may nominate as many, but it is quite probable that some group or groups formed would nominate only a few candidates. In voting, each elector must select a single name from the forty or fifty which may appear upon his ballot. Assume that votes for parties and groups are cast as follows:

Republican.....	230,000
Democratic.....	220,000
Prohibitionist.....	75,000
Socialist.....	50,000
Group One.....	70,000
Group Two.....	35,000
Group Three.....	30,000
Total.....	700,000

The divisor in this instance would be 13 plus 1. Dividing the total vote cast, 700,000, by 14, the quota necessary to elect is found to be 50,000. The number of full quotas in each party or group would be as follows:

Republicans.....	4
Democrats.....	4
Prohibitionists.....	1
Socialists.....	1
Group One.....	1

Two vacancies remain to be filled from the party or group having the largest remainder. These are "Group Two" and "Republican," with remainders respectively of 35,000 and 30,000. Should one of the thirteen Congressmen die before the close of the session his place would be filled by the candidate from the same party or group receiving the next highest number of votes at the election. In practice a tie vote and consequent casting of lots would rarely if ever occur.

Indiana is a very close state politically. In the Fifty-ninth Congress, however, she was represented, or rather misrepresented, by eleven Republicans and two Democrats, the third and fourth parties having received a very small number of votes.

Under the proposed system the two great parties, so long as they continued nearly balanced, would be represented about equally in Congress. As indicated in the above suppositious distribution of votes, the small parties would get more votes, and new parties given the chance of electing one member, would spring up. All this, however, would be for the voters themselves to decide. If the old parties put up their most popular men as candidates, it is not improbable that the Congressional delegation would be divided between them. The division, in any event, would be a just one and not, as now, wholly unequal.

Think of the last Congress with only one Democrat from New Jersey, one from Pennsylvania, and one from Illinois! Turning to the Southern States we find the situation reversed,—and even worse. Whatever this condition of things may be, it cannot properly be called representative government. No wonder that corporations dictate nominations and control elections in great numbers of congressional districts.

The necessary effect of the above law would be to make the House of Representatives a mirror of public sentiment; to compose it of members far superior to those now occupying the seats; to continue in office the ablest men, so long as they were willing to serve; to cause them to be completely independent of party, or boss or corporation; to do away in their cases with all temptation to influence either nominations or elections by corrupt practices.

Furthermore, and most desirably, it would break, as above shown, the solid Democratic South, the nearly solid Republican New England and the all too solidly Republican West and Center. With a great political career open to the

best men in every state, the lower house of Congress would easily become the wisest legislative body known to the world, ancient or modern.

But what interests us is the manner in which a renovated House will react upon the Senate, the Presidency and the Supreme Court.

An almost certain consequence of the law outlined above will be to render the National House of Representatives less partisan. Indeed, it is quite safe to assume that under ordinary conditions neither the Republican party nor any other party would have a clear majority of the members. More than this, a very large proportion of those who were elected upon a regular party ticket would be wholly independent of party dictation. In other words, there would be a new alignment of members upon every measure as it arose, according to its merit as viewed by able men in a position to think and act at their best.

In passing it should be said that the situation would not at all resemble that which is found in France and other European countries where three or more groups of members struggle with one another for supremacy. In a congress chosen by the system here outlined, party affiliations would sit so lightly that the natural cleavage between conservatives and progressives would assert itself, and not infrequently, for a time, would cut across party lines.

The inevitable effect of requiring each elector in Indiana to select out of forty candidates before him the one who is to receive his vote, will be to inculcate independence of thought and action. Although nominally a Republican, his first choice may easily be one of the Democratic candidates, or some distinguished citizen nominated by a minor party or group. Independence in voting easily becomes contagious. Already there exists an inclination to go outside of party lines in voting for President of the United States; and when party adherence to Congressmen is broken up

independent balloting for President will become the rule rather than the exception.

With a national House of Representatives wholly freed from corporation influences, acting at all times for the best interests of the people, the voters of the whole country will be educated to discern political truth and public character. No party will then dare to nominate for the Presidency a tool of the trusts and other monopolies. The candidates of both the great parties will compete with each other in their efforts, as they now do in their claims, to serve the public unselfishly. The result must be a President, wise, able and honest, desirous and capable of filling his high office in the best possible manner.

Consequently, in the appointment of judges of the Supreme Court—one of the most important duties devolving upon the President—only the loftiest motives will influence him. It is safe to say that with monopolistic power to control the popular branch of Congress and the Presidency forever broken, a living faith in government by the people will pervade all parties. Whether, therefore, the President for the time being be labelled a Republican or a Democrat, as a believer in popular government he will select men holding like views to deal out justice from the bench.

While it seems very probable, for the reasons already given, that the executive and judicial departments of the national government will be made more truly republican, more democratic and more responsive to the people's will, the same line of argument does not apply to the United States Senate. No matter how perfectly representative the National House of Representatives may become, so long as State legislatures are controlled by rings or bosses instead of by the people, just so long will they select tools of monopoly to serve as Senators.

But the American people, though slow to take the initiative, when once perfectly convinced of the wisdom of an

innovation are quick to adopt it. When one State adopted the Australian system of voting, most of the other States quickly followed suit. Just so, when every State electing more than one member of Congress has had experience as to the better method, a desire will inevitably arise in the public mind to apply the improved system to the election of the State legislatures.

True, in order to alter radically the methods now in vogue of electing the members of either branch of a legislature a change of the State Constitution is necessary; but such amendments are being made frequently and, as compared with amendments to the Federal Constitution, are not difficult.

Not many years would elapse after Congress had passed the above bill, before many of the States would have fallen into line by choosing the more numerous branch, at least, of their legislatures, in a similar manner. This would mean that there would be found in the House of Representatives of such States a like ability, independence, honesty and faithful service of the people that I have depicted as characterizing the reformed House at Washington. This high character of the State representatives would show itself in their every act, including, of course, the very important duty of casting their votes for Senators of the United States.

That this result will follow is proved, in part at least, by the action of the city councils in Great Britain. There the municipal legislatures are by custom composed of citizens of high character devoted to the public service. Upon them devolves the duty of electing the city's chief executive, and it is well known that almost invariably they make an excellent choice for the mayoralty. That like results have not been obtained in this country in the analogous case of the choosing of United States Senators by elective bodies, may be accounted for by the inferiority of the legislators and their dependence upon the party machine,

which means subservience to the moneyed party managed by the money power. Moreover, an intelligent and patriotic legislature in every State may easily result in a general agreement by them to apportion presidential electors in each State according to the number of votes cast by the several parties, in this way putting an end to the so-called "pivotal States," which have limited presidential candidates, and therefore Presidents, to a few of the large and "doubtful" states.

The conclusion, therefore, seems a fair one, that without any change in the Federal Constitution it is possible to correct the evils which very generally are admitted to permeate every department of the national government. Not only is it possible, but in reality it seems a more hopeful method of procedure than through the other proposed course of first attempting to alter the United States Constitution. Indeed, if both branches of Congress were made more representative of the people, more responsive to public sentiment, it would at once become far easier to effect needed changes in that instrument.

The chief obstacle to the proposed law is the unwillingness of members, whose party is dominant in their several States, to do anything which would lessen their numbers in Congress. For instance, imagine such a bill presented to the Fifty-ninth Congress. The eleven Republican Congressmen from Iowa, the eight from Kansas, the twelve from Michigan, the nine from Minnesota, the eight from California, would hesitate to pass a law which must cause the defeat of one-third or more of their number by candidates holding opposing political views. A like state of mind can probably be predicated of the nine Democratic Congressmen from Alabama, the seven from Arkansas, the eleven from Georgia, the seven from Louisiana, the eight from Mississippi, the seven from South Carolina, and the sixteen from Texas.

But is it not manifest that these solid

delegations of Democrats from Southern States and of Republicans from Northern States demonstrate our lack of a real government by the people?

The vital question before the country in this connection is whether public opinion can concentrate upon a reform of the National House of Representatives with sufficient insistence to secure action by that body.

If that be not done, the alternative is an amendment of the Federal Constitu-

tion permitting a reasonable number of voters, not exceeding one million, to propose specific amendments to that instrument.

Unless the one or the other of these radical reforms be possible, it need not be expected that any real improvement of political conditions will emanate from the national government.

LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN.

Lonsdale, R. I.

THE EDITOR'S QUIET HOUR.

SILENT SPRINGS OF POWER; OR, THE STILL, [SMALL VOICE.

I.

IN ONE of those wonderfully suggestive stories that jewel the pages of the Old Testament and impearl vital truths for the thoughtful of all ages, we find a lesson peculiarly appropriate for the present time, when the materialism of the market is balefully fascinating and seducing the unawakened while paralyzing with doubt and discouragement many who have long held aloft the torch of idealism. The author of the poetic allegory to which we refer had given a picture of the seeming triumph of evil.

Ahab and Jezebel, the king and queen of Israel, who had completely turned their faces from the forces of idealism and spiritual life to embrace the ephemeral and morally disintegrating things of a day—the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye and the pride of life—had been hunting down those who refused to bow the knee to the conventional religion which prophesied smooth things for the workers of iniquity. The queen had sent a special message to Elijah, the great prophet and seer of Israel, declaring that she had vowed his death, and the prophet had fled into the wilderness. Here, companioned by the wild beasts, in a lonely cave, in an arid mountain region, with the hot sands stretching before him, a burning sea under the frightful tropical sun, the heart of the seer failed him. Hundreds of his brethren had

been slain. He believed that he alone remained among those who had not bowed the knee to the prince of the power of the world. Evil seemed enthroned on every hand, strong, arrogant, aggressive and insolently confident, and the prophet prayed that he might die.

Elijah's mental attitude at this moment was, we imagine, such as marks many highly sensitive souls in crucial periods of life. Carlyle, it will be remembered, passed through this mental Gethsemane, only the changed ideals and age-concepts made the interior visions different from Elijah's. In the night of his conflict with evil within and without it seemed at times that he would be overmastered and his moral vision became so obscured that he struggled as a rudderless craft in a tempest-tossed sea.

"The heart within me," he exclaims, "unvisited by any heavenly dewdrop, was smoldering in sulphurous, slow-consuming fire. . . . I lived in a continual, indefinite, pining fear, tremulous, pusillanimous, apprehensive of I knew not what; it seemed as if all things in the Heavens above and the Earth beneath would hurt me; as if the Heavens and the Earth were but boundless jaws of a devouring monster, wherein I, palpitating, waited to be devoured."

And then came the spiritual reaction. The still, small voice of the Eternal in the soul spake:

"All at once there rose a thought in me, and I asked myself, 'What art thou afraid of? Wherefore like a coward dost thou forever pip and whimper, and go cowering and trembling? Despicable biped, what is the sum total of the worst that lies before thee? Death? Well, Death; and say the pangs of Tophet too, and all that the Devil and man may, will, or can do against thee. Hast thou not a heart; canst thou not suffer whatsoever it be; and as a child of freedom, though outcast, trample Tophet itself under thy feet, while it consumes thee? Let it come, then; I will meet it and defy it.' And as I so thought there rushed like a stream of fire over my whole soul; and I shook base fear away from me forever. I was strong, of unknown strength; a spirit, almost a god. Ever from that time, the temper of my misery was changed; not Fear or whining Sorrow was it, but indignation and grim, fire-eyed Defiance. Thus had the Everlasting No claimed me. To which my whole ME now made answer: 'I am not thine, but free, and forever hate thee.' It is from this hour that I incline to date my Spiritual New-Birth."

And this spiritual new-birth clarified his vision while it brought peace to his soul, for it led him to see the truth in regard to man's mission now and here. For he says:

"We are here to do God's will. The only key to a right life is self-renunciation. The man who lives for self, who works for selfish ends, is a charlatan at bottom, no matter how great his powers. The man who lives for self alone has never caught a vision of the true meaning and order of the universe. Human life is a solemn thing,—an arena wherein God's purpose is to be worked out. I must, with open, spiritual vision, behold in this universe, and through it, the mighty All, its Creator, in his beauty and grandeur. . . . His purpose, not mine, shall be carried out, for to that end the universe exists. Life shall be a barren, worthless thing for me, unless I seek to fall in with God's plan, and do the work he has sent me here to do. Ah, then, the torturous pangs of disappointed hopes, jealousy, and despair shall be at rest, and I, now in harmony with God, can sing at my work and amid my toil find blessed rest. For, what though I fail to reach the mark I set before me; what though its immediate results have been small? The very attempt, persevered in, of working out the Divine purpose in my life has made that life a truly

noble one. Now, indeed, I am independent of the world's smile or frown, since I am in harmony with God, and have his smile as the light of my life. I have got into the blessed region of the 'Everlasting Yea.' And however ill outwardly and apparently, all is going well for me inwardly and ultimately."

At moments of supreme mental and moral depression, such as overmastered Elijah in this story, and which come sometimes, and with such overwhelming power to all sensitive and high-minded leaders of civilization's advance guard, one feels almost as though he were in a night of Egyptian darkness, with nothing more safe than the fitful *ignis fatuus* flashing before the vision. With the poet Holland he is prone to exclaim:

"Evil has won in the horrid fight
Of Ages with the Throne;
Evil stands on the neck of Good,
And rules the world alone."

Yet this mental state is as fatal to those who entertain it as it is essentially false, and it is one of the great perils that reformers should ever guard against. There is no evil, we care not how powerful it may seem, how brave and imposing in superficial appearance, how arrogant and self-confident, which is other than ephemeral. It carries in its breast the seeds of death, and usually at the very moment when it is most self-assertive and seemingly invincible, the handwriting is tracing its doom on the walls that it has builded as a defense. The mighty forces of life are not those most obvious or striking to the physical senses. But this great truth, so often overlooked even at the present time, had escaped Elijah as he stood forth alone in the desert-like land, compassed by rocks and shifting sand. But in reply to his cry of despair came the Voice that dwells in the soul that lives by faith and which ever leadeth toward the light:

"And he said, Go forth and stand upon the mount of the Lord. And, behold, the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord; but the Lord was not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake:

"And after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire a still, small voice.

"And it was so, when Elijah heard it, that

he wrapped his face in his mantle and went out, and stood in the entering in of the cave."

Then it was revealed to the prophet the mistake of judging by external appearances. He had believed and declared that he alone remained among those who had not been seduced or overcome by the forces of evil, but the Voice declared that he was but one of seven thousand who had refused to bend the knee to Baal.

This beautiful story suggests that the real power of the living universe is not resident in the vaunting materialistic phenomena or expressed in spectacular physical manifestations, so obvious to the bodily eye, nor yet those things that to the physical senses seem most impressive or formidable. The latter are ephemeral manifestations that like the gorgeous robe of autumn last a day and are gone, leaving the skeleton trees defenseless to the storms.

Some time since two men were in the White Mountains. A great forest fire was raging on a neighboring slope, and one of the observers exclaimed: "Is it not a magnificent sight to see those mighty billows of flame, a veritable sea of fire, not unlike the ocean in a tempest; but here the waves of flame are swept upward toward the farthest timber line as though they would even lick up the rocks that garment the mountain's crest. How glorious the spectacle!"

"To me," replied the other, "it is sinister, awesome and tragic, but far from glorious. This," said he, stretching his arm toward another slope, "is something infinitely more splendid."

His companion's eye followed the direction of his hand that pointed to a vast mantle of emerald, flecked here and there with the gold and crimson of early autumn.

"That sea of green represents life, growth and beauty," he continued. "For centuries it has been toilsomely clothing the once sere and barren mountain slope; clothing it with life that ministers to life; tirelessly, ceaselessly adding to the beauty of the world, the comfort of man and the service of living things. The sea of green typifies the beauty and the service that flow from the heart of life; but the lurid flame speaks only of destruction. It is marked by the roar of an army in action. It attracts the attention of all for the moment with its spectacular appeal to the eye, but it leaves behind it a

tragic waste of blackness and death. Centuries will be required to remantle that fire-swept slope, for the flames are eating up the thin covering of loam that has accumulated on the rocks through generations since the forest began to grow."

These watchers typify the two great classes in society to-day: those who are most impressed by outward show and the spectacular appearances that appeal to eye and ear, those who see little beyond the veil of materiality, who worship Mammon and the things that minister to the physical senses; and the men and women of spiritual discernment, who see that which is real, that which lives, that which feeds the springs of greatness, beauty, life, and joy that knows no alloy, the sweetness that has no bitter after-taste.

Again, it is worthy of note that an age never, or rarely ever, discerns the real sources of its greatness or the men and influences that are destined to give it fadeless glory and to influence the courses of life in the generations that are yet to come. The chief priests and wealthy Pharisees of Judea thanked God that they were not as other men. They moved haughtily through the streets of Jerusalem, experiencing the gratification of little natures as they saw the homage shown them by the passing multitudes.

Pilate, the haughty Roman judge, moving with his friends, looked down in supreme contempt even on the chief priests and the Pharisees, who imagined themselves the most important individuals of the Judea of their day. He would have confidently declared that history, if it took note of any great ones in the Jerusalem in which he exercised his official power, would surely accord the highest place to the Roman judge who represented Caesar in this far-off dependency.

But who would have imagined that the serene young man who lingered by the well of Samaria talking with a strange woman on the worship of God, or who, followed by a few ignorant fishermen and persons whom the Pharisees and Scribes of the age regarded as distinctly undesirable citizens, traveled from his humble home in Galilee to attend the feast at Jerusalem, there to die for an ideal or because he dared unflinchingly to stand loyal to a truth, would become the most potent spiritual and moral personality in the civilization destined to lead the world, while the high priests, the haughty members of the Sanhedrim and the Roman judge would be

remembered only in their relation to the Prophet of Galilee?

Socrates, living or drinking the hemlock, attracted little attention from the wealthy and influential Greeks of the City of the Violet Crown, but Socrates was the spiritual father of Plato and the master mind-molder of Xenophon, and the life and teachings of this great man have been one of the potent dynamic forces contributed by Greece to civilization.

What is true in the world of spiritual verities and philosophies is also true in the sphere of transcendent genius and imagination. If any one had told Leicester in the hey-day of his popularity, or even the great Cecil, that an obscure playwright and actor in the London of Elizabeth would outshine in fame and far transcend in influence over the thought of the world the entire nobility of the day, such a rash prophet would have been adjudged insane. And yet the thought of Shakespeare, reflecting as it does a genius or insight equaled by no other depicitor of character and rich in ethical philosophy germinal in its influence on the mind of man, has for generations appealed with increasing power to the imagination of millions of human beings.

When Louis Napoleon was showering honors and favors on the sycophants around him, and the world was taking note of the men high in his favor, there was a Frenchman standing on a rock-girt little isle north of France, an exile, who was writing great novels, poems and essays instinct with ethical truth and moral idealism. Yet how few at that time imagined how completely Napoleon and his sycophants and favorites would vanish into oblivion, while the moral force and luminous thought of Hugo would sweep on as the light of dawn that heralds the day,—sweep on, inspiring and helping millions of lives?

We repeat; it is the still, small voice, the silent currents that thrill with life and express themselves in beauty and service, the moral idealism and intellectualism that are born of truth, justice and right, that are the mighty dynamic forces of the universe. He who is leagued with these energies cannot fail. This is one of the capital lessons that reformers should ever keep in mind. To make too much of a reality of the aggressive,

materialistic phenomena that have to be uncovered and exposed is to court destruction, because the moment doubt, fear or discouragement,—in a word, pessimism—usurp the throne of faith or rational optimism, the strong arm of the reformer is paralyzed. The torch-bearer, above all others, must be a man of faith,—of unshakable faith. He must be able to see beyond the seemingly impregnable and arrogant materialism of the market and the ostentatious spectacle presented by the worshipers of Mammon, to the reality that rises beyond material phenomena. He must know that

"Evil is only the slave of Good,
Sorrow the servant of Joy."

He must know that in spite of the seeming of the moment, time will prove, will surely prove that

"Ever the Truth Comes uppermost,
And Ever is Justice done."

He who works for justice and the right, he who, regardless of self, seeks the ends of truth, he who becomes the servant of moral idealism and the apostle of the faith that knows no faltering, cannot be other than a victor. His influence also will aid greatly in hastening the day when

"... the war-drum throbs no longer, and the battle
flags are fur'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the
world."

We are all so prone to be misled by the superficial physical phenomena and to overlook the mighty currents that are eternal and that make for the triumph of all that is true, just and fine in the ideals that have touched the brain of man, that it is all-important that from the uncovering of evil we constantly turn our gaze to the deathless realities of life. There is no such word as failure to the faithful soul who lays firm hold on the great eternal moral verities and regardless of all thought of personal advancement seeks the well-being of others, and who ever keeps the fires burning on the altar of faith. To such an one

"The near and future blend as one,
And whatso'er is willed is done."

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.



Drawn expressly for THE ARKANA by Ryan Walker.

GETTING UP IN THE WORLD.

POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.



Walker, in International Syndicate.

AS MANY A TRIP OFTEN ENDS ON THIS UNCERTAIN SEA.



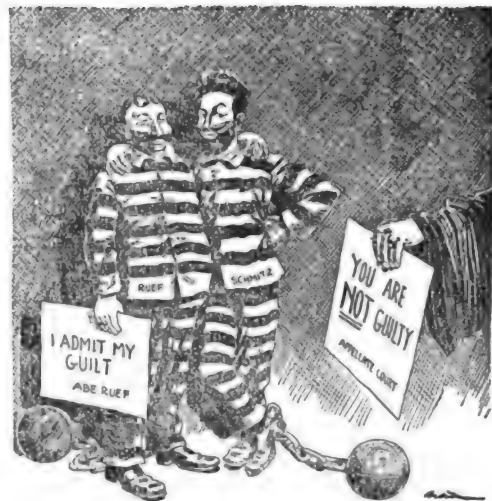
MacCauley' in New York World.

MAROONED.



Walker, in International Syndicate.

UNCLE SAM—Goah Bing! I've been reminding you for a long time that I'd get the law on you some day. United States Attorney General has begun active proceedings against the Harrisman roads.—News Item.



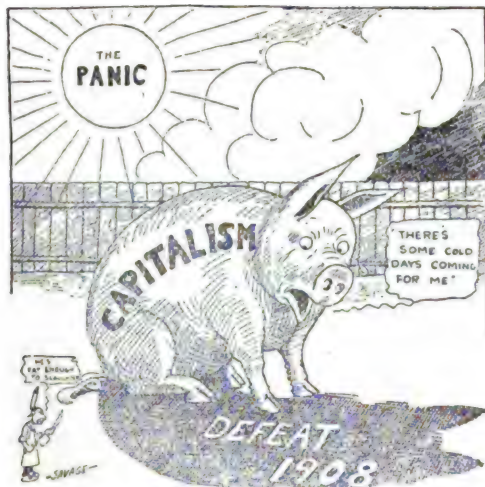
Webster, in Chicago's Inter Ocean.

"OH, VERY WELL, HAVE IT YOUR OWN WAY."



Carter, in Boston American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

BUT THERE'S LIGHT BEHIND THE PICTURE, THERE'S POWER IN MAN TO DESTROY IT. THIS IS
ALREADY, HAPPILY, A VANISHING PROCESSION.



Savage, in Chicago Daily Socialist.

DOES THE "GROUND HOG" SEE HIS SHADOW?



Car, in Denver Daily News.

A STRAIGHT TIP.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS ON THE RENAISSANCE OF DEMOCRACY AND CIVIC RIGHTEOUSNESS IN THE FAR WEST.

One of The Foremost Sociological Authorities on Root-Causes of Civic Corruption and The Overthrow of Representative Government.

THE BOSTON *Transcript* in its issue of January 4th contained an extended and searching examination of the "civic uprising in the far West," made by the justly eminent sociological and economic authority, John Graham Brooks. In this contribution the author deals in a fundamental manner with the politico-economic situation he has investigated and which has resulted in the riot of corruption in public affairs and the merciless exploitation and oppression of the people by privileged bands,—conditions, however, which are by no means confined to the Western states but which obtain wherever the "interests" and the bosses have reached a perfect understanding, with the result that the money-controlled machine and the controlled press make easy the continued domination of government by public-service corporations and monopolies, and the elevation to places of power and trust of men who have been either long in the service of privileged wealth or whose elastic consciences make them satisfactory to class interests seeking special privileges and monopoly rights.

But Mr. Brooks goes farther than exposing conditions. He shows how a practical and efficient remedy, in so far as political conditions are concerned, has been found and is already proving eminently effective; and in the third place he gives a graphic pen-picture of the battle in San Francisco between the lawless or anarchistic masters of millions,—the criminal rich who are pillars of society—and the law-dispensing power.

The paper is so invaluable to social reformers in every part of the Republic to-day that we notice it at length, quoting freely from the observations of the author, who, it will be remembered, is one of the most scholarly, conscientious and careful writers of our time.

John Graham Brooks, after finishing his education at Harvard, spent three years at the Universities of Berlin, Jena and Freiburg, after which he became a lecturer on economic subjects and instructor in Harvard University for two years. Subsequently several years were spent in the University Extension department of the University of Chicago. Two years were spent as expert in the United States Labor Department at Washington. He is the author of a thoughtful and scholarly economic volume, entitled *The Social Unrest*.

The analysis of conditions that obtain in greater or less degree in almost every city and commonwealth of the United States and which strike in a mortal way at the heart of a democratic republican government, from such an authoritative pen as that of Mr. Brooks cannot fail to be of inestimable value to friends of clean, honest and free government.

Master-Sources of Corruption of Government and Plunder of The People.

The great public-service corporations which control the arteries and veins of national business or commercial life, and other monopolies which like the people are more or less dependent on public utility corporations, as *THE ARENA* has time and again shown, have for many years been the fountain-head or master-source of political corruption and exploitation of the people for the abnormal enrichment of the privileged few.

The transformation of a genuinely representative government that could truthfully be described as a government "of the people, by the people and for the people," into a ghastly farce in which the old republican shell masks a misrepresentative government which systematically betrays the people at the instigation of privileged classes, was gradually brought about by the perfecting of the money-controlled party machine and the perfect understanding between the princes of privilege and unscrupulous political leaders or bosses. The fact that the political boss or

master of the party machine, and the great heads of the public-service corporations and other interests in the feudalism of privileged wealth were long popularly supposed to be honorable and respectable citizens, and that they were usually wealthy and intellectually masterful, long blinded the people to the real facts; while the various papers owned or controlled by the "interests" and the politicians, as well as other public-opinion forming agencies that could be influenced or employed to lead the people on false scents and fix the public eye on anything or everything but the chief source of corruption in city, state and national government and oppression and exploitation of the wealth-creators and consumers, rendered possible this systematic deception of the voters, long after the real facts were brought forth by leading reformers. All incorruptible and clear-seeing patriots who without fear or favor uncovered the evil conditions were denounced as enemies of law and order, as demagogues and irresponsible agitators, and organized labor was frequently made the object of attack, while every conceivable shibboleth, slogan and sophistical catch-phrase was employed to deceive the people.

In the meantime the high-priests of the feudalism of privileged wealth and their shrewd retainers were systematically brought to the front at important functions, at great banquets, college commencements, board of trade dinners, fairs and Chautauquan gatherings, to utter smooth things, glittering generalities and to prate about civic morality and individual integrity. For years Chauncey M. Depew and Elihu Root were star performers, just as Chancellor Day and Governor Buchtel have been enacting leading rôles during the past year, since the exposures of the records of Depew and others have made them unavailable as stalking-horses for "high finance" and the feudalism of corporate wealth.

Moreover, when brilliant men could be seduced, their pathway to lucrative positions or political eminence was smoothed in marvelous ways, while those who elected to be fearless, brave and aggressively loyal to the fundamental principles of free government and the rights of the people found on every hand efforts made to discredit them, to obstruct their work and to destroy their influence.

These are a few of the reasons why the

people have been so slow to awaken to the deadly peril of present conditions,—a peril as fatal to free government as it is destructive to the independence, the prosperity and the moral idealism of the wealth-creating millions. Slowly the eyes of the people have been opened and at last the criminal rich are becoming genuinely alarmed as the root causes of political corruption and the spoilage of the people are being uncovered.

In letters written by C. P. Huntington, one of the master-spirits of the Southern Pacific Railway interests, to General Colton, which after the death of the latter were put in evidence in a trial brought by the widow of General Colton to force Mr. Huntington to disgorge twenty thousand dollars alleged to be due the heirs of the dead man, was one of the first great authoritative revelations of the systematic methods employed by the great railway interests to absolutely control the political situation by controlling the people's representatives at Washington. This revelation has been followed by so many other similar exposures (among which may be mentioned the uncovering of the sea of Wall-street corruption in the insurance investigations; the searching facts brought out by the government commission that investigated the almost incredible charges made by Mr. Sinclair against the beef trust; the further exposure which accompanied the investigation of the Pennsylvania and other railways, and the investigation of the Standard Oil trust), that the important fact has been established that the charges that for years have been made by *THE ARENA* and other magazines and by leading incorruptible statesmen, economists and writers have been understatements of conditions instead of exaggerations.

We now wish to call our readers' attention to the citation of a typical illustration showing the master sources of political corruption and the plunder of the people advanced by Mr. Brooks. The chief offender in the present case is the Southern Pacific Railroad corporation and its feeders and allies; and in this connection many thousands of our readers will call to mind the extended exposure of this railway system and the republication of many of the Huntington letters which was given in *THE ARENA* several years ago by the present writer under the title of "Twenty-Five Years of Bribery and Corrupt Practices by the Railroads."

In the Mirror of the Present.

Typical Examples of The Corruption of Government and Enslavement of Industry by Corporate Wealth.

Mr. Brooks, it will be remembered, has been making an exhaustive examination of the actual conditions on the Pacific coast. Hence his words represent the conclusions of one of the most conscientious present-day thinkers who has long been accustomed to sift alleged facts for evidence and who speaks from the field of observation instead of from the schoolroom far remote from the scenes of civic uprising. In opening his article this writer first considers the great corruptor of government,—privileged wealth, operating one of the great natural monopolies, and how it grew in power and riches through its merciless oppression and enslavement of the wealth-creators of California.

"If one's interest," says Mr. Brooks, "is in the social and political condition of California and its more immediate neighborhood, there soon proves to be neither question nor answer to anything apart from the Southern Pacific Railroad. Business men who have lived there far longer than this 'traffic hinderer's' existence, will tell you by the hour the story of this amazing monopoly

"The listener soon learns that it is not the railroad alone of which he is hearing. It is the railroad with a host of affiliated monopolies: express companies, street-cars and innumerable land and timber companies. It is primarily a monopoly of transportation.

"We have been fleeced and browbeaten from the start, until we got into the habit of accepting it precisely as people used to accept small-pox and other ills as 'visitations.' That we could really do anything about it; that the people generally controlled any influence that could curb the abuses, came finally to excite only cynicism or despair.

"It is very vital to see that the early hatreds against this monopoly were caused by atrocious freight rates. They were not merely excessive, they were at all times incalculable. No one knew in the least what to count upon or expect. The inequalities of rates between one shipper and another; the crushing rate to the same man this year, with a wholly different schedule in the year that followed, were among the bitterest complaints. To be prosperous, was to be instantly penalized by

the railroad. If you 'struck rich' in a mine, your freight rate might be three or four times that of your neighbor, whose mine was of lower grade. If it went well with your prunes and walnuts, the freight bill might be so much higher than that of your less successful neighbor as to wipe out all your own advantage.

"The 'stealing of improvements' by landlord rent, under which the Irish peasant so long staggered, has its exact counterpart in the long buccaneering of this Pacific coast monopoly."

Mr. Brooks points out an attempt made to obtain relief which was futile, as will always be the case so long as the bosses instead of the people govern. So long as the corporations work with the political leaders and furnish the finances for the money-controlled political machines, every measure enacted will prove abortive; for after the people have secured a law, and obtain the appointment of a commission to see that the railways, for example, conserve instead of disregard the interests of the people, lo! it will be seen that the commission has not terror for the evil-doers. The results in California are interesting and valuable merely because they show precisely what is to be expected and what we find wherever the money-controlled machines, operated by the bosses and corporations, are the dominating influence in political life. On this point Mr. Brooks says:

"Plucky attempts were made from time to time, as in the 'new constitution' of 1879. Lobbying was made a felony, stock-watering was prohibited and transportation companies were asked to show books. To carry out the reform, a commission was appointed with full power to fix rates and examine accounts. As soon as it got to work, its real character appeared. It was from the first as much the creature of the railroads, as if its members had been directly chosen by the railway managers.

The little that the commission was compelled to do, was defeated by the easy devices of fraudulent leases and over-capitalization.

Why The People Have so Long Borne With The Egyptian Taskmasters.

Mr. Brooks points out that:

"To one question, you never get a satisfying answer, 'Why should a hardy and vigorous people with votes at their disposal, so long endure this outraging of public interest?'"

His conclusion is that the people did not "see clearly the exact nature of the enemy." This, as we have shown above, is not surprising, as there was so careful and systematic an attempt kept up by the corruptors and the corrupted to put the people on a false scent and to discredit all who uncovered facts that showed the real criminals.

"We Americans," continues our author, "have paid a quite awful price for one of our most petted illusions. From publicists, from business men of great weight, and from economists, how often we have heard the same explanation! 'There are doubtless abuses connected with that corporation, but men capable of carrying on such large enterprises are far too intelligent to play these coarse tricks with the public. Their interests are too closely bound up with the people's interests. No, no, they are not so stupid. They understand that their success depends upon constructive and positive service to the community.'"

There can be no possible doubt but what there is truth in Mr. Brooks' observation, yet this is not the only leading reason why the people have so long put up with the rule of the criminals, as we will presently show. That honest-minded voters could not conceive of the great men in their midst who operated public utilities, were prominent in clubs, in society, often in church work, as well as in the business councils, debauching the government or making deals with the political boss, by which the people should be bound hand and foot while a privileged few could exploit them to the limit of their power to pay the exploiters, is not only conceivable but natural. Moreover, how often, how very often, have stockholders in the public-service corporations been also leading stockholders in great daily journals, and how natural and easy it becomes for them to bring pressure to bear on the dailies to say editorially precisely what the princes of privilege want the people to believe. At other times advertising patronage has been most liberally employed by public-service corporations to subsidize the city and state journals, and the most cunningly devised sophistry as well as misleading statements have been given widest currency in this manner. In this and other ways the people have been frequently systematically misled by the press, influenced directly or indirectly through the lavish expenditure of money by interests which

were thus enabled to get monopoly rights worth millions upon millions of dollars more than all their expenditures to subsidize the press and control the sources of political power.

But while this illusion under which the people have lived in regard to the industrial autocracy and the political boss, and this systematic deceiving of the people, have been leading causes for their submitting to the tyranny of the Egyptian taskmasters and the steady debauching of their government, there is still another great reason for this condition of affairs. The people have time and again been absolutely powerless since the rise and domination of the boss and the money-controlled machine. The boss makes the slate; the slate is agreeable to the "interests," and liberal campaign contributions are poured into the machine treasury. The candidates make fair promises, and whenever necessary the privilege-seeking interests see to the making of both political slates, or arrange that some of the most important offices on both slates shall be filled by their men. When this cannot be done, vast sums of money are used for the election of the controlled slate and the state is flooded with eminent speakers. Every paper that can be seduced is bought or advertising space is secured, to be filled with simon-pure reading matter, as was done by the Republicans in the late Cleveland city campaign; while some flaw in some of the opposing candidates' lives is made a mountain of or unessential issues are pushed to the front. The money-controlled machine, backed by millions of wealth, represents a perfect organization, and the people are unorganized and have no great fund at their disposal. Under these conditions the people frequently are absolutely powerless to stem the tide of opposition; yet thoughtless men and women are daily heard parroting the fallacious words put into their mouths by paid writers for the lawless industrial autocracy,—"that the people have only themselves to thank for the betrayal of their interests by their servants; that if they did not want to be robbed and sold out, they would not nominate men who would sell them to the highest bidder," etc. This kind of twaddle first retailed by papers that frequently have done all that editors and proprietors could do to further the machine-nominated and corporation-visted candidates, has for several years past been

reëchoed by shallow-brained people who never think for themselves. But the time has come when even these parrots should have too much self-respect to longer continue circulating such counterfeit coin.

How The People Fare Under Private Ownership of Public Utilities.

Returning to the other oft-repeated fallacy, that the great heads of the public-service companies and natural monopolies will treat the people justly if the people give them fabulously rich public franchises, because it will be to their selfish interest to do so and "their success depends upon service to the community," Mr. Brooks says:

"This has been one of our most costly delusions. With monopoly privilege like that of the Southern Pacific Railroad and its affiliated monopolies, there may be a very deadly conflict between public welfare and the pecuniary advantage of the managers. It is less than two years since I heard a very great person in the business world of New York assert with much fervor that the group of looters (Ryan-Whitney-Widener-Elkins, etc.), who were wrecking the New York traction service, were, in spite of appearances, putting the people in their debt by using such talent upon the difficult problem of street transportation. 'They have, of course, made great fortunes out of it, but New York has had all the benefit of their rare organizing ability.'

"This was the honest opinion of the head of a large financial institution in that city. He had every opportunity to know that these vast properties were being used in a dicers game; that they were not being developed in the public interest, but were solely an instrument through which gamblers profits could be made. The whole shell game has now been laid bare before the people. Every tawdry trick is exposed. The sickening disclosures are, however, doing this service; they are showing us the nature of that long-petted illusion. For transportation and other natural monopolies, we shall be less easily hoodwinked about the relation between 'great business ability' and the public good. We now see that certain monopolies enable the managers to load the dice so heavily in their own favor that the public may be robbed as by a common cutpurse. It has long been clear that this is precisely what Yerkes did for Chicago. He had organizing ability of the

highest order, but the traction monopoly enabled him to use that ability so that the people got a most despicable transportation service while the great organizer made his many millions.

"Now the grip of the railroad on the Pacific coast has been precisely of this character. The importance of all effective competition was easily excluded and the monopoly power used to its most ruthless limits."

The Substitution of Government by Corporations for Popular Rule.

While the people of the Pacific coast necessarily instantly felt the blight and curse of rate extortion and inequality, it was some time before they even faintly realized the reason why the monopolies dared be so ruthless and brazen in their immoral and criminal practices. Long they cherished the delusion that their government was representative of the voters instead of the puppets of corrupt wealth. The deadly "evil of political corruption come so insidiously," says Mr. Brooks, "and through such secret and hidden ways, that decades passed before its full iniquity appeared.

"There is an exact parallel between the degree of economic tyranny and the political tyranny. The civic corruption was on a level with freight extortion.

"It is to the very effrontery with which both evils have been practised that we owe the present passionate revolt which stirs the entire coast.

"As a distinctly popular movement toward the restoration of elemental rights, it is ahead of the East. They see far better than we do the intimacy of the partnership between monopolized industries and the ruling politics."

The people of the Pacific coast seemed ashamed of their long blindness and the trust they placed in their fair-spoken betrayers who, while pretending to be servants of the people, turned their masters over bound hand and foot, to the freebooting corporations to be plundered at will.

"They tell us," says our author, "to the last detail how they have been duped; how business has selected for them their senators, governors, representatives, and wherever necessary their aldermen and other petty officials."

But at last they have awakened:

"They have been quick to draw from this the one important conclusion, namely, that

representative government has been turned to a farce. They see that monopoly interests have had amplest representation, Federal and local, but in no conceivable sense have the people had a trace of effective representative government.

"The people at large see out there better than we in the East just why the leading monopoly interests began and so long continued to debauch politics. They wanted priceless franchises for nothing; they wanted suburban lands, mines and vast timber areas. They were always wanting the gamblers' privilege to create secret devices for over-capitalization. To secure these favors and use them with the least possible knowledge on the part of the public which granted them, bribery was organized on a scale that staggers belief. All this, of course, involved the outright purchase of hundreds of clever lawyers, so that the economic powers and the massed legal talent were ranged against the public."

A prominent business man of the Pacific coast made the following confession of his own personal experience to Mr. Brooks,—a confession very valuable, as in a few words it gives the vital truth of present-day government under the mastership of corporations and bosses operating through the money-controlled machines:

"I finally made up my mind a few years ago to stand as representative; to go to the Legislature and see if I could n't do something to stir up intelligent opposition to these men who had us by the throats. I had not been three weeks in the Legislature before I was wakened out of my fool's paradise. I had a college training, I had been successful in my business, and really supposed I knew something of the political conditions in which I lived. When I began to study the machine on the spot I saw that only incidentally, or by some blunder, did the large body of the people get the least genuine representation. What our railroads, and monopolies working with them, wanted, that was 'represented.' All that politics meant in my State and city was a game concealed from the people to secure more and more favors upon which to build up purely speculative interests."

When the people at last discovered the cause of their undoing, they at once began to seek for a true and practical remedy. They found that they had lost the precious heritage of self-government without losing the shell or mask of a democratic republic.

They no longer enjoyed representative government, but in its place they had a government of the public-service corporations and privileged interests, operating through the boss and the party machine; a government that was growing more and more corrupt and indifferent for popular service and making with every passing month a greater farce of representative government. Hence they determined to return to the fundamental principles that differentiate a democratic republic from class-rule government, and to enjoy again a government "of the people, by the people and for the people."

Direct-Legislation Renders Possible a Truly Representative Government.

When at length the illusion that the people had so long cherished about their law-makers was fully dispelled, and they saw clearly that what the people really wanted no longer counted with their recreant officials, but that it was what the railways and the monopolies, popularly known as the "interests," desired that the recreant servants considered, they determined to find a way out. They now possessed an insight into the real conditions, and Mr. Brooks continues:

"It is to the new insight into the real nature of the evil that we owe the renaissance of democratic purpose in the West.

"Two years ago at the Civic Conference in Portland, Oregon, one of the speakers asked the question: 'We have been buncoed out of representative government. What can we do about it, except break the power of the boss by the referendum, the initiative and the recall? We can get more direct primaries and direct election of senators is in sight. We know now that our political bosses are the merest puppets of certain business interests. Let us appeal to every democratic device through which we can really find out what the people want.'"

In speaking of the "splendid work of Oregon," the pioneer state in the introduction of a thoroughly practical and effective Direct-Legislation Constitutional amendment, Mr. Brooks says: "I was everywhere told that the old power of the machine was so far broken that the end could be seen." Furthermore, many Pacific cities have taken still another step in advance by introducing the recall to complement Direct-Legislation. On this point Mr. Brooks observes:

"Another brave step for cities is the 'recall'"

as a charter right. Los Angeles began it in 1903. Following rapidly are San Bernardino, San Diego, Pasadena, Fresno, and Santa Monica, Seattle and Lewiston, Idaho, have it, while Des Moines adopts it, together with the 'commission system.'"

"In six years Los Angeles has used this club but once. A supposed representative of the people's interest wished to secure a franchise which involved giving up valuable city property. When suspicion was aroused he was asked why and for whom this franchise was sought. As this servant of the people shuffled and showed bad faith, a popular petition for his 'recall' at once started. The effect was instantaneous. Before the threat of the new instrument, this henchman had been 'assured' that all was fair and open in the deal. He now hastened to tell the truth about the monopoly which was working secretly to secure these public rights. From several lawyer members of the Lincoln-Roosevelt Club I heard the heartiest approval of this 'last link in the democratic chain'.

"What one everywhere feels is that this new civic determination is not a spasm. It will not pass like so many jerky indignations we have known in the past. It is too pervasive, too convinced and too instructed. The grim purpose to break the alliance between privileged business and the party boss is now fixed and organized in scores of clubs. It is producing a new literature. The associations are moving towards federated activities which gather up and unify the experience of a half-dozen of those great States."

San Francisco Leads The Way.

San Francisco has made the most successful start toward apprehending and punishing the master criminals of any American city, and Mr. Brooks' special consideration of San Francisco's splendid campaign, led by Langdon and Heney, is pregnant with important truths that will be of service to sincere and honest friends of clean government everywhere. Mr. Heney came to San Francisco after achieving unheard of results in Oregon, where he had brought to the bar of justice powerful men who had seats in the United States Senate and House of Representatives; and his advent in the chief city of California created quite a furore. The great exploiters of the people doubtless imagined they could influence him so that this

investigation would go the same way as the many abortive attempts in the past. Mayor Schmitz and probably a few subordinate officers should be made scapegoats of and punished, while the master criminals would go scot free, and instead of being apprehended would become more invincible than ever after the investigation. But we will let Mr. Brooks describe Mr. Heney's advent into San Francisco and the aftermath:

"He was received in San Francisco with open arms by all sorts of corporation magnates. In the best clubs Heney was the man of the hour; he had bagged great game—in Oregon. The prison was the place for high officials who had stolen forests—in Oregon. Heney has Irish tenderness and Irish humor. He told me it felt queer to be patted on the back by men who he knew would so soon be his enemies. They thought he came to San Francisco to play the stale and fruitless game of putting petty criminals in jail. Abe Ruef, the corruptor, together with conniving labor leaders, these of course were what Heney was after. The support of the great and the good should be his. But Heney's long and desperate struggle with the big business and its creatures, the politicians, had taught him his lesson. He had learned the origin of the corruption. He had learned why the boss was corrupt and why the trades unions were corrupt. He had seen through the shabby lie that corporations systematize bribery only because petty folk blackmail them. He had learned, as Carl Schurz said, that this petty blackmailing is derivative; that strong men seeking public favors began this sorry game, creating the conditions on which smaller creatures fattened like parasites.

"There has not been a trace of trade union infamy in San Francisco that is not in this same sense 'derivative.' The boss who made these infamies possible was an abject creature of those above him. They freely went into partnership with him and used him for their ends. He had no sinews which they did not furnish.

"The frost fell quick and heavy when it appeared that the prosecution was after the great law-breakers; that it cared for the small fry only so far as it could be used to convict the creators and maintainers of lawlessness.

"The one question on the lips of the smart and socially disturbed people is: 'Oh, but it is horrid! Why don't they put Ruef and

the supervisors in prison? Why do they let the real thieves off and attack the best people in the city?" Many times I heard this and once I asked Mr. Burns what would be his answer to a question which echoed everywhere, as if parrots had just learned it? The detective smiled again as he replied: They can't be answered until they learn who the real criminals are."

"This has the full heart of the matter in it. Neither they nor we can understand, until we have a new classification of sinners. We shall not understand until we learn, for instance, that the deliberate corruption of a Legislature or of any public official is far more harmful to society and therefore more criminal than the coarse brutalities against a 'scab.'

"What elemental hope is there for applied social justice in a community that honors the men who made dizzy fortunes while they crippled the New York traction companies, but sends the poor devil of a conductor to prison for stealing nickels?

"To get some first fruits of this larger justice is the meaning of the present struggle in California. It is this which gives it national importance."

How The "Interests" Tried to Defeat Mr. Langdon, and Labor Elected Him.

The treatment accorded Mr. Langdon, the intrepid prosecuting attorney of San Francisco, by the criminal rich who pose as the "safe and sane" leaders of business and social life, was similar to that meted out to Mr. Heney, when they found he intended to prosecute great offenders as well as the small men. Says Mr. Brooks:

"When Mr. Langdon begged these same business leaders to cooperate and help in freeing the city from its great shame, they not only refused, but did their best to conceal every fact from the prosecution."

They even denied all knowledge of the facts of which they were in full possession, saying in substance:

"We know nothing of this corruption. It is not among our responsibilities.' For this foolhardiness, the penalty will be grievous before that drama plays itself through to the end. For this attitude, the penalty will be heavy in many other centers besides San Francisco."

The vast majority of union laborers, on the other hand, are heartily in favor of clean government and honest politics, and they have followed the leaders in San Francisco's

crusade with intense interest, to see if they would be true to their promises and see that the rich criminals receive the same punishment meted out to other law-breakers. On this point our author quotes a well-known labor leader and proceeds to show that it was the labor wards and not the so-called "respectable" or rich wards, that elected Mr. Langdon after he had proved that he would do his best to punish criminals, high and low, without fear or favor.

"If Heney wins out," said the labor leader to Mr. Brooks, "it will be as much a victory for the unions as for him and for the people. If he can once make the big anarchists obey the law or suffer the penalty for breaking it, then we can rout out our own law-breakers in the unions. Tell him we will do it."

"When I repeated this to Mr. Heney, it had no surprises for him. He told me what I later verified by the ward vote for District Attorney Langdon.

"It was clear to every man that a vote for Langdon was a vote for Heney and for reform. Yet in the richer wards the vote for Langdon fell. It showed that hundreds of men did not want him, and would have defeated him if they could. As you passed to the wards packed with labor men, the vote for a clean city rose so unmistakably that you heard on every side, 'It is the unions that have saved Langdon and the cause for which he stood'.

"An officer in a local union made this statement, 'We would have stuck to our Schmitz even if we had known he took bribes, but when we were convinced that the prosecution meant business, we were willing to help toward honest government and we will continue to help if law and order are to be enforced all along the line.'

The Great Importance to The Nation at Large of San Francisco's Battle.

There is no personal prejudice or vanity influencing this great conflict. It is simply a brave, determined attempt of able and incorruptible officials to break up a riot of political and business corruption and crime that is not only destroying representative government but undermining the stability of municipal, business and social life, destroying high ideals in the people and fostering a materialistic cynicism that is fatal to spiritual life or permanent development. On this point and the national significance of the contest, Mr. Brooks has the following to say:

"There was no hint of personal bitterness in the prosecution.

"One of them told me: 'It made my heart ache when a man like Mr. Glass had to go to prison, and I am just as sorry for two others whom we still have to put there, but they must go or everybody will know that no real justice has been done. The truth is that people out here are sick of seeing ignorance and weakness punished, while the crimes of the real leaders are blinked at.'

"If the prosecution succeeds, one result of supreme importance is assured, not alone for California, but for the country at large. Clean and fair conviction of a few great offenders will react as powerfully as it will act wholesomely upon the kind of trade union that has developed in the Farther West. They have their crooks, precisely as the high finance has its crooks, but to the end of time labor organizations will defend their own criminals as long as capital shields its criminals. Let it once become clear that an even-handed justice is applied straight through to the top as well as at the bottom, and the best elements in labor organizations will begin to rally against their own worst leadership. This is not a theory. I have heard it again and again from honest trade unionists who knew of their own crooks, and suffered from them quite as much as any employer. The first time I heard this, was in Denver, four years ago: 'As long as all our men,' it was said, 'know how the capitalist crowd protects its worst men, we can't get rid of our worst men. They set a standard for us that they don't even pretend to follow themselves.'

"Every letter of this charge is true.

"As a brilliant object-lesson San Francisco is perfect. The game has been played so flauntingly that every move can be seen. You can at every point make connections. You see precisely how the boss stands with the labor mayor and supervisors on one side and with the corporation dignitaries on the other.

"No one has to be convinced, because facts are so out that they fairly glare at you. Everyone knows the specific law-breaking of that proud man at the head of the great traction company in San Francisco.

"I asked one of his well-to-do friends why, then, should he too not take the penalty as well as Ruef, Schmitz or a boodling supervisor. 'Well,' was the queer reply, 'we

know he is guilty, but he is our strongest man and we can't spare him. We must have someone able enough to keep labor in its place.' It is pitiable blindness like this which shows us that the game is up. There will be a long and desperate struggle, but the people have found out the enemy. They have taken his measure and the whole significance of their new democratized politics is to free themselves from the main source of their social defilement. To leave this type of monopoly power in private hands—in the hands of those who practice contempt for law—is to make impossible even the decent regulation of the three most devastating vices in the community—prostitution, gambling and the saloon.

"Every one of these rotting evils has now an economic organization as effective and as defined as many industrial monopolies. All the worst excesses which these organized vices engender depend upon graft manipulation. It is not a whit truer in San Francisco than in Philadelphia, Chicago and New York, but the Western city shows so openly what the relation is between protected vice and all lawless private possession of transportation, gas, electric-light and telephone, that the student and the man on the street, the clergyman and the farmer see what their problem is.

"It was from a preacher that I heard these words: 'We have simply been dishing water from the sea. Until we can break this partnership between the monopolies and politics we shall go on creating vices faster than we can cure them.' It is worth a much longer trip than across the continent to feel the fervor of this movement; to meet those who see the impending issues as a whole, and to see them as those who will not rest until they are overcome."

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of Mr. Brooks' conscientious and painstaking investigation of these great questions fraught with the issues of life and death for free government and civic integrity. His paper is a staff reporter's news from the battle-field; only in this case the battle is of far greater importance to civilization and the upward sweep of national life than most battles where cannon and shell quickly do their work. For this conflict being waged on the Pacific coast is against subtle forces that are destroying free and popular government and corrupting the political, business and social ideals of the people.

THE PASSING OF GERALD MASSEY, THE VETERAN BARD OF FREEDOM.

THE RECENT passing from earth life of Gerald Massey, which occurred on October 29th, marked the departure from our midst of the last of the notable band of Anglo-Saxon poets of the people whose championship of justice and freedom through their ringing verse, in the first half of the nineteenth century, was one of the most positive and effective agencies for democratic advancement on both sides of the Atlantic. With us were Whittier, Lowell, Whitman and Longfellow. In England Elliott, Shelley, Byron, Massey, Mackaye, Hood and Mrs. Browning voiced the higher aspirations of the people, their yearning for freedom, for justice and the right to that larger life which should give the opportunity necessary for the soul to grow and the brain to be nourished.

It is doubtful whether any poet of England during the forties of the last century did anything like so effective work as did Massey in arousing the people to a sense of their God-given rights, the importance of the fundamental demands of democracy, and the necessity of a recognition of the law of solidarity. On one occasion he voiced this then little recognized truth in regard to the oneness of life in the following striking words:

"Humanity is one. The Eternal intends to show us that *humanity is one.* And the family is more than the individual member, the Nation is more than the family, and the human race is more than the nation. And if we do not accept the revelation lovingly, do not take to the fact kindly, why then 't is flashed upon us terribly, by lightning of hell, if we will not have it by light of heaven—and the poor, neglected scum and *canaille* of the nations rise up mighty in the strength of disease, and prove the oneness of humanity by killing you with the same infection.

"It has recently been shown how the poor of London do not live, but fester in the pestilential hovels called their homes. To get into these you have to visit courts which the sun never penetrates, which are never visited by a breath of fresh air, and which never know the virtues of a drop of cleansing water. Immorality is but the natural out-

come of such a devil's spawning ground. The poverty of many who strive to live honestly is appalling."

He saw with almost prophetic vision what Henry George later so splendidly elucidated in his great economic works touching the right of all the people to the land, and with no less clarity of vision he recognized the necessity of public-ownership of natural monopolies,—something which the ablest and wisest statesmen and economists of the day are everywhere beginning to recognize as the only true solution to this great question which will safeguard the people's rights and interests and protect them from exploitation at the hands of the few who through monopoly rights levy a cruel tax on industry. On this question, more than a half a century ago, he said:

"We mean to have a day of reckoning with the unjust stewards of the earth. We mean to have the national property restored to the people. We mean that the land, with its inalienable right of living, its mineral wealth below the soil and its waters above, shall be open to all. We mean to have our banking done by the state, and our railways worked for the benefit of the whole people. We mean to temper the terror of rampant individualism with the principles of coöperation. We mean for women to have perfect equality with man, social, religious, and political, and her fair share in that equity which is of no sex. We mean also that the same standard of morality shall apply to the man as to the woman. In short, we intend that the redress of wrongs and the righting of inequalities, which can only be rectified in this world, shall not be put off and postponed to any future stage of existence."

There was something in Massey's poems of freedom that reminded one of the grand old prophets of Israel who dared to speak against entrenched wrongs and to lift up their voices fearlessly for the oppressed. In one of his many poetic appeals to the people he thus strives to awaken the masses, who were paralyzed and sadden by poverty, oppression, and the arrogance of privilege:

"Thus saith the Lord: You weary me
With prayers, and waste your own short years;
Eternal truth you cannot see
Who weep, and shed your sight in tears!
In vain you wait and watch the skies—
No better fortune thus will fall;
Up from your knees I bid you rise,
And claim the earth for all.

"Behold in bonds your mother earth,
The rich man's prostitute and slave!
Your mother earth, that gave you birth,
You only own her for a grave!
And you will die like slaves and see
Your mother left a fettered thrall!
Nay, live like men and set her free
As heritage for all."

But Massey, like all the great reformers, was a man of faith. He dared to boldly uncover wrongs, to turn his back on the lure of wealth and popularity, in order to champion the cause of the exiles of society and the down-trodden ones, because he had an unshakable faith in the advent of a nobler day and a better economic order. Where in all the popular poetry of democracy and social justice can we find two more inspiring or finer little gems than the following, the first depicting the advent of full-orbed democracy?

"Immortal liberty! we see thee stand
Like morn just stepped from heaven upon a mountain,
With beautiful feet, and blessing-laden hand,
And heart that wellets love's most living fountain!
Oh, when wilt thou draw from the people's lyre
Joy's broken chord? and on the people's brow
Set empire's crown? light up thine altar-fire
Within their hearts, with an undying glow;
Nor give us blood for milk, as men are drunk with now?

"Old legends tell us of a golden age,
When earth was guiltless—gods the guests of men,
Ere sin had dimmed the heart's illumined page,—
And prophet-voices say 't will come 't ain.
O happy age! when love shall rule the heart,
And time to live shall be the poor man's dower,
When martyrs bleed no more, nor exiles smart—
Mind is the only diadem of power.
People, it ripens now! Awake, and strike the hour!

"Hearts, high and mighty, gather in our cause;
Bless, bless, O God, and crown their earnest labor,
Who dauntless fight to win us equal laws,
With mental armor and with spirit sabre!
Bless, bless, O God! the proud intelligence
That now is dawning on the people's forehead,—
Humanity springs from them like incense,
The future bursts upon them, boundless, starried—
They weep repentant tears, that they so long have tarried."

The companion poem on "The People's Advent" is equally inspiring and instinct with truth:

"T is coming up the steep of time,
And this old world is growing brighter!
We may not see its dawn sublime,
Yet high hopes make the heart throb lighter!
Our dust may slumber under ground
When it awakes the world in wonder;
But we have felt it gathering round—
Have heard its voice of distant thunder!
T is coming! yes, 't is coming!

"T is coming now, that glorious time
Foretold by seers and sung in story,
For which, when thinking was a crime,
Souls leaped to heaven from scaffolds gory!
They passed. But lo! the work they wrought!
Now crowned hopes of centuries blossom,
The lightning of their living thought
Is flashing through us, brain and bosom:
T is coming! yes, 't is coming!

"Creeds, empires, systems, rot with age,
But the great people's ever youthful!
And it shall write the future's page
To our humanity more truthful;
There's a divinity within
That makes men great if they but will it,
God works with all who dare to win,
And the time cometh to reveal it.
T is coming! yes, 't is coming!

"Fraternity! Love's other name!
Dear, heaven-connecting link of being;
Then shall we grasp thy golden dream,
As souls, full-statured, grow far-seeing:
Thou shalt unfold our better part,
And in our life cup yield more honey;
Light up with joy the poor man's heart,
And love's own world with smiles more sunny!
T is coming! yes, 't is coming!"

Massey's poems of social justice and popular progress were companioned by some remarkably fine lines on the spiritual life and the relation of man to the Infinite and to the life beyond the veil of materiality. From the following brief extracts selected from his longest spiritual poem we may gain something of the faith and spiritual insight that characterized this poem:

"There is no pathway Man hath ever trod,
By faith or seeking sight, but ends in God.
Yet 't is in vain ye look Without to find
The inner secrets of the Eternal mind,
Or meet the King on His external throne.
But when ye kneel at heart, and feel so lone,
Perchance behind the veil you get the grip
And spirit-sign of secret fellowship;
Silently as the gathering of a tear
The human want will bring the Helper near:
The very weakness that is uttermost need
Of God, will draw Him down with strength indeed.

"As the babe's life within the mother's dim
And deaf, you dwell in God, a dream of Him.
Yet stir, and put forth feelers which are clasped
By airy hands, and higher life is grasped
As yet but darkly. Life is in the root,
And looking heavenward, from the ladder-foot,
Wingless as worms, with earthenness fast bound,
Up which ye mount but slowly, round on round,
Long climbing brings ye to the Father's knee;
Ye open gladsome eyes at last to see
That face of love ye felt so inwardly.
In this vast universe of worlds no wait,
No spirit, looks to Him but floateth safe;
No prayer so lowly but is heard on high;
And if a soul should sigh and lift an eye,
That soul is kept from sinking with a sigh.

"Dear God, it seems to me that love must be
The missionary of eternity!
Must still find work, in worlds beyond the grave,
So long as there 's a single soul to save;
Gather the jewels that flash Godward in
The dark, down-trodden, toad-like head of sin;
That all divergent lines at length will meet,
To make the clasping round of love complete;
The rift 'twixt sense and spirit will be healed,
Before creation's work is crowned and sealed;
The discords cease, and all their strife shall be
Resolved in one vast, peaceful harmony."

The later years of the poet's life were devoted to exhaustive research into ancient religions and especially into the religious life and teachings of the ancient Egyptians. In writing of this work, which occupied Mr. Massey's later years, Mr. W. T. Stead in the *English Review of Reviews* for December well says:

"The whole of the latter years of his life were spent in unceasing labor, by which he endeavored to trace back the origin of the religious ideas of the world to the ancient Egyptians. The number of people who have read the great volumes to which he devoted a lifetime of labor are probably very few. *The Natural Genesis of Creation, The Book of the Beginnings, Ancient Egypt, the Light of the World*, form a literary monument of labors, prosecuted almost single-handed, for the establishment of a thesis which interested very few people excepting himself. But he labored on undaunted, and in the preface of his last work, which was published on September 30th by Mr. Fisher Unwin, he expressed with pride not untouched with pathos his satisfaction at having finished his work. He says: 'It is enough to know that, in despite of many hindrances from straitened circumstances, chronic ailments, and the deepening shadows of encroaching age, my book is printed, and the subject-matter that I cared for most is now entrusted to the

keeping of John Gutenberg, on this my nine and seventieth birthday.' His health was frail, but as in the case of Kinglake, the anxiety to finish his book kept him alive. Mr. Massey survived the publication of his great work almost exactly a month."

Mr. Stead also truthfully observes that "Mr. Massey was valiant to the last." He was "a poet and a scholar," and "with him it was ever brighter on before."

After we founded *THE ARENA* Mr. Massey was for several years a special contributor to this review. Later he became too much engrossed in his profound religious research to devote time to outside writing.

We close this little sketch of the life of our friend and co-worker with the following beautiful lines written by the poet to his wife. Many of Gerald Massey's sweetest poems related to his home life and those who made even his humble home a heaven on earth. Chief among these loved ones was his devoted wife, to whom in early years he wrote these lines:

"O, Love will make the killing crown of thorn
Burst into blossom on the Martyr's brow!
Upon Love's bosom Earth floats like an Ark
Through all the o'erwhelming deluge of the night.
Love rays us round as glory swathes a star,
And from the mystic touch of lips and palms,
Streams rosy warmth enough to light a world."

But it is in the following poem, entitled "Wedded Love," written after many years of pilgrimage together, in which love ever grew stronger and with it the lofty faith which marked his work, that he pays his most glowing heart tribute to his wife:

"My life ran like a river in rocky ways,
And seaward dashed, a sounding cataract!
But thine was like a quiet lake of beauty,
Soft-shadowed round by gracious influences,
That gathers silently its wealth of earth,
And woos heaven till it melts down into it.

"They mingled: and the glory and the calm
Closed round me, brooding into perfect rest.
Oh, blessings on thy true and tender heart!
How it hath gone forth like the dove of old,
To bring some leaf of promise in life's deluge!
Thou hast a strong up-soaring tendency,
That bears me Godward, as the stalwart oak
Uplifts the clinging vine, and gives it growth.
Thy reverent heart familiarly doth take
Unconscious clasp of high and holy things,
And trusteth where it may not understand.
We have had sorrows, love! and wept the tears
That run the rose-hue from the cheeks of life;
But grief hath jewels as night hath her stars.
And she revealeth what we ne'er had known,
With joy's wreath tumbled o'er our blinded eyes.

The heart is like an instrument whose strings
 Steal nobler music from life's many frets;
 The golden threads are spun through suffering's
 fire,
 Wherewith the marriage robes for heaven are
 woven;
 And all the rarest hues of human life
 Take radiance, and are rainbowed out in tears.

"Thou 'rt little changed, dear love! since we were
 wed.

Thy beauty hath climaxed like a crescent moon,
 With glory greatening to the golden full.
 Thy flowers of spring are crowned with summer
 fruits,
 And thou hast put a queenlier presence on
 With thy regality of womanhood!
 Yet time but toucheth thee with mellowing shades

That set thy graces in a wealthier light.
 Thy soul still looks with its rare smile of love,
 From the gate beautiful of its palace home,
 Fair as the spirit of the evening star,
 That lights its glory as a radiant torch
 To beacon earth with brighter glimpse of heaven.
 We are poor in this world's wealth, but rich in
 love;
 And they who love feel rich in everything.

"Oh, let us walk the world, so that our love
 Burn like a blessed beacon, beautiful
 Upon the walls of life's surrounding dark.
 Ah! what a world 't would be if love like ours
 Made heaven in human hearts, and clothed with
 smiles
 The sweet, sad face of our humanity!"

THE POPULAR REACTION AGAINST EXTREME CENTRALIZATION.

The Menace to Republican Government From Autocratic Arrogation of Power and Ultra-Centralization.

ONE OF the gravest perils to good government under constitutional rule lies in the attempt on the part of officials to secure desired ends or necessary reforms without due regard to constitutional provisions which are the safeguard of the people from the sinister influence of personal ambition, class desires or privilege-seeking interests. History clearly shows that some of the best-intentioned rulers of earth have cursed their nations by establishing precedents that in the hands of unscrupulous successors have been followed to the great injury of the people.

Now in our government grave and portentous abuses have arisen. For nearly fifty years privileged interests, public-service corporations and great monopolies have steadily gained more and more power in government, and since they have so largely captured the political machines their power to thwart all serious attempts of the people to effectively protect them from extortion and oppression has become well-nigh absolute.

A Democratic Method of Restoring The Government to The People.

There are two methods of meeting flagrant abuses of public interests. One safeguards the fundamental principles that differentiate a democracy from class-rule of all kinds, by restoring the power to the people and making the government at all times responsive to the will or desire of the real sovereigns, or, in other

words, the people, by giving the people the power to compel their representatives and servants to faithfully carry out the wishes of the real sovereigns and masters instead of betraying their trust at the order of corrupt and autocratic bosses who are in turn the servants of public-service corporations, trusts and other privileged classes that supply the money-controlled political machine with contributions which are the secret of the boss's power. This method, which through Direct-Legislation restores to the people their government and enables them to be the true sovereigns or masters, is the method of a democratic republic,—the method that alone will square with the basic principles of popular government and differentiates it from class-rule; and as has been recently pointed out by Justice Brewer, it is the true and efficient remedy if the liberties of the people are to be maintained.

The Unrepublican, Reactionary and Autocratic Method of Dealing With Admitted Abuses.

But there is another policy that has lately become very much in vogue with reactionary unrepublican and class interests. It is the method that has ever led to the destruction of attempts at republican government, when it has been permitted to go unchallenged, and that is the effort to centralize all governing power in the hands of a few officials or jurists, and the permission of the arrogation by executive officials of powers and functions that

have been clearly delegated to the other two coördinate branches of government,—the legislative and judicial.

The claim has been made that the city and state government has so frequently fallen under the control of corrupt and corrupting privileged interests seeking special franchises and privileges inimical to the popular welfare, that the protection of the people demands that the central government should take over power that has hitherto been left to states, and that further, since the princes of the feudalism of privileged interests have become so firmly entrenched in the United States Senate, through the presence of representatives of their own order, their servants or the political bosses who have long worked with them that this body frequently stands as a wall between redress of popular wrongs and the masters of the money-controlled machine, the executive should have the right to accomplish by commissions, bureaus and rulings the ends futilely attempted by legislation. This is the method of class government and autocracy and is the doorway to despotism or revolution; for no matter how wise and just may be the initiator or his immediate successors, it will only be a short time before the same interests that have enthroned the boss with regal power in almost every state and have systematically thwarted the people's interests for the abnormal enrichment of boss, of speculator and of exploiter of the millions—the same power that made the United States Senate a Gibraltar of plutocracy and the Speaker of the House of Representatives the watch-dog of the interests of the industrial autocracy, would gain complete control of the central government and accomplish the absolute mastership of the government by the feudalism of privileged wealth through following the unconstitutional precedents established by the innovators who by undemocratic methods sought to right admitted wrongs.

In this way the mastership of class interests would become supreme, just as did the Cæsars, after Augustus, become the absolute and unquestioned masters of Rome by the step by step policy, following the precedents established by the first emperor, who, it will be remembered, at all times claimed to be merely the head of the Republic.

Happily for the Republic, evidences are multiplying that at length the people are

arousing to a realization of this evil, which cannot be ignored if free institutions are to be preserved. Of late the pendulum has seemed to be swinging away from the reactionary and dangerous extreme centralization.

The Hamiltonian Reactionary Centralizing Movement Would Make The Plutocracy Invincible.

Nothing could happen that would so favor in the end the designs of the feudalism of privileged wealth that is seeking the establishment of a politico-industrial oligarchy or an autocracy, as the acceptance of this unrepublican theory of government. And though some short-sighted and superficial pleaders for special privilege and predatory wealth have denounced the actions of the administration when the acts seemed in their immediate influence to make against the trusts and monopolies, the far-sighted master spirits of the feudalism of privileged wealth and their most brilliant and able special-pleaders and advocates have never for a moment been deceived as to the ultimate advantage to the plutocracy of such a course and the precedents that are being established.

Perhaps the ablest man in America of those the best years of whose lives and whose brilliant mental powers have been hired out to corporations, trusts, high financiers and law-breaking bosses and politicians, is Secretary Root, who, it will be remembered, since the days when he was severely reprovved by trial judge for the extremes to which he went in behalf of his client, the notorious Boss Tweed, until the present time, save the brief periods when he has been in public office, has hired out his brains to men like Thomas F. Ryan and other corporation and trust magnates. Mr. Root is a far-seeing, practical and intellectually brilliant man. He could not fail to see that the hope of the plutocracy in the long run would depend on the substitution of extra-constitutional for democratic republican provisions to safeguard the people's interests. He could not fail to understand that when the new extra-constitutional régime had been firmly established, the plutocracy would speedily capture the administration and have the nation in its grasp. Then it is not surprising to see Mr. Root appear as the greatest champion of the reactionary and unrepublican theories of extreme centralization.

The Awakening of The People Promises a Democratic Republican Renaissance.

Happily for the cause of free institutions, the people are at last awakening to a realization of the true situation and to an understanding of the importance of safeguarding their rights. State after state has declared for Direct-Legislation, in spite of the desperate and often unscrupulous efforts of the grafters, the bosses and their masters, the trusts, monopolies and corporations. Incidentally it is well to notice the extent to which the alarmed bosses, probably at the suggestion of their masters, have recently gone in an attempt to deceive the people and at the same time make their dupes pay for their own deception. A flagrant illustration of this abuse of legitimate Congressional rights was seen when Senator Hale recently requested the privilege of putting the amazing attack made by Senator Lodge in a speech delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, against the Public Opinion Bill of Massachusetts, in the Congressional records, so that the grafters, the corporations and the bosses would be able to flood the country with this shameful, misleading and thoroughly demagogical plea of the boss against popular government, at the expense of the tax-payers of the land.

A very interesting illustration of the awakening of the people on this question was seen in the failure of Mr. Taft's mission to Oklahoma. It will be remembered that Secretary Taft, who, as we have recently shown our readers, is loved of the "interests," and who is one of the most accomplished masters in blowing hot and cold among the practical politicians of the day, was sent to Oklahoma to instruct the people to defeat their Constitution that safeguarded popular government by Direct-Legislation, and the people replied by endorsing the Constitution by the enormous majority of a hundred thousand votes.

Senator Foraker, who is generally credited with being reasonably well acquainted with the drift of public sentiment, thus recently expressed his views in regard to the initiative and referendum as applied to constitution-amending in Ohio:

"Answering your letter of this date, wherever any considerable number of voters request a vote on a proposed change in their organic law, their request should be granted. The demand which the labor unions and the grange organizations of Ohio are making for the submission of the initiative and refer-

endum amendment ought not to be denied. I am most heartily in favor of giving the people a chance to vote on any amendment which is urged by so numerous and important a body of voters."

And these are but two of many signs that might be cited that indicate a democratic republican renaissance. Recently the *Rocky Mountain News*, which is one of the ablest edited daily papers on the American continent, published a masterly editorial leader entitled "The Rise of Popular Sovereignty," in which the editor pointed out how recently proposed amendments to the national Constitution, made in Congress, indicated the turn of the tide in favor of popular government. This presentation is so exceptionally able that we quote from it at length.

A Great American Daily on The Renaissance of Popular Sovereignty.

In speaking of the era of centralization, the *News* observes:

"One of the most notable tendencies of the past forty years in American politics is the drift toward the centralization of power and authority in the federal government, with a consequent diminution of importance of the individual states. Beginning in the reaction from secessionism and the influence of the civil war, it has continued, with few interruptions, to our own day. Indeed, Secretary Root would have it that we have only seen the beginning of the wave of centralization. He tells us that the old theory of state governments is all nonsense, and that the national government will soon run all our business for us, by the aid of convenient 'constructions' of the constitution."

The *News*, however, believes that the high-water mark of centralization has been reached, and it points out striking evidences of the reaction in favor of popular sovereignty seen in the proposed amendments to the national Constitution, and what all this signifies:

"For some time past we have felt that the current that sets toward Washington was losing much of its force. And now there comes a proof of this, which is at once so simple, and so conclusive that we cannot forbear giving it at length.

"No one would doubt that the laws introduced by legislators of state or nation at least show the aspirations of the people. A law prohibiting gambling may not be enforced, but at least it shows that the public face is

set against gambling. What is true of laws is yet more true of constitutions, for, while a legislator may introduce a law for the sake of pleasing one constituent, he will introduce a constitutional amendment only in response to the demand of a considerable number. The straws of proposed legal change show the direction of the wind of public sentiment very clearly.

"Let us apply this test to the amendments proposed for our national constitution of late, and see where we come out. There have been twenty-eight proposals for constitutional amendments introduced in the house of representatives of the present (Sixtieth) congress. One was practically a duplicate of another amendment introduced by the same member, and may therefore be thrown out. This leaves twenty-seven separate, live propositions for constitutional change.

"Five of these are for the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people.

"Five are for the election of other United States officials by direct vote, including in their scope everything from fourth-class post-masters to federal judges.

"Two are for income and inheritance taxes and one for an income tax alone.

"Two are for the repeal of the Fifteenth amendment and one for the repeal of the Fourteenth amendment. Two would make changes in the date of the sessions of congress. And there is one amendment each for the recall of representatives by their constituents, for national direct-legislation, for uniform marriage and divorce laws, for uniform hours of labor, for United States government insurance, for limiting the jurisdiction of federal courts, for changing and limiting the presidential term, and for two or three other matters.

"Only three of the twenty-seven—exactly one-ninth—can be classed as tending toward centralization. These are the amendments for uniform marriage and divorce laws, for uniform hours of labor and for United States government insurance.

"Two are directly opposed to centralization—the one limiting the jurisdiction of federal courts and the one limiting the president to one term, with ineligibility for reelection of both president and vice-president. Charge off the decentralizing amendments against an equal number of centralizing ones, and you have a net centralizing tendency of just one-twenty-seventh of all that

feeling which rises to the importance of constitutional amendments. Nothing very dangerous about that.

"But this list of amendments does disclose a tendency of remarkable proportions, a tendency which the *News* has been insisting on for years, but which Eastern wisecracks ignore or class as 'anarchy' or 'socialism'—they are not very clear which. *This is the tendency toward direct popular sovereignty, toward getting the power back to the people.* Twelve of the twenty-seven amendments—nearly half—are amendments to provide popular sovereignty and nothing else, while several of the others squint strongly in that direction. Five are for the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people. Five are for the election of other officials by direct vote. Since these last are now appointed by the president, it will be seen that this is a decentralizing movement as well, for it would strip the federal administration of the major portion of its patronage. But two proposed amendments are yet more 'revolutionary' than any of these, for one would provide for the recall of any representative who did not suit his constituents, and another would provide for national direct-legislation. With this list before us, one can understand why some Bourbon papers of the East, learning nothing and forgetting nothing, should lift their hands in horror over the awfulness of the times in which their lot has been cast. For the proposed amendments show, with a plainness that cannot be mistaken, the widespread demand for the elimination of the boss, the manipulator and the official who relies on the forgetfulness of the people. This is the real political demand of the hour, and it is a demand that is going in some way or other to be gratified. Speaker Cannon may smother such proposals; Bourbon newspapers may decry them; the 'interests' may lobby against them. But some way, somehow, there will be found a plan that will turn the theory of popular sovereignty into a fact."

We believe the *News* is correct in its inferences. Indeed, on every side are many signs of moral and mental awakening on the part of the masses. They have slept overlong. They have listened to the siren voices of the great dailies which are owned by privileged interests or are the organs of the money-controlled machine. But the revelations of corruption in city, state and nation,

no less than the lawlessness of the corrupt corporations and the inability of the people to get redress on account of the entrenchment of privileged wealth in the United States Senate and elsewhere in government, have compelled tens of thousands of those who have long parroted the sophistry daily placed before the people by the controlled press, to think for themselves and to see that they have been the dupes of an oligarchy of privileged wealth and an industrial autocracy that is responsible for the systematic debauch-

ing of public life and business practices, and that as a result the millions of wealth-creators are in the power of the princes of privilege; and that this condition will inevitably continue so long as boss and machine rule defeat genuine popular government. The realization of this condition is leading thoughtful men everywhere to demand a return to the old paths of fundamental democracy, to the end that we may again enjoy government "of the people, by the people and for the people."

REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL POSSIBILITIES AND WHAT THEY REPRESENT.

IF THE Republican party were animated and dominated by the same spirit as that which governed it during Lincoln's public career, there can be little doubt but what the nomination for the presidency would be given to Senator Robert M. La Follette, for he above any of the other Republican candidates represents uncompromising loyalty to the people and fidelity to the interests and desires of the rank and file of the nation. He stands preëminently for government of the people, by the people and for the people. He believes in equal justice for all and he is not a trimmer or time-server. His public career has shown that he will not make verbal promises and then compromise with corporations when victory is within reach; that he will not surround himself with the chief agents and emissaries of Wall street high finance and the feudalism of privileged wealth. All this has been made thoroughly clear in the splendid political career in which almost every possible weapon at the command of the railways and other public-service corporations, the great monopolies, the money-controlled machine and the political boss was employed to win or ruin this stalwart champion of the people's interests.

In the December *ARENA* we reproduced a striking cartoon from the *Chicago Public*, in which President Roosevelt was represented as standing before the personification of privileged wealth, while in the background stood Mayor Johnson with the big stick of "Equal Rights"; and President Roosevelt is represented as saying to Privileged Wealth, "Why should you hate and fear Johnson

more than me? I am fighting you, just as he is." And Privilege replies, "Ah! but confound it, he really means it, you see." If we change the persons of this cartoon, so that in the place of President Roosevelt and Mayor Johnson we have Secretary Taft and Senator La Follette, we will have the present situation in the Republican party admirably illustrated.

A large section of the high financiers and prominent representatives of the feudalism of corporate and privileged wealth have from the beginning been industriously supporting the candidacy of Mr. Taft. The industrial autocracy is very willing to accept a man who makes fair promises, *if his past record* has been consistently satisfactory to them, or if they are convinced that they can control him. Now the railways are not unmindful of the fact that as Federal judge Secretary Taft became a veritable Columbus for capitalism in discovering and reading into a law enacted to protect the people from corporate aggressions, a meaning that would enable him to employ it as a club against organized labor in its battle with the railway corporations. The railways have no fear of Secretary Taft. Wall street interests have no fear of him, despite the opposition of certain groups among the interests who favor other candidates. The *New York Financial Chronicle*, which the *Springfield Republican*, one of the most conservative and carefully edited daily papers in the land, characterizes as "above any other publication the organ" of the great corporate interests, as far back as last May thus enthusiastically endorsed Secretary Taft:

"Mr. Taft is a man whom everyone respects, and no opposition can be made to him except on the ground that he is the heir to the place appointed by the present ruling president and his designated representative of the policies he will have been foremost in advancing during nearly eight years when his present term expires. This action has a hopeful aspect, as it scatters some hitherto disturbing doubts. There can be no question hereafter as to an impending third term; that danger is wholly removed. What is also highly important is that Mr. Taft is an extremely able, many-sided man of sound judgment. He is not controlled by pride of opinion, petty prejudices, nor by a hysterical temperament. If time should prove that any of the recently enacted laws are working industrial mischief, he will not hesitate to urge remedial legislation, notwithstanding he wears Mr. Roosevelt's mantle."

The Springfield *Republican*, in alluding to this early and voluntary championship of Mr. Taft, said:

"Secretary Taft's candidacy will evidently be agreeable to the great corporate interests which have heretofore been a mainstay of the Republican party and which were in process of being driven out of the party by President Roosevelt. We learn as much as this from the New York *Financial Chronicle*, which is above any other publication the organ of these interests."

The Hon. Samuel Powers, ex-congressman from Massachusetts, attorney for public-service corporations, and one of the great machine leaders of Massachusetts, has come out in an equally enthusiastic manner for Mr. Taft. The same is true of United States Senator Lodge, the boss of Massachusetts, whose domination over the Republican machine is said to be as supreme as was Matt. Quay's over the corporation-backed machine of Pennsylvania during the life-time of Mr. Quay. Lodge is also loved by the railways and corporation interests; and these are but a few conspicuous props of the feudalism of privileged wealth that are giving whole-hearted support to the candidacy of Mr. Taft.

Again, there is nothing the grafters, the boss, the money-controlled machine and the corporations dread so much as Direct-Legislation,—that is to say, a government of the people, by the people and for the people, and Mr. Taft, like Senator Lodge, has endeared himself to these interests by his reac-

tionary and unrepugnant stand against genuinely popular rule and in favor of the present order of government by corporate and privileged wealth acting through political bosses and party machines.

Furthermore, he has endeared himself to the great Wall street railroad kings by his alarmist cries against public-ownership of the railways, which he denounces as dangerous and socialistic, in the face of such facts as the following:

Germany, after careful experiments, in which the government operated a series of railways alongside of equally great roads operated by private enterprise, found that governmental ownership and operation far better conserved the interests of the people than private ownership, so after an exhaustive test she adopted public-ownership.

Switzerland, after troubles with strikes and interference with the freight and passenger traffic of the railway systems, owing to the arrogance of the railway corporations, submitted the question of public-ownership to the people, and the electorate overwhelmingly voted in favor of government-ownership. Since the government took over the roads, the railway service has been immensely improved and the people would not for a moment think of going back to private-ownership.

France is steadily extending her public-ownership of railways.

New Zealand has long demonstrated that public-ownership is in every way more satisfactory and beneficial to the people than private-ownership; and the same is true of many other lands.

Yet in the face of all these facts, Secretary Taft parrots the alarmist cries of the great railroad speculators of Wall street. Now this is the candidate whom the great organ of "*the interests*" and many of their stoutest adherents and pillars have voluntarily and enthusiastically championed for president, who is now being held up to the people as a safe man to whom to entrust the interests of the unprivileged wealth-creating millions in their conflict against the law-breaking, law-evading and government-corrupting privileged interests.

Turning from Mr. Taft, we have the amazing spectacle of Chancellor Day, the Standard Oil's Man Friday, nominating for the presidency Mr. Hughes, at a large gathering of bankers, and it is also an almost equally significant fact that Mr. Hughes is receiving

the cordial support of a number of great daily papers and leading representatives of the feudalism of privileged wealth.

Thus Mr. Taft and Mr. Hughes, the two candidates who are being advocated in certain sections as radical reformers, are each receiving the cordial voluntary support of great sections of privileged and corporate wealth or its leading representatives.

At the same time, it is true that there are other groups representing high finance, corporation rule and predatory wealth, which are enthusiastically in favor of such candidates as Cortelyou, Fairbanks, Cannon and Knox; while on the other hand no representatives of predatory wealth, of law-defying corporate interests, of the great aggressive public-service corporations or lawless trusts are found championing the candidacy of Senator La Follette. The explanation is of course found in the record of the different men and in their associations in the past and their friendships in the present.

Senator La Follette has been tempted by the seductions of privileged and corporate interests as have few public men. When in Congress it was found that he could not be made to betray the people, the machine decreed his political death, and for a time he was exiled from office. Then, when in spite of the desperate effort of the money-controlled machine and the powerful political bosses of his state, aided by the railway interests, he was elevated to the highest position in the gift of his commonwealth, multitudinous influences were brought to bear to win or ruin him. But here again his course was open, frank, aggressive and consistent in its upholding of the ideal of the rights of all, protecting the interests of the people and striving to secure for them the benefits of a truly free government.

To the observer who has carefully followed the records of the various prominent Republican candidates and who takes all facts into consideration, it would seem apparent that for privileged wealth, in the event of the nomination of Taft, Hughes, Cortelyou, Cannon, Fairbanks, or Knox, it would be a case of "heads I win, tails you lose"; that no matter which of these gentlemen might be elected, the feudalism of privileged wealth would have little to fear; while on the other hand, it is especially advantageous for Wall street interests to have some of their candidates vigorously denouncing corporation interests

and high finance, as it enables the bosses, machine leaders and certain party papers to mislead the unthinking many in the party, making them believe that the pseudo-reformers who make fair promises but whose record is satisfactory to "*the interests*," are actual reformers, thus centering their attention upon men acceptable to the reactionary and privileged classes and preventing their uniting on a candidate who would be a Lincoln in the present crisis. In this connection certain facts should be taken into consideration.

(1) The plutocracy or privileged and corporate wealth is always a unit in opposing any popular candidate that the interests are absolutely certain they cannot control.

(2) They are not a unit in opposing Secretary Taft, Governor Hughes or any of the other candidates mentioned, with the exception of Senator La Follette.

(3) It is very essential for the interests to have a mock battle fought between candidates acceptable to them, so as to divert the attention of the people from candidates that they have just reason to fear.

(4) It is a noteworthy fact that no group of privileged interests, high financiers or monopolists is favoring Senator La Follette, any more than it is favoring Mr. Bryan. Why? The answer is obvious. The record of Senator La Follette is as unpalatable to the grafters, to the money-controlled machine, to the lawless corporations and trusts, as the record of Mr. Taft is satisfactory to these interests. They know that like Mr. Bryan, Mayor Johnson, Governor Folk, and Chief Justice Clark of North Carolina, Senator La Follette cannot be seduced or made to betray the rights and interests of the people. The plutocracy fears Senator La Follette. They do not actually fear any of the other candidates mentioned, however much for the misleading of the masses certain groups may pretend to fear some of them.

If the people instead of the bosses, the money-controlled machines and the multitudinous influences operated by privileged and corporate wealth had the nomination of the next president for the Republican party, we believe there is little doubt but what Senator La Follette would receive the nomination. But nothing short of a general popular demand insistently made,—a demand so great as to frighten the bosses and the machine, will induce them to yield to the popular will.

If Senator La Follette is nominated, it will be because the people make it clear that they are in no mood to be longer trifled with and that they will accept no man whose record as well as his words does not prove him to be the unyielding foe of the law-defying public-

service corporations, the corrupt and corrupting trusts and monopolies, and the high financiers who have in recent years so shamefully exploited the people and the nation for the enrichment of ever-narrowing groups of individuals.

THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT, WALL-STREET BANKING INTERESTS AND THE PEOPLE.

Selecting a Representative of a Privileged Class to Guard The People's Interests From The Aggressions of That Class.

WHILE for almost half a century the great Wall street banking and speculative interests and the growing feudalism of privileged wealth, comprising the public-service corporations and the monopolies, were steadily gaining greater and greater influence in city, state and national government,—influence that meant the subordination of popular interests to the selfish demands of the industrial autocracy, it remained for President Cleveland to make a most sinister innovation by placing at the head of the treasury department a national banker; or, in other words, Mr. Cleveland went to the great rich and powerful class that enjoyed very special privileges from the government, to select a man to administer finance so as to guard the rights and interests of all the people and prevent any partiality being shown to the rich and powerful class that was constantly striving to gain control of the finances of the country, so that it would have a strangle hold on the business interests of the nation and be in a position to say, Do as we wish or a panic will ensue.

Prior to Mr. Cleveland's innovation, it had been the settled policy of the nation to select great statesmen and economists who were supposed to be free from all entangling alliances with the privileged class whose dangerous selfish demands or attempted aggressions it was a special function of the finance department to guard against. It was very generally recognized by the statesmen of the earlier days that men long identified with a privileged interest and whose intimate associates were engaged in securing every possible privilege and advantage ob-

tainable, were, though intentionally honest, incapacitated for exercising that measure of impartiality in the administration of the treasury department necessary to properly guard the interests of the people from the privileged class that naturally enough was ever seeking more power and greater control of popular finance. Many of the secretaries of the treasury during the first three-quarters of a century of our history, were among America's greatest statesmen, and their administration was in many cases conspicuously able and marked by an overmastering desire to safeguard the best interests of all the people.

With the change inaugurated by Mr. Cleveland, the relation between the great Wall street high financiers, speculators and bankers, and the national treasury department became very dangerously intimate, and it was not long before the baleful dominating influence of the privileged interests was very marked. The great City Bank scandal, in which the Standard Oil bank of New York received such amazing concessions from Secretary Gage, is too well known to need dwelling upon; while the sympathetic relation of President Cleveland with such men as J. Pierpont Morgan resulted in the infamous secret bond deal scandal, by which Morgan and a few other Wall street high financiers reaped a harvest of millions of dollars that would not have been lost to the government if bids had been thrown open to the public and the public had been permitted to buy bonds in small allotments. The immense advantage to the privileged class of having a national banker selected for the head of the treasury department was quickly recognised by the Wall street financiers, and every possible measure was taken to have the vicious precedent made an established rule.

The Selection of The Most Popular Wall Street Campaign Collector to Head The Treasury Department.

There was, however, one individual who was potentially more acceptable to the Wall street speculators and high financiers than a national banker for the head of the treasury department, and that was the national chairman of the Republican party, whose relations with privileged wealth in secretly collecting gigantic campaign contributions had convinced Mr. Morgan and other high financiers and privilege seekers that he could be relied upon as thoroughly acceptable to them. In Mr. Cortelyou, the famous successor of Mark Hanna as a past master in collecting enormous campaign funds from Wall street speculative interests and the representatives of corporate wealth and predatory classes, the beneficiaries of privilege felt they had a man altogether to their liking. In the first place, though he had made an excellent stenographer and private secretary for two presidents, and though he had been phenomenally successful as a campaign collector from the interests that were exploiting the people, he had no wide experience as a statesman, as an economist or as a financier, and consequently would be at a great disadvantage in the presence of the plausible, insinuating and sophistical master minds representing the Wall street money acquirers and high financiers. When this man of no record for statesmanship, of no experience either in statecraft, in economics or the administration of public finance, and whose only recommendation had been his success in convincing Wall street financiers and corporation chiefs that their interests would be best conserved by sustaining the Republican ticket, was selected for the head of the treasury department, there was general rejoicing in the inner circle of high financiers of Wall street. Especially was J. Pierpont Morgan, of secret bond deal and ship trust evil fame, delighted at the choice, and forthwith his organ, the *New York Sun*, began a campaign to secure the nomination for the presidency of Mr. Cortelyou. That Mr. Morgan did not misjudge his man was well illustrated by the late financial scandal, the detailed facts of which have been most clearly and admirably set forth by Professor Frank Parsons in a signed editorial published in the *Boston American* under the head of "How to Profit by a Financial Panic." So lucid

and convincing is this *exposé* by the eminent and authoritative political economist that we give below his masterly summary of the Morgan-Cortelyou scandal in full:

Professor Parsons Exposes The Latest National Treasury Scandal.

"One way to profit by a panic is to sell short on the down grade.

"Another way is to buy at the bottom on the up slope and hold for the rise.

"Still another way is to take advantage of low rates on labor and materials to build; or construct permanent improvements sure to be needed in the near future.

"But there is a smoother and more gilded way if you own a string of banks, as Rockefeller and Morgan do, and can control the Secretary of the United States Treasury, as they seem to be able to do.

"Secretary Cortelyou, with President Roosevelt's approval, offered to sell United States interest-bearing certificates to the public, in order to bring the hoarded money of the country from the hiding places to which it flew when scared by the Wall street panic.

"Soon after, Morgan went to Washington, and a few days later Cortelyou announced the withdrawal of the public offer, and proposed instead to sell to the banks \$100,000,000 of 3 per cent. certificates and \$50,000,000 of 2 per cent. Panama bonds.

"The offer proposed that the banks should pay \$25,000,000 for the certificates and \$5,000,000 for the bonds, keeping the other \$120,000,000 on deposit, and should then have the right to issue \$150,000,000 of new bank notes.

"Now, look at the profits to the banks, remembering that money rents for 8 to 12 per cent.:

GOING TO THE BANKS—

Three per cent. interest on \$100,000,000 certificates	\$3,000,000
Two per cent. on \$50,000,000 bonds	1,000,000
Eight per cent. on \$150,000,000 new currency	9,000,000
Total	\$13,000,000

GOING FROM THE BANKS—

One-half per cent. currency tax on \$150,000,000	\$750,000
Total net profit on investment	\$12,250,000

"A profit of \$12,250,000 on an investment of \$30,000,000 is over 40 per cent. a year. On the Panama bonds alone the profit would be \$4,750,000, or 95 per cent. on the \$5,000,000 investment required.

"And this does not count the fact that the banks are lending a great deal on short time at 2 per cent., and often lend out the same money several times over, each borrower paying the funds to some one, who deposits them, so that the banks keep on relending the same bills.

"Moreover the banks already have about \$250,000,000 of Government funds on deposit, for which they pay no interest, but which they can lend out on interest; and it is quite likely that most, if not all, of the \$30,000,000 proposed to be paid for certificates and bonds would be paid out of these Government funds and would be redeposited in the banks by the Treasury Department.

"Is it necessary; has it ever been necessary to offer the banks 95 per cent. or 40 per cent. profits in order to get money into circulation?

"Not a bit of it.

"All through this panic the Government has had the right to require the banks to issue \$200,000,000 more currency on securities already deposited with the Government.

"If Cortelyou had offered the people 10 per cent. instead of 2 and 3 per cent. money

would have come out of seclusion at once.

"If the Government guaranteed the *deposits* of national banks, confidence would have been restored at once, at far less cost than the 40 per cent. and 95 per cent. profit scheme, the effects of which on confidence are problematical.

"If the post-offices could have been turned into postal savings banks the people would have been willing to trust their money on deposit and keep it in circulation.

"In other words, if the financial power of the Government were effectively used in the interest of the people, instead of being managed so largely in the interest of the private banks, panics could be easily checkmated, and, in fact, there never would be any panics to checkmate.

"The way for the *nation* to profit by a panic is to learn how to prevent such commercial catastrophes in future.

"Where the people really own the Government and *operate the money system for the public benefit* it has been solved.

"Can we do as much in the United States?"

THE HEBREW MAYOR OF ROME.

A MOST surprising and highly significant result of the recent election in Rome was the selection by the voters of the City of the Seven Hills and the seat of the Roman hierarchy, of a Hebrew, Ernest Nathan, to be the mayor of the city. Mr. Nathan is English by birth and was graduated from Oxford University. Years ago he imbibed the noble social ideals of the great Italian social reformer, Guiseppe Mazzini, who, it will be remembered, was exiled from Italy because of his passionate devotion to the democratic ideal.

It is a far cry from the days when the Roman legions destroyed Jerusalem and in rage attempted to wipe out the Jewish people. When the conquerors returned to Rome, flushed with triumph, they imagined that the Mistress of the World had so completely overthrown the Hebrews that in a few generations they would cease to exist as a distinct people. The Arch of Titus rose to commemorate the destruction of Jerusalem by pagan Rome. Then came the downfall of the old

order and the rise of Christian Rome. The poor Jews, however, found little cause for rejoicing at the shifting from the pagan to the Christian rule; for through the Dark Ages the Hebrews were the victims of centuries of cruel persecution and unjust ill treatment, culminating in the wholesale slaughter and plunder of the Jews in Spain by the so-called Holy Inquisition.

With the birth of democracy, a spirit of tolerance and liberalism dawned on the Christian world that has steadily spread. The Anglo-Saxon peoples in America and England were the leaders in this new order. France at times was very liberal, as for example in the days when Gambetta presided over the Republic; but later, as well as earlier, when the reactionary and clerical elements became dominant, she exhibited the baleful spirit of persecution. This recently reached its climax in the shameful persecution of Dreyfus, which, however, happily led to the most pronounced reaction against clericalism that has been witnessed

on the Continent. In Germany the liberal spirit has slowly advanced, but few persons, we imagine, supposed that the radicalism of Italy, especially of Rome, had become strong enough or broad and great enough to select a Hebrew for mayor or chief executive of the city that had for so many centuries been the seat of the greatest religious hierarchy of the Western world.

To-day the most reactionary and cruelly intolerant nation in her treatment of the Jews is Russia, and unhappily many of the master spirits of the Black Hundred are leading spirits in the Russian church. The Black Hundred are the authors, it is said, of

ten times as many fiendish crimes as are the Terrorists of Russia, as they are also the instigators of most of the awful massacres of the Jews that take place in Russia.

But fortunately the world is now rapidly moving into the light. The blight and curse of religious intolerance and despotism in general is waning as the spirit of democracy and popular education advances. The election of Ernest Nathan, English born and educated, Hebrew and Free Mason, to the office of mayor of Rome is a striking illustration of the steady advance of the spirit of democracy and social righteousness in Christian lands.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,
Secretary of the National Federation for People's Rule.

Oregon Aroused.

THE ATTACK on Oregon's constitution which has been made by the Pacific States Telegraph and Telephone Company before the United States Supreme Court has called forth a storm of popular indignation and protest. The granges, labor unions and civic associations all over the state are condemning the monopoly in unqualified terms. The following resolutions unanimously passed by the Washington County Grange seem to indicate the feelings of the granges throughout the state:

"Whereas, There are certain corporations doing business in the state of Oregon, under franchises granted by the people thereof, and, as the said corporations are in nowise bearing their just and proportionate share of taxation for the support of the state government, the people, by authority of the initiative, enacted a law requiring said corporations to bear a small portion of the burden of taxation, and

"Whereas, one of the corporations known as the Pacific States Telephone Company not only refuses to pay its share of taxation, but has instituted suit for the purpose of having the amendment known as the initiative and referendum declared unconstitutional, thereby hoping to escape future taxation; therefore,

"Be it resolved by Washington County Pomona Grange that we most emphatically condemn the action of said corporation and would especially ask all members of our order to cease doing any business whatever with all corporations not willing to bear their just share of taxation."

On November 22d, a conference was held in Portland at which practically all the push clubs, labor organizations, and civic bodies of the city were represented, and the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, The initiative and referendum has been secured at the price of conscientious and untiring labor on the part of the citizens of Oregon, and has already abundantly demonstrated itself as the most effectual safeguard of the interests of the people, and

"Whereas, the action at law undertaken by the Pacific States Telephone and Telegraph Company, the real purport of which is to destroy the initiative and referendum, is believed to be an attempt to discredit the intelligence of the people of Oregon; and a vicious attack upon their essential rights, therefore be it

"Resolved, That the delegates to this meeting, representing civil and labor bodies, granges and citizens of Oregon, denounce the attack of the Pacific States Telephone and Telegraph Company to destroy the

initiative and referendum, and call upon all people to join in supporting the defense of the same in the pending case at law referred to; and be it further

"Resolved, That this meeting urges every voter of Oregon and every civic, fraternal, religious and labor organization in this state to make this a matter of general concern to the end that the initiative and referendum may be sustained and preserved."

At a later meeting a new federation was formed of the above-named bodies to cooperate with the granges, to be known as the Initiative and Referendum League, for the defense of the direct-legislation provisions of the constitution. As we have said in previous numbers of *THE ARENA*, this is a case of the corporations making their last stand against the people of the state of Oregon and it should be met by a thoroughly organized opposition. The object of the newly organized League is "to defend the initiative and referendum and use the law to protect the rights of the people," and in this it should have the hearty support of every public-spirited citizen of the state.

Oklahoma in Congress.

REPRESENTATIVE FULTON of Oklahoma took advantage of the very first opportunity to submit a number of most important bills at the opening of Congress. The first is a joint resolution for an amendment to the constitution of the United States providing for the adoption of the initiative and referendum principle in national affairs. This bill provides that "eight per cent. of the voters of not less than 15 of the states shall have the power to propose by petition any legislation, and ten per cent. of not less than 15 of the states shall have the power to propose amendments to the constitution, and 5 per cent. of not less than 15 of the states shall have the power to exercise the referendum by means of petitions to the President."

Another of Mr. Fulton's bills provides that for all general elections for members of Congress, the electors shall have the right to have printed on the ballot any political measure and to exercise their judgment on the same. Requests for the submission of questions on these ballots must be made on petitions to the president and must be signed by the president or secretary of some political party by one-half of one per cent. of the voters of any ten states, the president to

final authority in the submission of the question.

Another measure proposed by Representative Fulton provides for the recall of members of Congress by an election to be held in obedience to a petition signed by one-third of the voters interested. The governor of the state in which the petition originates must then call an election within five days to determine whether the official complained of shall relinquish office, and to choose his successor in the event of dismissal.

The National Federation for People's Rule, during the campaign of 1906 when this Congress was elected, secured pledges endorsing the advisory initiative and referendum from 109 of the men who were elected. This number has been increased by the addition of the Oklahoma members. While it may be too much to expect favorable action from this Congress, however, these things are important as indicating what may be expected as an outcome of the campaign of 1908 when the 61st Congress will be elected with the new president.

Michigan Constitutional Convention.

ON NOVEMBER 1st, Delegate F. F. Ingram of Detroit introduced in the convention a proposal to incorporate the initiative and referendum in the state constitution. Following is a synopsis of its provisions, mention of which was made in our last issue:

Initiative on laws and amendments reserved to people.

Eight per cent. of voters for supreme justices may propose laws or constitutional amendments.

Such proposal takes precedence in legislatures.

Legislature may refuse to pass it or may offer substitute, but, whether passed rejected, or substituted by legislature, it is submitted direct to people. Majority vote makes it law.

If legislative proposal and people's proposal are both submitted, one getting most votes becomes law.

Referendum may be ordered on any law or part of law on petition of 5 per cent. of voters, or by legislature except on matters essential to public health and safety.

Referendum on part of law need not prevent rest from being operative.

Governor cannot veto matters referred to people.

Powers of initiative and referendum are reserved in same manner to people of counties, cities or townships.

There are also provisions for the working out of details in the manner of prescribing when and how elections shall be held.

The proposal went to the legislative committee and it became evident at once that one of the biggest fights of the convention would be held over it. Not over 25 delegates were friendly enough to the measure to be absolutely depended upon, although 51 out of the 96 had given pre-election endorsements and pledges of support, but among those twenty-five there were a few earnest men who have done hard work. At the hearing, November 13th, addresses were made by Delos F. Wilcox, John Z. White, Louis F. Post, and other prominent representatives of the people's cause. Petitions signed by many thousands have poured in upon the convention urging the adoption of the measure. On December 4th it became evident that the committee would make a report at least partially favorable to the measure, and at once an opposition campaign of newspaper work was launched by a number of corporation lawyers.

The Newark Referendums.

Four referendum questions were submitted to the voters of Newark in the November election and all of them were carried although by widely varying votes. The proposition for the city to establish a municipal electric-lighting plant was carried by over 13,000 majority. A salary increase referendum had a majority of only 4,000. A dock improvement bill was approved by 1,800 majority, while a change in the form of the school board squeezed through with a majority of only 1,200.

The vote on the referendums was participated in by from 50 to 65 per cent. of the voters, and it is claimed that this vote would have been even larger except for the inexperience and hesitancy in using the new voting machines which were installed for the first time in 40 districts. The favorable decision in each case seems to indicate once more the soundness of the popular judgment. "The casting of so large a vote on such questions as these," says the *New York Tribune*, "was a gratifying indication of intelligent popular interest in public affairs, and the way in which the questions were decided

shows that Newark aspires to be a thoroughly up-to-date city.

In Ohio.

THE WORK done in Ohio the past year under the able and enthusiastic leadership of Rev. H. S. Bigelow has aroused the people of that state to a realization of the importance of the issue that is before their legislature this year, and such organizations as the Grange and the State Federation of Labor are active in their advocacy of the joint resolution for direct-legislation which is now before the legislature. The prospects for its passage are so bright that it would not be at all surprising if it had already been passed by the time this *ARENA* reaches its readers.

The resolution unanimously passed by the State Grange was as follows:

"Resolved, That the Legislative Committee of the State Grange be instructed to urge the present legislature to submit a constitutional amendment providing for the referendum on a 5 per cent. basis and for the initiative on not to exceed 8 per cent. and providing that measures submitted under the initiative and referendum shall be determined by a majority of votes cast thereon."

The State Federation and Grange have each issued special bulletin circulars to their entire membership and the public at large outlining a course of education and action. These bulletins are worthy of imitation by workers in other states. If you want them, send a stamp to George J. King, 404 National Union Building, Toledo, Ohio.

San Francisco in Line.

THE CITIZENS of San Francisco voted on 21 charter amendments at the election of November 5th, passing all but one of them. That one was looked upon as an attempt of interested persons to promote the interests of certain newspapers at the expense of the city.

The most important of these amendments is that which provides for the establishment of the Recall. The holder of any elective office may be removed at any time by the electors. Upon the filing of a petition with the board of election commissioners, signed by at least 40 per cent. of the entire vote cast at the election at which any incumbent was elected, asking that said incumbent be removed, the Board of Supervisors, upon proper

verification of signatures by the Election Commissioners, shall call a special election whereat shall be submitted to the people the question of removing or retaining in office the person whose recall is sought. The general language and procedure of the recall provisions of the Los Angeles Charter is followed, in view of the fact that this measure had been passed upon by the courts.

Notes.

BUFFALO is to take a referendum vote on the question of paying women school teachers the same as men for the same work.

OKLAHOMA became a state November 16th and on December 2d there was filed in the city of Lawton an initiative petition for a special election for the purpose of electing a board of freeholders, two from each ward, as permitted in the new state constitution, for the purpose of forming a city charter and installing the commission form of government, including the initiative, referendum and recall.

THE Grand Rapids City Council has finally refused to grant a referendum on the proposed street-railway franchise.

SUFFOLK, VIRGINIA, has adopted a new city charter modeled after the Des Moines plan, with five departments at the head of which are the mayor and four councilmen; and the provision that a 20 per cent. petition may demand referendum on any ordinance or act.

GARY, INDIANA, the model town being built by the steel trust, is having a hot fight over the granting of a referendum on a street-railway franchise.

BY A VOTE of about four to one the people of Toledo authorized an issue of \$100,000 for park purposes in the November election.

AN ARTICLE by Miss Margaret Schaffner in the *American Political Science Review* gives a very good summary of the progress of direct-legislation in the United States.

SIOUX CITY, South Dakota, defeated a plan for a commission government by vote of 567 to 533.

Collier's Weekly calls attention to the fact that referendum voting on constitutional amendments as now carried on is many times farcical. Two amendments submitted to the voters of New York at the last election

were so entirely unexplained to the voter^s that even those who voted on them were largely in the dark as to their nature. The fact that the majority left their votes blank, however, is but additional testimony to the value of direct-legislation in its automatic disfranchisement of the ignorant and incompetent.

THE Referendum League of Spokane has recently elected the following officers; W. D. Wheaton, president; Thomas Kavanaugh, vice-president; and Henry N. Oerter, secretary. The present executive board is composed of Zach Stewart, E. A. Cooney, and Frank H. Walker.

JUSTICE WOODWARD of Buffalo in a recent article in the *Columbian Law Review* defends the courts as against the legislatures on the ground that the courts stand upon the constitution which is the people's law and upon which the people have voted, and when the legislature departs from the constitution the courts are closer to the people than the legislature in their insistence upon the strictest conformity to the people's law.

THE PEOPLE of Charlestown, South Carolina, voted on a water and light franchise referendum at the recent election.

THE STUDENTS at Illinois College, Jacksonville, Illinois, took as the subject of their December debate a resolution for direct-legislation.

TWO REFERENDUMS were voted on by the people of Northampton, Massachusetts; one on the question of changing the city government from a double to a single board, and the second on the question of a state reservation in the town.

SENATOR FORAKER has expressed a desire for a referendum vote among the Republicans of Ohio to determine their choice for president and for United States senator.

THE Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C., has requested the government to restore the suffrage to the residents of the District of Columbia.

A JOINT committee appointed by the Municipal-Ownership League, the Central Labor Council and the Civic League of Seattle, Washington, has demanded of the city council that the way be opened for charter amendments establishing referendum and public-ownership.

THERE was a referendum on the Massachusetts ballot on the question of a constitutional amendment permitting the governor to discharge justices of the peace.

THE Era Club, a large and influential women's club of Baton Rouge, have indorsed the Initiative and Referendum and held an enthusiastic meeting in its behalf.

THE CITIZENS of Brockton, Massachusetts, voted overwhelmingly against a \$150,000 bond issue for increased water supply.

The students of Augustana and Decorah Colleges, Iowa, held their joint debate in December on the Initiative and Referendum.

PONTIAC, Illinois, took a referendum in November on the expenditure of \$40,000 for

a new high school building, the action being taken at the initiative of the citizens.

GENERAL GROSVENOR, the well-known machine representative of Ohio, has come out flat-footed in opposition to direct-legislation. The character of the opposition is often the best proof of the value of a movement.

ALL BUT one of the 354 towns in Massachusetts voted on the license question December 10th, the total vote being: Yes, 186,947; No, 199,933. Licenses were granted in fourteen cities and seventy-two towns, while there is prohibition in 18 cities and 49 towns.

NINETY per cent. of the local option districts of Illinois voted against saloons.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

BY ROBERT TYSON,

Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

Officers of The League.

THE RESULT of the 1907 election of officers of the American Proportional Representation League is as follows:

President, William Lloyd Garrison, Boston; Vice-Presidents, Professor John R. Commons, Wisconsin University; W. S. U'Ren, Oregon; Mrs. Alice Thatcher Post, Chicago. Secretary Treasurer, Robert Tyson, 10 Harbord street, Toronto.

New Cuban Election Law.

THE Law Advisory Commission of Cuba, sitting in Havana, has framed a new electoral law, which includes Proportional Representation; and the new law is to be promulgated at an early date. My information comes direct from a member of the Commission, now at Havana, and includes details as to the Proportional Representation provisions of the new law, of which the following is an abstract:

(1) These provisions apply to all legislative, provincial, and municipal elections.

(2) There are large electoral districts from which several members are elected. An illustrative memorandum is based on the election of twenty-five members of the City Council of Havana from the city at large.

This suggests the use of very large electoral districts.

(3) The respective candidates are arranged on the ballots in party lists, each list bearing an emblem and an appropriate heading.

(4) Each elector has as many votes as there are seats to be filled, and he may vote either by putting a cross in the voting circle at the head of a list or by marking individual candidates.

(5) In canvassing and counting the votes, a quota is got by dividing the number of seats into the total vote cast.

(6) This quota is used as an electoral divisor, for dividing in turn the party lists and thus finding how many seats each list is entitled to on full quotas. Any list not having a full quota is excluded altogether from representation.

(7) After each party has received all the seats it is entitled to on full quotas, any seats remaining unfilled are allotted to the parties having the largest remainders after the above-named division, providing that such party or parties have already at least one full quota.

(8) The individual candidates elected are those receiving the largest number of votes on their own account; the number of

candidates for each list having first been ascertained by the processes above specified.

Work in Michigan.

THROUGH the good offices of Mr. Charles R. Sligh, a Grand Rapids member of the American Proportional League, our reform was given a hearing before the Legislative Committee of the Michigan Constitutional Convention at Lansing, on Wednesday, December 3d. The committee and a number of delegates and others were addressed by Mr. Sligh and by the League's Secretary, who went to Lansing for that purpose. Many questions were asked, and the speakers found their audience an appreciative one.

Mr. Sligh's address included the following instances of the unjust and misrepresentative character of present electoral methods:

In November, 1902, 57 per cent. of the Michigan vote (Republican) elected ninety per cent. of the representatives; forty per cent. was for Democrats, but elected only ten representatives; and the other three per cent. was scattered unavailingly. There are 100 members of the House of Representatives.

In 1896 the Republicans polled 54 per cent. of the Michigan vote, and got 81 per cent. of the representatives. The opposition, with 46 per cent. of the vote, got only 19 per cent. of the representatives.

In 1892 the Republican party cast less than 48 per cent. of the Michigan vote, and elected 69 per cent. of the representatives.

In 1890 the Democrats cast only 46 per cent. of the Michigan vote, but elected 60 per cent. of the members of the House and a majority of the Senate.

My own address was a general exposition of the principles, practice and progress of the movement. Many questions were asked and answered. Ample printed data was supplied.

Michigan being overwhelmingly Republican, so far as senators, representatives and the constitutional convention are concerned, there was only one Democrat on the Legislative Committee, and the committee subsequently reported against the Proportional Representation proposition which had been referred to them. Mr. Sligh expected this result, but desired that it should not occur without a full presentation and discussion of the subject.

When in Michigan I took the opportunity of addressing, by special invitation, meetings

of students of Albion College and of the Detroit College of Law. There is to be a debate between these two colleges on Proportional Representation, and the students are much interested in the subject. Copies of the League's Proportional Representation literature have been supplied to them.

Professor Frank T. Carlton, of Albion College, is a member of the League.

Summary of Recent Progress.

Following is a copy of a memorandum received from Mr. John H. Humphreys, Secretary of the English Proportional Representation Society, stating the progress of Proportional Representation since the issue of the annual report of the English Proportional Representation Society:

"1. Great success of first Proportional Representation elections in Finland, the number of spoiled ballot papers being less than one per cent.

"2. The adoption by both Houses of the Swedish Parliament of Bills applying Proportional Representation to all Parliamentary and Municipal elections.

"3. The introduction by the Danish Government of proposals to apply Proportional Representation and other reforms to municipal elections. These were carried by the Lower House, but thrown out by the Upper House; which, however, was not opposed to the provisions for proportional voting. The measure will again be introduced during the current session, which opened on October 7th.

"4. The issue of a further report by the *Commission du Suffrage Universel* to the French Chamber of Deputies, in favor of Proportional Representation. A strong deputation has recently been appointed to wait upon the Prime Minister, urging early legislation.

"5. The issue of a report of a committee of the Paris (France) municipal Council in favor of Proportional Representation.

"6. The introduction of a Bill by the Dutch Government to amend the fundamental law so as to render possible the adoption of proportional representation. This is in accordance with the recommendations of the Constitutional Commission which reported earlier in the year.

"7. The inclusion of Proportional Representation in the new electoral proposals of the Government of Saxony: proposals which

are, however, of a very mixed character.

"8. The adoption of the law applying Proportional Representation to the Cantonal elections in Schwyz, Switzerland. The appointment of a commission by the Berne Municipal Council to report as to the advisability of Proportional Representation.

"9. The decision of the People's Power League to launch an Amendment to the Constitution of the State of Oregon, providing for Proportional Representation in all legislative and municipal elections throughout the State. The People's Power League is the organization that carried the Initiative and Referendum in that State, and the amendment which has been formulated will probably be voted upon in 1908.

"10. The introduction by the Tasmanian Government of a Proportional Representation Bill. The latest information is that it has passed both Houses of Parliament and now awaits the Royal assent.

"11. A private member's Bill is being discussed in the South Australian Parliament whilst the Commonwealth and West Australian Governments have under consideration electoral reforms embodying the use of the Single Transferable Vote."

Australian News.

PROFESSOR Nanson, who fills the chair of Mathematics in the University of Melbourne, is a member of the American Proportional Representation League. Under date of November 5, 1907, he writes:

"There is nothing much to report at present. A Bill is ready for the Federal Parliament, but it cannot come on till the tariff has been disposed of. The Tasmanian Bill (see English *Blue Book*) passed its second reading in the Legislative Council and got through Committee, but I fear it has since been hung up. I have not heard what has been done recently in West Australia.

"But the most significant thing here is the

complete conversion of *The Age*, which I think you know has bitterly opposed Proportional Representation in the past. This conversion is made plain in two notable articles in *The Age* of July 27th last."

(Note: *The Age* is a daily newspaper published in Melbourne, and is one of the most powerful and influential journals of Australia, if not the most.)

Notes.

MR. WILLIAM HOAG has been doing good work in Boston. Amongst other things, he helped to conduct the autumn election of the Savin Hill Yacht Club on the Hare-Spence system. Seventy-four voters elected a nominating committee of five. The quota used was the Droop or small quota, in this case thirteen, got by the usual rule of dividing by one more than the number of seats, and adding one to the quotient. The five candidates who headed the poll on the count of first choices were those ultimately elected, although there was almost a tie between the fifth and sixth men.

THE Proportional Representation League has now a member in West Australia, Mrs. T. Pethick, who has kindly promised to act as our correspondent from that State. She says that an electoral Bill now before the West Australian Parliament contains some Proportional Representation provisions, and she will send further particulars when the fate of the Bill is known; also that the most influential daily newspaper of the State, the *West Australian*, is editorially strongly in favor of Proportional Representation, and has published much explanatory matter about it. Mrs. Pethick is a niece of Miss C. H. Spence, the South Australian proportionalist—who, by the way, celebrated her eighty-second birthday last October, and is still active.

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

BY BRUNO BECHKARD,

Prepared each month for THE ARENA by the Bureau of Economic and Industrial Research.

San Francisco Charter Amendment.

AN AMENDMENT to San Francisco's charter was adopted by the people November 5th, providing an express grant of power to the city to acquire, construct, or complete, operate, maintain, sell or lease any public utility and acquire lands for use in connection with a municipal water supply.

The receipts from any public utility operated by the City and County shall be kept in a special fund and used as follows:

- (1) For the payment of operating expenses.
- (2) For repairs and reconstruction.
- (3) For the payment of interest and sinking fund and on bonds issued for the utility.
- (4) For extensions and improvements.
- (5) For a reserve fund.

When the reserve fund exceeds one-half of the annual cost for operating expenses, the excess may be turned into the General Fund.

One of the main features of the amendment is the requirement that the books of account for any public utility be kept distinct from other city accounts, and in such manner as to show the true and complete financial results of such municipal-ownership.

Municipal Markets in Cleveland.

THE CITY of Cleveland, Ohio, has had a municipal market since 1839 and has owned its market houses—now four in number—for 68 years. Receipts come from rentals of the various spaces and from fees to the keeper of the city scales. Stalls were formerly assigned to the highest bidder, but under the new municipal code are assigned by the Board of Public-Service at rates fixed by them. The chief items of expense are salaries of officers and employes and the cost of lighting and heating the buildings.

The expense account has been complicated by construction work. Expense between 1890 and 1905 range from \$1,734 to \$25,980, and receipts from \$27,605 to \$48,635.

Successful Municipal Ownership.

SOUTH NORWALK, Connecticut, has found its municipal electric plant very satisfactory. The plant buys its coal from a local dealer at a price only 19 cents above the price at the mine, and the dealer assumes all matters of storage and worry. This dealer has replaced the steam locomotive which he formerly used in transferring the coal from the barges, by an electric motor paying the city 5 cents per 1,000 watts for power. Both parties are pleased.

The city finds that the power it furnishes at from 5 to 3 cents, per 1,000 watts is attracting a great many manufactories to the city. Many of the new plants are equipped for electric power solely.

Fall River, Massachusetts.

THE QUESTION has arisen in Fall River as to whether the Board of Aldermen has the right to use money that stands as a surplus to the account of the Water Department to pay general city debts. The City Solicitor gives it as his opinion that the money, according to the city charter, can be used only for Water Department purposes, and it is probable that the matter will finally have to be settled by the courts. The provisions of the original act passed when the water system was first put in stated that moneys obtained from water rent, after paying for running expenses and necessary extensions, should be applied to the payment of interest on the water bonds, and if there were any moneys left they were to be used to pay the original cost. Later a sinking fund was provided to eventually pay off these debts, and the bonds changed by replacing with others to conform to this later act.

Holyoke, Massachusetts.

A TABLE has been presented to the Water Commissioners showing the number of gallons of metered water taken by users in 1904 under the old rate of 5, 10 and 15 cents per thousand gallons and the gallons used by

the same takers in 1907 under the new rate of 5½ cents per thousand gallons. The list shows that 141,771,450 gallons had been used in 1904, netting the Department \$9,766.60. The number of gallons used by the takers in 1907 was 154,360,560, netting the Department \$1,893.39 and giving the consumers 12,589,450 gallons more water. If the same quantity that was used in 1907 was under the three rates, the Department would have gained \$3,168.30.

Morrisville, Vermont.

MORRISVILLE, by the building of a dam, has acquired power whereby it can run not only its lighting plant but also a power distribution plant.

Syracuse, New York.

CONSIDERABLE comment has been made on the adverse report of the commission appointed to investigate whether the city of Syracuse should establish a municipal lighting plant, and the report has been extensively quoted by opponents of Municipal-Ownership. Attention may be called, therefore, to the following statements, contained in the report.

Col. A. E. Winchester, Superintendent of the Electric-Light Plant at South Norwalk, Connecticut, which is probably one of the most successful municipal plants in the country and was described by us a few months ago, and who is an enthusiastic municipal-ownership man, is said to have advised the commission to keep away from municipal-ownership so long as Syracuse can obtain its present lighting rates from a private corporation, realizing that municipal-ownership may in many cases be inadvisable, and believing that under the general supervision of the Public Utilities Commission, and the local supervision obtained under the Hammond bill, Syracuse interests are well protected, and little if anything could be gained by actual ownership by the municipality.

The municipal lighting plants apparently giving cheaper public-service than the city of Syracuse is now getting are: Ashtabula, Columbus, Detroit, Jamestown, Lansing, St. Joseph, South Norwalk and Taunton. Ashtabula, Jamestown, Lansing, South Norwalk and Taunton are doing not only public lighting but private lighting also, and therefore they have the advantage of large production for a general commercial business thus lowering the costs below what would be

possible if municipal lighting only were done.

From the foregoing therefore, it appears that, of the twelve municipal-ownership plants from which reasonably full reports were obtained two of them, South Norwalk and Norristown, were really supplying street-lighting at lower rates than the city of Syracuse is now getting it for. South Norwalk a city of 10,000 population, because of the extraordinary ability, faithfulness and enthusiasm of its superintendent Col. A. E. Winchester, who has full authority in the management of the plant, also because of the extra support received from a general commercial business; Norristown (population 23,000) chiefly because of the extremely low cost of generating electricity by water power and the small amount of capital invested, namely \$43,000.

Galesburg, Illinois.

GALESBURG is to make an investigation to find out why the water receipts do not tally with the amount of water reported from the pumping station.

Albion, New York.

AT A RECENT meeting of the taxpayers it was voted to appropriate five hundred dollars to locate a pure and adequate water supply, and to investigate the advisability of establishing an up-to-date sewer system for the village. There has been much complaint against the water furnished by the Water-Works Company that is providing the present supply, and the analysis made by the State Chemist at Albany, H. D. Pease, Director of the State Hygienic Laboratory, of the samples of water sent to him, have shown it to contain a large percentage of disease germs. The people agree that a municipal system of water-works and sewerage would be a good thing for the village and that a sufficient supply of water can be obtained about three miles south of the town in the natural basin formed south of Benton's Corners, and which is a continuation of the veins from which the village of Medina gets its supply. It is proposed to establish a plant at Oak Orchard Harbor, from which the water will be pumped in three divisions to Albion, which has an elevation of 521 feet above the level of Lake Ontario.

Louisville, Kentucky.

THE Board of Water Commissioners have

just discovered half a dozen or more "sub water companies" who have been paying rent for the ordinary fixtures of a house, and by means of pipe extensions to neighboring buildings, selling the water at a profit.

New York, New York.

A SLIGHTLY different irregularity was found in New York, by the discovery by Water Registrar M. A. Padden that the Fifth avenue Hotel operated a pump connected with an unknown service main. The hotel pays \$2,000 water rental a year and uses about \$6,000 worth of water. Mr. Padden estimated that the service pipe was in use 47 years and that the sums due to the city was \$188,000. The city is able to collect, however, arrears for only six years. The lessees of the hotel did not deny knowledge of the pipe but said it had been used without their knowing it was illegal. The Charter Revision Commission of New York City recommended the careful study of present municipal utilities with a view to the extension of municipal-ownership of public utilities.

Washington, D. C.

WASHINGTON has installed two public convenience stations, which are considered the best in the country. American cities have hitherto neglected the example of Europe in this matter. According to an opinion forwarded to the Commissioners by J. H. Reynolds, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, the District can operate its own electric generating plant at the Municipal Building without violation of the act of Congress of March 4, 1907, making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the government. The act referred to provided that the Federal and District government cannot install any electric heating and lighting apparatus unless the same can be purchased and operated afterward at a cost less than the electric service could be furnished by some private corporation. It was not until last June when the work of installation of the generating

plant at the municipal Building was almost completed, that any question was raised. The matter was referred to the Treasury Department and the Hanley-Casey Company of Chicago, Illinois, which was furnishing the plant was notified to discontinue the work until the question was settled. It was determined by the officials of the Treasury Department that the work of installation and operating can be done cheaper by the District than by a private corporation. The plant is to cost \$73,400. This decision also affects the McKinley Manual Training School, the sewage disposal station, the Bryant street pumping station and the Home for the Aged and Infirm, all of which have their own electric generating plants.

Uncle Sam's Utilities.

RECENT press notices have called attention to the extension of the functions of the Federal government as follows:

"That the United States Government already owns and operates transportation lines, whole systems of cable, telegraph and telephone communication and even purely commercial establishments is a fact quite often overlooked in the discussion of the policy of Government-ownership of public utilities.

"The telegraph and cable systems connecting Alaska with the United States and binding together the islands of the Philippine archipelago aggregate nearly 12,000 miles and are owned by the Government, which likewise owns and operates a line of five passenger steamers between New York and Panama and also the railroad on the isthmus. In the Philippines are Government slaughter houses, cold storage plants and ice works competing with privately-owned establishments, and the Government also owns tenement houses in Manila and farms in the country, which are rented to the occupants. There are Government circulating libraries, stores and railroad systems in the islands while in Porto Rico the Government owns the telegraph and telephone lines."

BRUNO BECKHARD.

NEWS OF INDUSTRIAL COÖPERATION.

BY HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

Prepared each month for THE ARENA by the Bureau of Economic and Industrial Research.

Maryland Produce Exchange.

THE Maryland Produce Exchange has twenty-five local shipping points along the lines of the New York, Philadelphia and Norfolk, and the Baltimore, Chesapeake and Atlantic railroads. At each of these stations is an agent who inspects and brands the grade of produce and reports to the head office which is at Olney, Maryland, the amounts and grades of fruit received. The manager, who keeps in constant touch with the markets, then directs to what points the fruit shall be shipped. The Exchange spends more than \$10,000 annually in telegrams regarding crops, markets and prices.

The capital stock of the Exchange was reported in 1905 at \$31,000. This was owned by the 2,500 farmers who sell through the Exchange. In 1905 a dividend of seven per cent. was declared and in 1906 a ten per cent dividend. In addition to this a surplus was laid by for emergencies. The exchange forwards annually thousands of cars of both sweet and Irish potatoes in addition to other truck and fruit. It is reported as doing an annual business of about \$2,000,000.

Minnesota Farmers Organize.

THE FIRST annual meeting of the Farmers' Grain Dealer's Association of Minnesota was held on the 17th of December in Minneapolis. Delegates were present from the various farmers' elevators in the state, and what is hoped will prove to be a permanent union was formed between the elevators. The beginnings of this movement originated in Minneapolis during State Fair Week in September, when representatives from among the farmers met and decided to call the larger convention in the hope that some such organization might be formed as already exists in Iowa, and which has been able to exert such powerful influence in controlling rates, terminals, insurance rates, and the grading and weighing of grain, and has extended timely aid to individual elevators in times of trouble.

There are now about 200 coöperative elevator companies in Minnesota while new ones are being organized every week. The president of the new organization is Burr D. Alton of Ceylon, Minnesota, who is also president of a farmers' telephone company, vice-president of the Ceylon Coöperative Creamery, and treasurer of the Ceylon Farmer's Elevator Company.

Hartford, South Dakota.

A FARMER's elevator company has been doing business for five years at Hartford, South Dakota, and is in a most thriving condition. During the last year they handled nearly 250,000 bushels of grain, though their storage capacity is only 20,000 bushels, and they paid out \$7,000 in dividends. Incidentally the company saved the farmers of the surrounding country more than \$8,000 in cash, by forcing prices upward, and compelling the line elevator people, who have two elevators in this city to maintain a higher scale of prices, in their endeavor to drive the coöperative company out of business, although in nearby towns where there is no coöperative elevator their scale of prices is several cents per bushel lower. The elevator company also handled 1,500 tons of coal, which was sold below monopoly prices. They are planning to enlarge the capacity of the elevator so that it will hold 50,000 bushels, and it is predicted that the company will handle 400,000 bushels of grain in the present year, and save approximately \$30,000 for its patrons.

Shares in the company, par value of which is \$25, are now held at \$135, and some of them are sold at that price.

Bryce, Illinois.

THE Farmers' Grain Company of Bryce, Illinois, was organized in October with 80 stockholders, holding 170 shares. The report for the year showed the total amount of grain bought to be 140,700 bushels which was sold at a gain of \$3,248.15. Coal to the amount of \$1,904 was sold with a gain of

\$162. The net gain for the year, after all expenses were paid, was \$1,449. A dividend of 5 per cent. was paid on the stock.

Des Moines, Iowa.

THE Farmers' Coöperative Produce Company of Des Moines, Iowa, held their second annual stockholder's meeting on October 8, 1907. Several hundred enthusiastic members, representing about sixty different localities, were present. An increase of 125 per cent. over the business of the previous year was reported, and a dividend of 10 per cent. was declared.

Stanhope, Iowa.

STANHOPE, Iowa, has a Farmers' Elevator which has been most successfully conducted since its organization in 1903. The company is capitalized at \$9,000, and handles between 250,000 and 300,000 bushels of grain annually. The elevator has a capacity of 40,000 bushels. Last spring \$4,000 was divided in dividends among the stockholders.

Alpha, Minnesota.

THE ANNUAL report of the Farmers' Coöperative Society of Alpha, Minnesota, shows the total amount of business transacted to have been \$148,944; expense of transacting business \$3,896, or about 2½ per cent. which is exceptionally small. The net gain for the year was \$2,244, the dividends paid out amounted to \$550, leaving a surplus on hand of \$1,620.

Greene, Iowa.

A FARMERS' coöperative company which was organized in April, 1906, started active business in July, 1907, after experiencing something more than the ordinary difficulties in getting started. The Rock Island Railroad delayed in granting them a site, but after a great deal of parleying the farmers gained the ground they desired. They bought an elevator which had been in operation under private control, for which they paid \$6,000. The company handle grain, coal, feed, and flour, and have a membership of 215 farmers. The company is incorporated with a capital of \$25,000, and are known as the Farmers' Incorporated Coöperative Society. They have built a flour room in their elevator which will hold three carloads, and have started a new coal house which will soon be completed.

Right Relationship League.

THE Right-Relationship League has issued a call for the Second Annual Convention to be held in Minneapolis in January, 1908, on the 15th, 16th and 17th of the month. At last year's convention there were less than thirty stores represented by about thirty delegates, while this year there will be more than sixty stores represented, with probably from four to six times as many delegates. A program is being prepared covering the entire field of coöperative distribution, and it is expected that prominent coöperators will be present from various sections of the United States and Canada, and possibly one or more from England.

The League proposes to perfect arrangements for the consolidated buying of the companies and stores in the county coöperative chains, and the establishment of produce exchanges for properly disposing of the products of the farmer members.

New Company at Welcome, Minnesota.

MR. H. A. ZETTEL, the leading merchant of Welcome, Martine County, Minnesota, after correspondence with the manager of the Le Sueur County Coöperative Company, determined to turn his business over to the people on the plans of the Right-Relationship League. He requested the aid of a League organizer and Mr. H. W. Davis responded to the call, arriving at Welcome, November 1st. In just ten days, Mr. Davis had secured 58 subscribers to the \$100 equal shares.

The organization meeting was held Wednesday, November 13th. Articles of incorporation were adopted, the capital stock was fixed at \$25,000 and the revised by-laws, recommended by the League, were adopted.

This community is composed mostly of thrifty Germans, who are enthusiastic for coöperation and have confidence in each other. They maintain that they will double this membership in a few weeks.

Red Wing, Minnesota, Reorganizes.

THE Workers' Coöperative Mercantile Company of Red Wing was organized nearly four years ago with the excellent feature of equal-ownership, but the excellency of this feature was nullified by the fact that the shares were fixed at only \$10 each, whereas experience has taught that in these farmers' societies a much larger capital per member

is needed. After attempting to run awhile on this basis they saw that it was inadequate and raised to \$15 shares and at a later stockholders meeting this was again increased to \$25 shares. This was not only found to be inadequate but there was an additional feature which was a great handicap: namely, all members were sold tickets or vouchers at a ten per cent. discount which were used by them in buying goods the same as cash. With inadequate working capital, which allowed them to handle groceries only, a commodity upon which there is the least margin of profit, and the further handicap of a ten per cent. discount before the goods were sold, the officers and manager and members learned that they could not expect to make the company a success in the way of large growth or any reasonable profits to the members.

In the latter part of July, 1907, W. F. Vedder, Vice-President of the League, on his way to Minneapolis, stopped off at Red Wing and had a talk with the manager of the company, Mr. Geo. F. Gross, and some of the Directors and explained fully the plans of the League, including the County Chain Store idea and the concentrated buying of the various county companies. As a result of this visit a special meeting of the Board of Directors was called, and other representatives of the League were requested to be present and explain the whole plan in full. This was done and the Board authorized the League to go ahead in an attempt to reorganize the company.

There were 123 stockholders, and a stockholder's meeting was called and the motion to reorganize on the plans of the League was carried by more than a two-thirds majority vote of all the members. The method of reorganization was to form an entirely new company, the old company to sell out to it on the same basis as though it was owned by a private individual. After four or five weeks of good organizing work one hundred and twenty-five \$100 shares were sold and settled for and on November 14th the organization was effected under the name of the Goodhue County Coöperative Company with \$30,000 capital stock. The model constitution of the Right-Relationship League was adopted, and the company promises speedily to become one of the largest League companies in the state of Minnesota.

Harvard Co-operative Society.

AT THE opening of the present school year, the Harvard Coöperative Society which is one of the first, if not the first of the University coöperative societies organized, completed its twenty-fifth year of active business. Beginning in unpretentious fashion in 1882 with small quarters in one of the College buildings it has steadily increased its volume of business until during the past fiscal year its total sales amounted to \$300,000 and have given the Society the right to rank as one of the largest mercantile establishments in Cambridge.

Any member of Harvard University, of Radcliffe College, or of the Episcopal Theological School is entitled to become a participating member of the Society and thus to obtain an annual dividend on practically all purchases made during the year at the Society's store. This dividend amounted last year to eight per cent., and the directors expect that this rate will be maintained and possibly augmented. During the twenty-five years of its existence the Coöperative Society has returned to its members in dividends considerably more than \$100,000. In addition, as is the history of coöperative stores wherever they may be organized, the average scale of prices has been materially lowered in Cambridge.

Important alterations have been made in the Society's store recently. The second story, hitherto occupied by tenants, has been remodeled and made to afford commodious and well-lighted quarters for the two important departments of tailoring and men's furnishings, the latter including hats, shoes, and athletic goods. The basement floor has been given over to the furniture department which in recent years has increased its annual volume of business to large proportions. A considerable part of the stock carried by this department is now made to order for the Society. The book and stationary departments are on the main floor. The Society now occupies four entire floors with over 1,200 square feet of floor space. The Coöperative Society is conducted solely for the benefit of the University constituency.

The Princeton Store.

PRINCETON'S university coöperative store, started two years ago to supply books, stationery, athletic goods, and general merchandise to students at a discount from trade

prices, is being widely patronized by the University men and has become highly successful. During the last year its sales have increased 31 per cent. over the first year of business, receipts from sales from July 1, 1906 to July 1, 1907, amounting to \$52,729.

Co-operative Banking in The United States.

ONE of the fields in which coöperation is making considerable headway is that of the coöperative banks. These institutions are so well managed, so safe, and so profitable to their members, that they stand as one of the strongest proofs of the value of coöperation to laboring people. There are now in the United States 5,316 coöperative savings and loan associations, having a membership of 1,669,714, a net gain for the year of 87,103. The largest gains in assets were in Ohio, \$11,353,028; Pennsylvania, \$9,587,177; New

Jersey, \$4,330,808; Massachusetts, \$3,832,494 and Illinois, \$3,125,116. The only State which has a material loss is California, \$3,357,933, which can be accounted for by the unusual conditions of earthquake and fire. The statistics for New York State are: Associations 240, members 105,434; assets, \$35,254,790; increase \$1,593,241; increase in membership 10,369.

These organizations occupy a field that other money lending institutions do not fill, for money is advanced on mortgages for homes when the borrower has only a few hundred dollars at the outset. The borrower can pay off his loan any time, and take a flat mortgage elsewhere, but nevertheless the building and loan associations have given him the chance to buy a home which he would probably not have had otherwise.

HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.*

A BOOK-STUDY.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I.

PERHAPS the most important literary labor connected with the work of American men of letters which has been undertaken and admirably performed in recent years, is *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, edited by Albert Henry Smyth. We can conceive of few things in the way of books more important to our people, and especially to our young men, than the presentation in an engaging manner of the lives and thought of such great statesmen and way-showers of democracy as Franklin, Jefferson and Washington. These men, who were preëminently master builders of the American state and who in a very substantial manner gave direction and color to the democratic era that was inaugurated by our Revolution, have a message of special value for the sons of democracy to-day, when multitudinous reactionary class-interests and anti-republican forces are

*"The Writings of Benjamin Franklin." Edited with a Life and Introduction, by Albert Henry Smyth 10 volumes. Cloth. Price, \$15.00. New York: The Macmillan Company.

subtly at work poisoning the fountains of free government and debauching the ideals of the people. The influences against which Franklin, Jefferson, Washington and their great co-workers so ably contended, throwing with superb self-forgetfulness their lives and fortunes into the hazard for the principles of democracy, are as active and in some respects more insidiously dangerous to-day than in the elder period, because they are chiefly within the State, whereas in the Revolutionary days they were principally far beyond our borders.

The writings and labors of Franklin and Jefferson are especially valuable in that they show so clearly the root principles that must differentiate popular government from class-rule.

Franklin moved slowly and cautiously. He was naturally a man of peace and compromise, but he would not counsel peace when it meant servitude or the sacrifice of fundamental and vital principles; and so all the bribes and seductive inducements indirectly offered him by the wealth and might of

England failed signally of their purpose.

Aside from its political significance and value, the life of the philosopher-statesman is one of the most interesting and helpfully suggestive as it is one of the most remarkable careers known to history, and in the present work as never before the life and thought of Franklin have been worthily and authoritatively placed before the people. Seldom in our modern days of hasty literary work and rapid multiplication of books have the works of a writer of an earlier day received anything like the painstaking care that has been given this new compilation of the great philosopher's writings. We have had a number of attempts to present the writings of Franklin since the halting and inefficient effort of William Temple Franklin over ninety years ago, the most important of which was that of Mr. John Bigelow, but his fine work was faulty in many respects, particularly because he did not have access to many of the Franklin manuscripts, and too frequently he accepted Dr. Sparks' renditions of the great philosopher's work; and inasmuch as this latter writer felt himself called upon to improve upon Franklin by changing the phraseology, the work was at times untrustworthy. Though Mr. Bigelow's compilation was not published until 1887, very many important Franklin documents have come to light since then. "In the University of Pennsylvania there is a collection of more than eight hundred of Franklin's private papers which was brought to light in 1903." These had of course never been examined by former editors of Franklin's work. In the present compilation there appear 385 letters and forty articles from the pen of Franklin never previously printed by any editor of his work. Accuracy has also been a cardinal aim of Mr. Smyth. This work contains more than two thousand corrections of errors that have appeared in earlier compilations of Franklin's writings. The following extract from the author's preface will give the reader some idea of the exhaustive and painstaking efforts of the present editor:

"The American Philosophical Society is the depository of the most valuable portion of Franklin's manuscripts. It is an immense collection. The stoutest heart might well be appalled by the volume and range of those thirteen thousand documents, comprising a correspondence carried on in nine languages with all the world, and dealing with every

theory of philosophy and every scheme of politics familiar and unfamiliar in the eighteenth century. For the first time they have now been studied minutely, and every sentence subjected to careful examination.

"I have pursued the quest after Franklin holographs in England, France, Germany, Austria, and Italy, and I believe I have examined nearly every document that is known to exist in Europe and America.

"I have striven to make the present edition as complete and as accurate as human industry can make it. Every document here reprinted has been copied faithfully from the original; every point, capital letter, and eccentricity of spelling being loyally preserved."

Mr. Smyth's work, in addition to containing the fullest and most accurate collection of the writings of Franklin extant, also presents an exceptionally fine life of the philosopher, admirably complementing Franklin's autobiography, which covers the first half of his life. Here also is found a scholarly introduction in which there is a critical examination of the philosophical, political, economic and other writings of Franklin, evincing a thorough mastery of the subject on the part of the author.

II.

Romance literature contains few heroes whose vicissitudes and amazing rise in life will compare with the career of Benjamin Franklin. Born into the humble home of a soap and candle maker in Boston, on January 17, 1706, his educational advantages were extremely meager. Indeed, less than two years of his life were spent within the walls of a schoolroom. His father and mother, however, were of sturdy stock, and though their library was small and composed almost wholly of the controversial theological volumes of which the Dissenters of that period were so enamored, the lad was very early taught to read, and the very fact that that most coveted thing, a scholastic education, was denied the youth owing to the poverty of the family, whetted the child's natural appetite for reading. Jealously he hoarded the pennies that occasionally came to him, until he was able to purchase a few paper-bound books, the first of which was Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and it made a profound impression on the child's mind. Other volumes that were at this time literally

digested by the boy were Burton's *Historical Collections*, Plutarch's *Lives*, De Foe's *Essay on Projects*, Dr. Cotton Mather's *Essays to do Good*, and a volume of Addison's *Spectator*. This latter work was so utilized by the boy as to be of inestimable value to him in forming a clear and simple style very superior to that of most American writers of his day. In speaking of the volume of the *Spectator*, Franklin in his autobiography says:

"I bought it, read it over and over, and was much delighted with it. I thought the writing excellent, and wished, if possible, to imitate it. With this in view I took some of the papers, and, making short hints of the sentiment in each sentence, laid them by a few days, and then, without looking at the book, try'd to compleat the papers again, by expressing each hinted sentiment at length, and as fully as it had been expressed before, in any suitable words that should come to hand. Then I compared my *Spectator* with the original, discovered some of my faults, and corrected them."

In order to further carry forward his education he engaged in a written debate with a boy companion who also had an aptitude for learning. Franklin's father compared his son's writings with his companion's and pointed out to the boy his good and bad points. This enabled Benjamin to further correct his style and method of reasoning.

Now all this reading and mental training, it must be remembered, was during hours which most boys spend idling, in frivolous pastimes, or sleeping; for the boy had first assisted his father and later was bound out to an elder brother, to master the printer's trade. The brother was a hard task-master and cuffed and beat his young brother in a most cruel manner; yet the trade was very congenial and feeling the importance of mastering it, Benjamin set to work to learn every detail and so far as possible to excel in all his work. He soon began to contribute to his brother's journal slipping his contributions under the door of the printing office at night. The articles, being better than most of the contributed matter, were published and added to the popularity of the journal while exciting general curiosity in regard to their authorship.

After reading a work on the subject, Franklin became a vegetarian, largely from motives of economy. His frugal lunches

were eaten in a few moments at noon, and the rest of the hour when the brother and the rest of the apprentices were enjoying a hearty meal, was spent in serious reading. Small wonder that such a lad made surprising advance in culture or that this boy, whose life in the schoolroom had been so limited, became at once the broadest-visioned philosopher of his day, one of the greatest statesmen of the world and a master builder of the first really great democratic state known to history.

In due time the lad became an expert printer and an invaluable aid to the brother, but the latter lacked the wisdom and fine human instincts to treat him with the justice and consideration that his work and worth, to say nothing of the claims of relationship and humanity, demanded; so on one occasion, after being cruelly beaten by his employer, young Franklin ran away from Boston and sought work in New York. Failing to find any employment, he set out for Philadelphia, tramping the greater part of the way in a pouring rain. He had sent his best clothes by boat, but he had thrust a shirt in one pocket and some socks into another, the effect of which was probably to add to the picturesqueness of the young man's appearance as he trudged along with mud, clinging to his wet garments and rain dripping from his queer cap. It was thus he finally reached Philadelphia. He had but one silver dollar and three pence in his pocket. Finding a bake-shop he bought two loaves of bread. One he placed under his arm and the other he hungrily devoured as he passed up the street. Small wonder that his appearance attracted the attention of a bright-eyed, fun-loving girl, who laughed uproariously at the absurd and comically picturesque youth. Little did this young woman, Deborah Read by name, imagine that the ungainly young man who she thought looked more like a scare-crow than anything else, was destined to become her husband and to be honored by the greatest educational institutions and bodies of the world as a master savant, or that in the whirligig of hurrying events he was yet to stand before many kings, the most prominent and influential statesman of his age.

Franklin soon secured work in Philadelphia and by frugality and temperate living was enabled to save some money. He visited his father in Boston with a letter of commenda-

tion from the Governor of Pennsylvania. The latter sought to induce the elder Franklin to start the son in a printing house in the Quaker City, but the father was not in a condition to do this, and he also believed that Benjamin was too young to take charge of an independent office. Yet it was a source of great pleasure to the father to find that the youth had won the esteem of prominent people in Philadelphia.

The Governor was however an evil genius rather than a help to young Franklin. He induced him to go to London, leading him to believe that he would give him letters to parties who would furnish him the money to buy a printing office. Benjamin set sail for London, only to find out when he reached his destination that the Governor had failed to keep his word, and the young man found himself practically penniless, three thousand miles from home and with no friends or acquaintances to lend a helping hand. He at once set to work to find employment and secured a position as printer. Here all his companions were given to beer drinking, under the idea that they needed it to give them strength. The "water American," as they called the young printer from the West, amazed them by his strength. In speaking of this Franklin says:

"I drank only water; the other workmen, nearly fifty in number, were great guzzlers of beer. On occasions, I carried up and down stairs a large form of types in each hand, when others carried but one in both hands. They wondered to see, from this and several instances, that the *Water-American*, as they called me, was *stronger* than themselves, who drank *strong* beer!"

He strove to show his companions that the beer clouded their brains and did not supply anything like the nourishment found in bread. In time his example had its helpful effect, as he says:

"From my example, a great part of them left their muddling breakfast of beer, and bread, and cheese, finding they could with me be supply'd from a neighboring house with a large porringer of hot water-gruel, sprinkled with pepper, crumb'd with bread, and a bit of butter in it, for the price of a pint of beer, *viz.* three half-pence. This was a more comfortable as well as cheaper breakfast, and kept their heads clearer."

Franklin was a great believer in pure air and healthy exercise. He was an expert

swimmer and was engaged by persons of means to teach them swimming. In this manner he managed to materially increase his savings, and so remunerative was his return from these lessons that he had almost determined to open a school for teaching swimming, when he was induced by an American then in London to enter his employ and return to Philadelphia. This proved an important turning point in Franklin's life. He worked faithfully for his employer, and there seemed every prospect that the future held in store for him the career of a successful merchant. He, however, did not relinquish his interest in studies and soon after returning to Philadelphia formed a literary society that became a great educational center in the city of Penn, and proved invaluable as an intellectual stimulus to Franklin and a few chosen spirits who like himself were born investigators and students.

His sense of moral responsibility and his civic spirit now showed signs of steady and wholesome development. In his autobiography, which is extremely frank, he mentions many grave faults and evils committed from time to time, but as he advanced in life, in so far as lay in his power, he corrected these faults.

Franklin had just passed his twenty-first birthday and was making a fine reputation as a salseman, when his employer fell ill and died. He now found himself out of employment and so returned to his printer's trade, securing a position at a good salary from one of the leading printers of Philadelphia. Later Franklin and another printer, who had learned his trade under Franklin's direction, opened an independent office, where, by frugality, honesty and untiring industry, a fine business was soon established.

At this time Franklin gave considerable attention to ethical problems, coming to the conclusion, he tells us, that "*truth, sincerity and integrity* in dealings between man and man were of the utmost importance to the felicity of life; and I form'd written resolutions, which still remain in my journal book, to practice them ever while I lived."

The thirteen virtues which Franklin specially concerned himself with were temperance, silence, order, resolution, frugality, industry, sincerity, justice, moderation, cleanliness, tranquility, chastity, and humility.

In 1729 Franklin bought a paper which struggled under the cumbersome title of *The*

Universal Instructor in Art and Science and Pennsylvania Gazette. The new proprietor retained only the last section of the title, *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, and in a short time made the paper a source of financial revenue.

The political issues of the day and the unrest of the hour began to impress Franklin, and then as now the money question became a living issue. One party called for a large increase in the paper currency of the Colony, and others stoutly opposed such issue. Franklin became an ardent inflationist and wrote a strong pamphlet on "The Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency," which was published anonymously. In speaking of this, his first important political contribution, Franklin says:

"It was well received by the common people in general; but the rich men dislik'd it, for it increas'd and strengthen'd the clamor for more money, and they happening to have no writers among them that were able to answer it, their opposition slacken'd, and the point was carried by a majority in the House. My friends there, who conceiv'd I had been of some service, thought fit to reward me by employing me in printing the money; a very profitable job and a great help to me. This was another advantage gain'd by my being able to write.

"The utility of this currency became by time and experience so evident as never afterwards to be much disputed; so that it grew soon to fifty-five thousand pounds, and in 1739 to eighty thousand pounds."

In September, 1730, Franklin married the girl who had made sport of him when he entered Philadelphia. His married life appears to have been peaceful and happy. Though the wife was quite ignorant, she was neat, industrious, thoughtful and dutiful.

In 1731 a movement was inaugurated, chiefly through Franklin's untiring effort, to organize a subscription library. The project proved highly successful and the library which was established became the mother of the "North American Subscription Library" and one of the greatest popular educational influences of Philadelphia.

Later, through Franklin's initiative, a public hall was built for the use of ministers who could not get a hearing in the churches. Still later he became the master-spirit in founding an academy with provision for the free education of the children of the poor; and still later he took hold of the attempt

that a friend had tried to carry forward, to establish a free dispensary for the treatment of the very poor. Franklin carried the movement to a successful issue. These are but a few of many great educational and philanthropic enterprises that owed their success largely if not chiefly to the initiative and indefatigable efforts of Franklin. As he rose in influence in the community and become more and more a leading citizen, his counsel was sought by men of all conditions. His business prospered greatly. The *Poor Richard's Almanack* enjoyed great popularity, and the wise saws and sayings it contained were reprinted on the other side of the Atlantic. But with his increase of fortune Franklin maintained his simple standard of living. "He looked disapprovingly upon innovations of luxury, denied himself and family comforts to which they were well entitled, and went clothed from head to foot in garments of his wife's making."

III.

In 1753 Benjamin Franklin was appointed one of the two deputy post-masters of the American Colonies, and with this appointment his political life may be said to have commenced in an active and responsible manner. Under his masterly direction the post-office department became for the first time self-sustaining and later a source of handsome annual revenue.

In 1751 Franklin was elected as a member from Philadelphia to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and from thence on he was returned regularly for a number of years. During this period he served on over one hundred committees and commissions. In all cases where delicate or difficult work confronted the law-makers, Franklin was confidently turned to as a safe and competent guide, and in times of public peril and danger he acted with superb courage and self-sacrifice. One or two instances will illustrate this fact.

When Braddock was ready to move his forces no supply wagons were available. The Governor of Pennsylvania, acting for the proprietary interests, refused to allow any taxes to be levied on the proprietary estate, and the Assembly refused to levy taxes unless the proprietors bore a share of the same. Meanwhile the French and Indians were placing the western frontiers in

fearful jeopardy and even menacing England's prestige. Franklin became personally responsible for the payment for horses, wagons and provisions and advanced from his own funds about thirteen thousand pounds, while he pledged his entire fortune for additional necessary wagons and horses. Thus it was possible for the army to proceed.

At one time, after some Indian outrages, certain Scotch-Irish religious fanatics in the western part of the Colony, who probably had read some of Cotton Mather's unfortunate pamphlets, came to the conclusion that all Indians were children of the devil, and forthwith started out to scalp all the peaceable Moravian Indians they could find. Men, women and children fell victims to these religious fanatics. One hundred and forty terror-stricken Moravian red men fled to Philadelphia for refuge, but the fanatics marched on the city armed with rifles and hatchets, declaring that they would scalp every Moravian Indian in town. "When they approached Germantown, the governor, John Penn, in a panic of fear, fled for protection to the house of Dr. Franklin. He requested Franklin to form an association for the defense of the city. One thousand citizens took arms at Franklin's suggestion." A committee headed by Franklin rode out to where the fanatics were encamped and convinced them that they had best disband and return peaceably to their homes. But strange to say, the Episcopalians and Presbyterians denounced Franklin and openly in their pulpits justified the fiendish atrocities of the religious fanatics in massacring the Christian Indians.

For many years Franklin, in spite of his exacting public duties and the supervision of his prosperous printing establishment, had devoted much time to physical science and philosophical problems relating to various phenomena, and from 1747 his experiments in electricity had attracted in increasing degree the attention of the leading scientists of the Old World, until he had come to be regarded by many as the greatest living authority on electricity.

IV.

In 1757 he went to London as agent for the Legislature in the conflict with the tyrannical proprietors of the estates. "For twenty-seven years," says Mr. Smyth, "he had lived happily with his wife and little family in

Philadelphia; the next twenty-eight years, with the exception of two brief visits to America, were destined to be spent in Europe."

On arriving in Europe, Franklin was received with distinguished honor by the leading scientists of Great Britain. "Men of science hastened to make acquaintance with the philosopher whose name was mentioned with respect in every part of Europe." He had already been elected to the Royal Society. In February, 1759, the University of St. Andrews conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, and three years later the University of Oxford conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law. He was elected a member of almost every great scientific body of continental Europe and his fame as a scientist steadily grew as the stress and strain in the political world more and more engrossed his attention. Never before, and probably never since, has an American man of science received such honor from scientific bodies, great thinkers and educational institutions as were showered on Benjamin Franklin. Yet amid all the honor and applause, as in the most trying hours of his life, he maintained the tranquil, unostentatious and humble attitude of one great enough to know how little, relatively speaking, the wisest man knows.

In 1764 Franklin, who had been sent to England primarily to be the representative of the colonists of Pennsylvania in the conflict with the proprietary chiefs, found it necessary to give his first consideration of the Stamp Act. He exerted all the powers at his command to prevent the passage of the odious measure, but after it became a law he counseled peaceable acquiescence in the measure until such time as it would be possible to secure its repeal. This attitude rendered him very unpopular in America for a brief season, but when it was found that he had ceaselessly labored for its repeal with very great success, the tide of sentiment veered toward him again. America's splendid courage in opposing the Stamp Act, and the refusal of the Colonies to longer buy English stamped goods struck terror to the hearts of the British manufacturers. A strong sentiment arose in England favorable to repeal of the objectionable measure. Franklin was summoned before a committee of the House of Commons to answer questions and present the side of America. Mr. Smyth in noticing this famous meeting says:

"The 'Examination of Dr. Franklin before the House of Commons' is historically famous and valuable. Searching questions intended to embarrass him were asked by the most astute men of affairs in England. His answers were so informing and illuminating, so indicative of extraordinary eminence of mind and character that Edmund Burke compared the scene to that of a schoolmaster being catechised by his pupils.

"Eight days after the Examination closed, or on the 21st of February, a Repealing Bill was introduced into Parliament which successfully passed both Houses and received the royal assent on the eighth of March. The news was received in America with uproarious and extravagant joy. The Governor of Pennsylvania, the Mayor of Philadelphia, and the gentlemen of the city drank the health of 'our worthy and faithful agent, Dr. Franklin.' The chief feature of the procession in honor of the event was a barge forty feet in length, named Franklin, from which salutes were fired. At the annual election in October opposition was silenced and Franklin was renominated agent, as Cadwallader Evans wrote to him, 'without any dirt being thrown at you;—indeed it is so notorious that you exerted all your abilities in favor of the Colonies that none now are so hardy as to insinuate the contrary.'"

Franklin's services to America in Great Britain were of inestimable value. He was sleepless in his endeavor. Sometimes his energies were devoted to presenting the Colonies' case in the British press; sometimes pamphlets were written and freely distributed; again he strove to supply all friends of the Colonies who were in public life, especially the Liberal statesmen, with the most cogent and unanswerable arguments advanced from every conceivable vantage-ground; at other times he was laboring with the King's ministers, and next we find him counseling loyalty to the throne.

Franklin was naturally a man of peace, but he was more than this. He possessed great foresight. He knew the Colonists were in no position then to oppose England in open warfare, and he hoped that a Liberal ministry would come into power that would allay all friction and unite their energies in a labor for making all English-speaking lands one federation of free peoples. The hour was at hand, however, when he was to be

rudely awakened to the fact that the American Colonies must choose between submitting to Great Britain's arrogant claim and fighting for their rights; and when that hour of choice came the great statesman became one of the mightiest pillars of the people's hope throughout the darkest days ere the latest born child of progress was able to beat back the Mistress of the Seas and give to the world a great new hope,—the ideal of a free and just government based on popular rights.

In 1772 there fell into Franklin's hands letters written by Governor Hutchinson and Secretary Oliver, in which they urged the British government to quarter English soldiers in Boston. These letters Franklin sent to a friend in Boston, with the express stipulation that they should not be copied or put into print, but they might be read to prominent persons. They were read far and near, and finally they were copied and engrossed in a pamphlet. Not long thereafter they reached England in the said pamphlet. At almost the same time Massachusetts petitioned for the recall of Hutchinson. Suddenly Franklin was summoned by the Clerk of the Council to meet the Committee of the Lords for Plantation Affairs. There were some adjournments and delays, but finally, on the twenty-ninth of January, 1774, thirty-five members of the Privy Council assembled. Among the number were Lord North and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Franklin appeared in a full dress suit of spotted Manchester velvet, and during the entire proceedings stood silently and with unchanged countenance,—a marvelous feat considering the fact that the representative for Governor Hutchinson, Mr. Wedderburn, made upon Franklin one of the most indecently abusive and vulgar attacks ever uttered before an assemblage of English nobles, and his ribald invectives and gross sallies, which were considered unfit for print, elicited the uproarious applause of most of the noble committeemen present. Burke and Dr. Priestly, who were present, were both strongly in sympathy with Dr. Franklin, and in leaving the scene of attack the great American philosopher silently pressed Dr. Priestly's hand in a way that indicated how keenly he felt the abusive treatment, but his countenance showed no sign of the storm that raged within. The next day Dr. Franklin breakfasted with Dr. Priestly and during the conversation he remarked on the fortifying power of a good

conscience, saying, as reported by Priestly:

"For that, if he had not considered the thing for which he had been so much insulted, as one of the best actions of his life, and what he should certainly do again in the same circumstances, he could not have supported it."

Horace Walpole later penned an epigram on Wedderburn and Franklin that became very popular. It ran as follows:

"Sarcastic Sawney, swol 'n with spite and 'prate
On silent Franklin poured his venal hate.
The calm philosopher, without reply,
Withdrew, and gave his country liberty."

The action of Franklin in regard to the letters and the abusive attacks he received from the press and the Royalist party converted him, observes Mr. Smyth, "into a stubborn opponent of the British government, and changed the American sentiment toward him from lukewarm admiration into inflamed respect, enthusiasm and affection.

"It was the one cherished hatred of his life, and how deep the poisoned shaft had sunk into his soul we may perhaps infer from the well-authenticated story that four years later, when the treaty of alliance with France was signed, Franklin dressed himself for that day's historic achievement in the same Manchester cloak of velvet which he last wore when he stood under the pitiless storm of Wedderburn's vituperation."

v.

On the 20th of March, 1775, Dr. Franklin sailed for Philadelphia. He reached home in time to take active part in the Continental Congress that framed the Declaration of Independence. From the hour of his arrival he was one of the most trusted leaders and upon his shoulders was placed an almost incredible amount of work. He was made Postmaster-General. He also served "with zeal and energy on ten committees," all of which had weighty matters to decide and arrange for. The Declaration of Independence was drafted by Thomas Jefferson, assisted by Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Robert R. Livingstone and Roger Sherman.

"It is well known that when John Hancock said, as they were about to sign the document, 'We must be unanimous; we must all hang together,' Franklin replied, 'We must indeed all hang together, or, most assuredly, we shall all hang separately.'"

On July 8th, Dr. Franklin was chosen President of the Constitutional Convention. In December, 1776, Congress selected him to go to France to labor with the French government in behalf of a treaty with the Colonies. Franklin was now more than seventy years of age and in anything but robust health, yet he was never the man to flinch or turn his back on the face of duty. When it was announced that Franklin had been chosen to go to France, the aged patriot turned to his friend, Dr. Rush, saying:

"I am old and good for nothing; but, as the store-keepers say of their remnants of cloth, 'I am but a fag end, and you may have me for what you please.'"

"His last act at home, before departing upon a journey from which it was probable he would never return, was to lend Congress between three and four thousand pounds."

vi.

The spectacle of this old man, more than seventy, ill with gout and other maladies, bravely putting aside all thought of personal comfort and embarking on an American privateer, knowing full well that he was liable to be made a prisoner by the British whose powerful vessels were scouring the seas, must ever be inspiring to noble-minded youths.

After a rough passage of thirty days, Franklin arrived in France so weakened from the voyage that he was scarcely able to stand. By easy stages he traveled to Paris. His advent struck something akin to terror to the hearts of several of the British statesmen connected with the Ministry. They knew the power of the man; they knew that the youth who had not enjoyed two years' schooling in his life had received degrees from the leading colleges and universities of the Old World and the New; that he had been elected a member of the leading scientific bodies of Europe; that he had brought the lightning down from the clouds and had become the foremost living authority on electricity; that no scientist of the time stood higher in the esteem of the learned; that he was not only a broad-visioned and deeply philosophical thinker, but also peerless among the authors of wise and telling phrases and homely truths; that he was a master of the art of conversation and a man of matchless natural wit; that as a statesman few persons could surpass him in pleading a cause or presenting a subject so persuasively as to bring his auditors

to see as he saw or wished them to see. Moreover, they knew there were few eminent men in France more popular than this most venerated philosopher of the age, and France was the hereditary foe of England. Well, indeed, might they fear the power of Franklin. Of the reception of the statesman-philosopher in France Mr. Smyth observes:

"Everywhere Franklin was received with abundant cordiality, respect and affection for which history furnishes scarcely a parallel. Every word he uttered was caught and pondered, and remembered; every action was studied and imitated. In him was the promise of better days and the augury of a more fortunate social order."

Franklin soon convinced the court of France that it was wise to help the Colonies, and though the government was not ready to take an open stand, large sums of money were secretly advanced, while Franklin was left to free foster in the already excited youths of France an enthusiasm for the struggling Colonies that led to much material aid being given, other than that advanced by the government. In vain did the British seek to checkmate the astute American. Step by step he advanced, accepting all he could get and at every opportunity sowing seeds that were bound to germinate in new harvests for America.

Meanwhile his popularity grew in France. All classes of people vied in honoring the great savant, statesman and embodiment of the new democratic ideal,—the apostle of the cause of free man.

But it must not be supposed that Franklin's task was an easy one. On the contrary, seldom has a man labored against greater odds or had so much to discourage him. The long, long night was settling down. The world could not believe that the Mistress of the Seas and one of the greatest powers of earth could be defeated by thirteen little struggling colonies. In speaking of this night of stress, strain, sleepless vigilance and incessant work, Mr. Smyth well observes:

"Now began nine years of toil incredible, of heart-breaking disappointments, worries innumerable, through all which Franklin moved patiently, tranquilly, deliberately, emerging triumphantly at last to throw himself into the arms of the Duc de Rochefoucauld, after signing the treaty of Peace, exclaiming, 'My friend, could I have hoped, at my age, to enjoy such a happiness?'"

His essential greatness was never seen to better advantage than during this period when neither the applause of the people nor the perplexing and discouraging events moved him from the even tenor of the path he had marked out as needful for the salvation of his country.

"The enthusiasm," says Mr. Smyth, "for *le grande Franklin* became a passion, became idolatry. He bore it all with composure; his serenity was undisturbed by flattery, his confidence undaunted by disaster. He received tidings of misfortune with a smile and a jest. 'Howe has taken Philadelphia,' mourned Paris. 'No,' said Franklin, 'Philadelphia has taken Howe.' His cheer and confidence became the encouragement and the inspiration of France. When rumors of disaster circulated in the ports of France, the Frenchmen who came to condole with *Père Franklin* found the patriarch philosophically calm and confident. To all such reports he replied, '*ça ira, ça ira*'—'it will go on!'"

When the news reached France of Burgoyne's surrender, "Paris rejoiced as though the victory had been won by French troops over the enemies of France. There was tumultuous and tremendous joy," and this was followed by the treaty of alliance.

This, however, did not mean the end of Franklin's troubles. From thence on until the final victory, he was under a constant strain that would have proved far too much for most men in the flower of manhood's prime. But steadfast in his faith in the triumph of the people, he never faltered a moment or attempted to shirk any duty or work, however unpleasant, and at length, after peace was settled, the grand old man returned to his native land. His health had been very critical and it seemed doubtful whether he could survive the voyage, but he bore the trip better than his friends dared to hope. Immediately on his return he was chosen President of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The Assembly welcomed him in an enthusiastic address. For three years he served the people, and then his failing health compelled him to retire from public life. On the seventeenth of April, 1790, he passed from this life.

"At the head of the funeral procession walked the clergy of Philadelphia. Next came the chief members of the state government and the members of the Legislature,

the Judges of the courts, members of the bar, the Mayor and the Councils of the city, the printers and their apprentices, The American Philosophical Society, and the College of Physicians, and many trade and benevolent societies."

France mourned his death almost as much as America, and everywhere men of science and broad-minded thinkers recognized that one of the greatest scientists, statesmen and patriots had passed from view.

The life and thought of this simple, unostentatious and truly great man, and his lofty patriotism and fidelity to the trust imposed upon him, should be an inspiration to our young men and women of to-day. The nation he served so whole-heartedly and nobly now calls as perhaps at no other period for consecrated service to the fundamental principles of a democratic republic,—to the ideal of justice, freedom and fraternity. Forces inimical to a democratic republic are actively at work to-day corrupting public

servants and the political ideals of the nation and seeking by special privilege and monopoly rights to undermine and destroy a government of the people, by the people and for the people. It is of paramount importance that the young men and women of America shall yield their splendid power and devotion to the same moral idealism that guided Franklin, Jefferson and Washington, and beat back these sinister forces of materialism and reaction. In the presence of the life of Franklin let each lover of free government resolve to consecrate life's best efforts to the cause of genuine democracy, remembering Victor Hugo's injunction:

"Let us consecrate ourselves. Let us devote ourselves to the good, to the true, to the just. . . . Great is he who consecrates himself! Even when overcome, he remains serene, and his misfortune is happiness."

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

The Infinite Affection. By Rev. Charles S. Macfarland. Cloth. Pp. 174. Boston: The Pilgrim Press.

THIS work, by one of the most brilliant and deeply thoughtful of the younger ministers of the Congregational church, merits wide circulation. It is instinct with lofty spirituality and the living faith that makes religion most vital to those who thus believe. The author is a very strong believer in the trinitarian view, yet he is in sympathy with the newer and broader religious thought entertained by the scholars of the New Theology movement. He is not afraid to think and is not content in the presence of newly-discovered truth to adopt the ostrich policy. He recognizes what so many great scholars have of late been forced to accept: that the historical and interior evidence does not permit the holding of the old theories that the church long entertained in regard to the birth of Christ. He accepts them as poetical and legendary, yet he holds firmly to the belief in the Divine Sonship

of Christ Jesus. He is less radical in his position than Dr. Otto Pfeiderer, or even than the Rev. R. J. Campbell, the brilliant pastor of the City Temple of London and the leader of the New Theology movement of England; yet his stand is far in advance of that of many Orthodox clergymen of the New World.

The work contains seven chapters in which are discussed "Religion and Theology," "The Nature of God," "The Place of Man in the Universe," "The Moral Opportunity of Man," "The Person of Christ," "The Sovereignty of Christ" and "The Spirit of God."

One of the most deeply interesting of the chapters deals with man's place in the universe. The author holds that God in creating man a free agent, abrogated as it were His power to influence man in relation to the moral order. "We are," he declares, "all come to feel profoundly to-day that man is the ultimate architect of his character; the hewer of his own statue; the arbiter of his destiny. He is not mere mobile clay in the hands of the Divine Potter; he is morally self-determining. It is the final verdict of observation, thought and conscience, that man has, at least to a large

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

extent, his own moral way. To him has been entrusted the power to determine whether he shall do right or wrong. While this truth has its limitations and modifications, we, in our consciences, profoundly feel that we are responsible for our own moral volitions and actions.

"The truth, however, is larger than this: man is not only self-determining, but, in a large measure, he determines and directs the universal moral order. He can, and may, withstand God, defy him and temporarily defeat his purposes and plans.

"It is a wonderful thought, the thought of this power, this moral ability which God himself has given us, to interfere, to prevent and stay the hand of God, and to obstruct the moral order of the universe."

In the chapter on "The Moral Opportunity of Man" the author makes the following suggestive observations:

"While this is to be a universe of love, men mingle in it both love and hatred. While it should be a universe of truth, men have brought into it both truth and falsehood. These individual personalities of ours work together both to aid and to hinder the coming of the kingdom of God. The eternal Being is not seeking to be a sovereign with force so much as he is to be a Father in love. There is no such thing as isolated individual responsibility. Every man must bear his share of the weight of the moral order of the universe. That power is to hinder or further the coming of the kingdom.

"The immanence of God is the incarnation in man. The darkness of our human life has been dispelled by light from heaven in the souls of good and holy men and women. The message from the Father's heart has come through human lips, as the Father's love revealed itself in human lives.

"Man's place in the universe is to bring to pass the will and ideal of God, to bring to pass the infinite intention.

"This moral opportunity of man is eternal.

"T is the divinity that stirs within us:

T is heaven itself that points out an hereafter
And intimates eternity to man."

"Our true faith in the heaven that is to be comes only as that heaven sheds its glow upon the life that is. Our immortality is now, a

growing of the spirit-life within, the deepening of our love, the softening of our hearts with sympathy and tenderness, the sanctifying of our lives. Thus shall we put on immortality, thus shall our corruptible put on its incorruption, and thus, as Jesus by his life brought immortality to light, we must do by following in his way. Such hopes and aspirations are the foregleams of eternity. There is but one life, and we live it now."

The chapter dealing with "The Person of Christ" is particularly rich in food for reflection. Here is Mr. Macfarland's description of the Great Nazarene:

"When we have come to analyze his mind and character we are moved by its greatness. He is original in thought, profound in his intellectual grasp of moral truth. His courage is superb. He dares to mingle with despised publicans despite the disapproving nod of religious aristocracy. He stands before Pilate and Herod and the high priest in indifferent calmness. In righteous wrath he clears the desecrated temple. In the face of certain death he rebukes the expediency of his disciples, and calmly says, 'I go up to Jerusalem.' He is as tender and compassionate and sympathetic as a mother. He is perfect in self-sacrifice, patient and humble. In all this he is thoroughly human.

"I think that in frankness it should be said that other men may have been just as original in other realms as Jesus in his. Doubtless other men have had as large an intellectual reach. Others have shown equal courage. His self-sacrifice cannot be said to be altogether unique. Other men have died for their fellows. The world may have known men of his patience and humility.

"Taking Jesus as a man, then, what is his peculiar significance? Every other character upon the pages of saintly biography has been one-sided. Does it exhibit great intellectual acumen? It lacks patience or humility. Has he superb courage? He is wanting in tenderness. Is he bold? He is not humble. Is he tender and self-sacrificing? He is not courageous. Does he portray patience? He has too little force of character. Take every character you know and it will bear these marks of contrasted strength and weakness. That is why we all have our different heroes among the great and saintly souls of biography.

"That which impresses us most strongly in Jesus is his complete blending of contrasted virtues. He is as unflinching in his boldness

as he is tender in his compassion. His marvellous force of moral and intellectual insight is equaled by his consummate modesty. He is almost solitary in his self-sacrifice, yet never abject or deficient in spirit. He is eager and courageous, but just as patient as he is glowing in enthusiasm. While tender, sympathetic and compassionate to sinners, he is never wanting in the fire of moral indignation. In his humility he never loses self-respect. *Jesus, the man, is the superb, the perfect ideal of manhood because of this perfect blending of all the elements within the range of character.* When we see this perfect manhood of Jesus we say, Whatever else we surrender, it must never be the real humanity of our Lord. It is an impulse and an inspiration to know that he bore this character and that he attained it as we must attain. It exalts humanity's moral ideal and tells us something of what we may become when we 'see him as he is.'"

In this chapter the author presents in the form of a discussion between a Teacher and a Seeker the contrasting views of the old concepts and the New Theology in regard to the miraculous conception and other things in the Gospels not accepted in a literal sense by the New Theologians. In this discussion, after the Teacher has dwelt upon the miraculous birth as narrated by Matthew and Luke, the Seeker is represented as replying:

"I accept the main historical part of the Gospels. But the scholars tell us that we must discriminate between the actual historicity of the main body of the Gospels and the legends which grew up around this unique man. These scholars tell us that these prefaces to these two Gospels evidently did not belong to the original narratives. They were added as a sort of introduction later on. They are highly poetical in character. In fact, they are just such legends as grew up about St. Francis of Assisi; such as have always clustered about the memory of every striking personality. Furthermore, they are contradicted by the main body of the narrative. One of the genealogies explicitly declares Jesus to be of the line of Joseph. In fact, the earliest manuscript of the Gospels, the Sinaitic Palimpsest, recently discovered, explicitly declares that 'Joseph begat Jesus.' Everywhere throughout the historical parts of these Gospels Jesus is assumed to be the natural son of Joseph. Indeed, these stories bear every mark of legend; they are highly idealized, poetic. You remember that one time in the early Church a council came

together to separate what they called the apocryphal stories from the authentic narratives. Well, undoubtedly, these legends ought to have been set aside with all the others which, being of like character, were discarded. The fact is, on the testimony of Christian scholarship itself, on the evidence of the Gospels themselves, I cannot accept these as historical."

This volume is a valuable addition to the rapidly-growing literature which promises a genuine religious renaissance,—a literature rich in spirituality and that faith that dares to fearlessly search for the truth, knowing that the truth is divine, wherever found.

Paul Anthony, Christian. By Hiram W. Hayes. Cloth. Pp. 416. Price, \$1.50. Boston: The Reid Publishing Company.

WE CONFESS that we commenced to read this novel with serious misgivings, anticipating that, like most religious fiction and novels which are before all else purpose romances, the message which the author desired to convey would so engross his thought that the characters would be merely puppets whose stilted dialogue would prove tiresome to those not personally interested in the message which the author presented. A few pages, however, were sufficient to show that Mr. Hayes is not only a writer of ability, employing excellent English and possessing a smooth and pleasing style, but also that he exhibits the rare power of the true novelist. He makes his characters living men and women whose words, acts and lives are so naturally and faithfully portrayed that one feels he is listening to a veritable narration of interesting happenings transpiring in Burmah, in which the leading characters are Americans, English and East Indians. There is nothing stilted or wooden in the novel, though some of the cures described will impress persons ignorant of the work being performed by Christian Science as more like Arabian Night episodes than possible happenings. Yet the author in his preface assures the reader that the great majority of the cases of healing chronicled have counterparts which have come under his personal observation, and his testimony will be borne out by equally positive assurances from hundreds of men and women who are as conscientious as they are scholarly and who speak from actual experience and observation. And the testimony of such persons as W. D. McCrackan, Professor Joel Mosley, Ph.D., J. B. Willis, A.M.,

Charles Klein, the eminent playwright: Judge John D. Works, formerly of the Supreme Bench of California, and scores upon scores of other thinkers equally competent to judge of evidence and who are critical, conscientious and eminently intelligent, is in the nature of the case worth far more than the opinions of hundreds of persons who have never made extensive personal investigations and who have never studied Christian Science to such a degree as to enable them to speak intelligently as to its teachings.

This novel is a fascinating story whose scenes are laid in Burmah. The leading characters are Paul Anthony, a civil engineer who is also a Christian Scientist; Prince Sindhu, a ruler under British suzerainty of a northern province of Burmah; his sister, the Princess Sofia; the father of the Prince and the Princess; a Mr. Lombard, a prominent Jewish capitalist who with other persons is interested in developing the oil fields of Burmah; Elder Meredith, a conservative and very narrow-minded orthodox missionary; Elizabeth Raymond, a beautiful American girl, who is also a missionary; Major O'Keefe, an English surgeon, and his daughter Nora; Mr. and Mrs. Johnson, missionaries; Captain Ormonde, an English soldier; and several other persons, mostly natives.

Mr. Anthony strives to live the Christ life and to reflect the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount on the one hand, while faithfully endeavoring to obey the solemn injunction to prove his faith by his works and to heal the sick and transform the thought of sinners,—in a word, to bring the thought-world of all with whom he comes in contact into *rappor*t with the divine, harmonious mind of God, whose nature is best expressed in the words, Love, Life and Truth. In his effort to obey the teachings of the Great Nazarene and at all times to reflect the mind that was in Christ Jesus, the young American arouses the antagonism of the head of the missionary group and that of the army surgeon, while winning by his life and the demonstrations that follow his efforts to reveal the divine character of man, one by one, most of the other characters of the story, including the prince, princess and their father, who was a Buddhist, and the erstwhile rigid Hebrew, Lombard. This is done by the life lived, the teaching of the Gospel as the disciples of Christian Science understand the Bible, and by the works which Jesus declared should be the sign that should prove that those who claimed to be his disciples were in deed

and truth his followers. There is from almost the opening chapter a series of deeply interesting and often highly dramatic and exciting happenings, including an insurrection, an abduction and several notable instances of Christian healing, together with a conspiracy on the part of the elder Meredith and Surgeon O'Keefe to discredit Paul Anthony and have him driven from the land. These things being told in flowing English with a skilled pen, together with the love interest that is quite strong in the romance, make a story that will appeal to those who enjoy good fiction, whether or not they are especially interested in Christian Science, provided their prejudices against that faith are not so great as to render them incapable of giving the new teaching a fair and impartial hearing; for without obtruding the teaching in any uninteresting or didactic manner, Mr. Hayes has succeeded in an eminent degree in presenting very clearly the heart of the religious and ethical teachings of Christian Science and the theory on which the Christian Scientists cure disease. Indeed, to those just and fair enough to themselves to wish to get a clear view of precisely what Christian Science teaches in regard to man's relation to God, to his fellowmen, the problems of sin and sickness and how they are destroyed, and the ideal of life, this work, it seems to us, will prove a particularly valuable volume. It is a book that Christian Scientists would do well to circulate very widely, and it is a deeply interesting romance that is very pure and uplifting in its influence and atmosphere,—a good book that merits wide reading.

The Scarlet Shadow. By Walter Hurt. Being a romance dealing largely with the facts connected with the great Colorado conspiracy. Cloth. Pp. 420. Price, \$1.50. Girard, Kansas: The Appeal to Reason.

THIS book is written in the bright, crisp style of the modern alert newspaper man. It contains many strong and some very brilliant passages. It is highly dramatic and often grimly tragic, as would necessarily be the case in any romance treating of the war of extermination waged by the Mine Owners' Association against the Western Federation of Miners. Mr. Hurt has given the side of the miners and has shown in an admirable manner many of the facts in the great conspiracy case. He also rightly holds up for the scorn of honorable citizens the Mine Owners' Association and its ill-

famed servant, Governor Peabody, and the malodorous Pinkerton thugs who wrought so daringly for their capitalistic masters in their effort to destroy the leaders of the great labor organization which the Mine Owners' Association had decreed must be exterminated.

The work, however, is disappointing, because it mingles much history with some romance, and such treatment of so serious a subject is neither as effective as would be a plain, unvarnished history of the case, nor is it wholly legitimate, for it is difficult for the general reader unversed in the facts of the case to sift the imaginative from the real; consequently he is confused as to what is fact and what is fiction.

The description of the political conditions in Colorado is very graphic, and to readers of *THE ARENA*, who have read the masterly papers by the late Hon. J. Warner Mills exposing the corruption of the corporations and the politicians in the Centennial State, and who have also read the *exposé* of Simon Guggenheim and the Colorado senatorial election recently contributed to our pages by Ellis Meredith, this description will not appear overdrawn; and inasmuch as it affords an admirable example of Mr. Hurt's style, we reproduce several paragraphs:

"Colorado is the courtesan among commonwealths—the cyprian of the sisterhood of states—helpless mistress of the money-power, prostituted to the shameless uses of plutocracy.

"It is a land of sharp social contrasts and striking economic antitheses. On the one hand supremest need, on the other surpassing greed. Here the wealthy gourmand suffers acutely from gout and indigestion, while the poor feel the hunger-cancer gnawing forever at their vitals.

"This Centennial State is the paradise of the plutocrat and the purgatory of the proletaire. Here Capitalism revels in Lucullan banquets while Labor sits famishing at a Barmecide feast.

"Denver is the center of government and the capital of Capitalism. Here the powers of plutocracy are intrenched in their insolence.

"With a population of less than 200,000, Denver has forty-seven millionaires.

"Here wealth is concentrated and want is intensified. There is Capitol Hill, with its palatial homes and princely incomes; and there is also the Overland cotton mills, paying the pitiful Southern wage to its hundreds of hopeless child-slaves.

"Five corporations form the political confederacy that owns Colorado. Three of these are exclusively Denver concerns, but the other two do business also in other parts of the state. These corporations are the American Smelting and Refining Company, commonly known as the Smelter Trust, the property of the Guggenheim family, with headquarters in New York and with United States Senator Simon Guggenheim as the resident representative in Colorado; the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, a Standard Oil institution, the strongest rival of the Steel Trust and reputedly independent, but in reality having a working agreement with the Trust regarding the territory in which their respective products are marketed; the Colorado Telephone Company, originally a Denver corporation, but now allied with other telephone companies throughout the state, being a constituent part of that colossal combine, the Bell Telephone Company; the Denver Union Water Company, and the Denver City Tramway Company.

"These corporations have combined their forces for the purpose of political dominion because of their common interest in controlling the officers and courts of the state.

"In state elections Denver is always the strategical point for the reason that the city and county of Denver sends about twenty-five representatives to the general assembly, or one-fourth of the membership of that body. A large delegation is sent also by Pueblo county, wherein are the great works of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and one of the chief plants of the Smelter Trust. Both these corporations also operate mines and smelters in all the important counties of the state, as Las Animas, Lake, Summit, Grand, San Juan, etc. The delegations from these counties, with the Denver delegation, are always sufficient to insure control of the legislature.

"Herein then is found the reason for the political coalition of the corporations. Amidst the factious wars of an impotent opposition they work in absolute harmony like the mated parts of a perfectly adjusted mechanism. The Denver corporations deliver the home delegation, while the Smelter Trust and the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company round up the delegations from the state-at-large. Funds are furnished to the state and different county headquarters direct from the cabal's treasury in Denver. The combination has proved

altogether effective, although at times it has gained its ends only through a tremendous expenditure, for as a rule your Colorado law-maker has a proper sense of his value.

"The active management of this political pool is in the hands of William G. Evans, president of the Denver City Tramway Company and son of former Governor Evans. All orders are issued and all moneys are paid from his office in the Majestic building, all deals being put through in a manner quite as matter-of-fact as if they were legitimate business transactions. He is the political dictator of Denver, where he is popularly known as 'Boss' Evans and merits the title in its most odious significance. He is utterly devoid of partisan bias, Republican and Democratic parties being equally subject to his sway and each impartially scourged with his lash or rewarded with his lucre."

Much of the work is a vivid historic presentation, and so effective is this portion of the book that we specially regret that the author should have mixed romance with the history. The notorious and shameless course of Governor Peabody and his confederates, and the indefensible action of the Mine Owners' Association, constitute one of the blackest pages in the political and industrial history of America, and it is to be sincerely hoped that some strong, brilliant, painstaking and authoritative historian will arise who will give the story of this great conspiracy of wealth and its official minions against labor.

Mr. Hurt's book will appeal to socialists, and if later it is published in a cheap edition it will doubtless enjoy an enormous sale.

Tarbell's Geographical Manual of Palestine in the Time of Christ. Illustrated with colored maps, drawings and half-tones. Boards. Pp. 46. Price, 25 cents. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

SUNDAY-SCHOOL teachers and all persons interested in the study of the Holy Land will find Tarbell's new *Geographical Manual of Palestine in the Time of Christ* a book of special value. It contains a number of very excellent maps two of which are colored,

and there are also several admirable illustrations, while the text is lucid and informing. The following descriptive note by the publishers gives a fair idea of the scope of the volume:

"The introductory section treats of the position and extent of Palestine, its distance from the United States, its boundaries and its size. In the next section the physical regions are fully treated—the Maritime Plain, Central Range, Plain of Esdraelon, Jordan Valley, Jordan River System, Eastern Range. (The large colored relief map gives a better representation of the altitude and depth of Palestine's surface than any other colored map ever issued.) In succeeding sections are treated the climate of Palestine—its temperature, seasons and prevailing winds—the political divisions and characteristics of each, the great highways over the country and the cities by geographical groups. With each locality the events in Christ's life are associated.

"An important feature of the manual is the map work given with each topic. For this purpose outline maps are furnished."

Abe Martin's Almanack for 1908. By Kin Hubbard. With Illustrations by the Author. Cloth. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS volume, according to the title page, contains "timely hints to farmers and young women, actual facts about the moon, astrological lore, true explanation of dreams, famous political speeches, rare philosophical musings, and much valuable information along many lines, by such notable minds as Hon. Ex-Editor Cale Fluhart, Constable Newt Plum, and his Son-in-law, Pinky Kerr, Tilford Moots, Niles Turner, Miss Fawn Lippincut, Prof. Alex. Tansey and Doctor Mopps, Esq., together with hundreds of brand-new epigrams by Abe Martin."

Persons who enjoy the quaint humor and homely observations of Kin Hubbard, the popular funny man of the *Indianapolis News*, will take very kindly to this book. It far surpasses, we think, his previous volume.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE DIRECT-VOTE SYSTEM: In this issue *THE ARENA* gives a survey of the campaign that has been waged in recent years in the interest of genuine popular government or for the purpose of so safeguarding the people's interests as to prevent the Republic from ceasing to be a popular government and becoming the creature of privileged classes acting through political bosses and money-controlled machines. Mr. WILLIAM D. MACKENZIE, the author, accompanying his paper with a number of pictures of prominent workers among the Direct-Legislation forces in America and also by several pictures of leading American statesmen, jurists and publicists who have come out unequivocally in favor of Direct-Legislation. No movement of the hour is so clearly essential to the best interests of the people or so vital to the very life of a popular government as Direct-Legislation; and no patriot, no man who loves and believes in a democratic republic can fail to rejoice to see great Republican and Democratic states like Oregon and Oklahoma coming out in so clear and unequivocal a manner for popular rule.

The Rimini Story in Modern Drama: Last month Professor ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, Ph.D. gave our readers a masterly and brilliant sketch of the story of Rimini. In this paper he deals with the great Rimini dramas that have embodied the popular but tragic historical incident. Like everything that comes from the pen of this gifted and discriminating critic, this paper is masterly and satisfying.

Justice Clark on Judicial Supremacy: Elsewhere in a note we speak of the exceptionally able discussion of the menace to free institutions of an uncontrolled and autocratic judiciary, by the Chief-Justice of North Carolina. In a personal letter received a few days ago from the governor of one of the leading Southern commonwealths, the writer said:

"I read everything with avidity from the pen of Justice CLARK. I wish we had more men like him. They are very much needed now."

This statesman merely echoed a sentiment expressed to us from time to time by numbers of prominent and conscientious thinkers. For more than a score of years Justice CLARK has been prominently before the people in positions of great trust and honor, and during all this time he has not only evinced the ability of a profound statesman and jurist but he has ever been true to the highest interests of the people and faithful to the fundamental principles of genuine democracy. He is a statesman after the order of JEFFERSON and would fill with conspicuous ability, honor and faithfulness any office in the gift of the people.

The Ebb of Ecclesiasticism: We wish to call the especial attention of our readers to the masterly paper from the scholarly pen of GEORGE ALLAN ENGLAND, A.M. It is, we think, one of the most striking not to say startling papers on religious conditions that has appeared in years,—more an authoritative revelation of the present-day status of conventional and dogmatic theology, based on statistics and opinions chiefly from leading authorities in the various churches, than an argument. This contribution will occasion widespread controversy. It is a presentation that cannot be ignored.

The Peopling of Canada: Mr. FRANK VROOMAN who has recently returned from extended travels throughout all the great new provinces and states of the Canadian Northwest, contributes a paper of exceptional interest to this issue; a contribution as fascinating as a romance and as full of information as a dry-as-dust report of a scholastic investigator. No reader can afford to ignore this pleasing and informing contribution.

A Possible Way Out: The Hon. LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN, ex-Governor of Rhode Island, presents a possible way out of the politico-economic labyrinth that merits the attention of thoughtful people. For several years the advance guard among statesmen, publicists and reformers were compelled to devote most of their attention to uncovering evils and clearly establishing facts to prove their contentions, which the grafters, the bosses, the reactionary politicians and the great corrupt and corrupting masters of the money-controlled machine ever denounce as false and absurd. But developments during recent years have clearly established the truth of the contention of the reformers. Now it is the duty of the advance guard to show the people the pathway out of the land of bondage in which they have been held by the unholy alliance of political bosses, money-controlled machines and privilege-seeking corporations and trusts. *THE ARENA* is devoting much space to this problem, which in the nature of the case is constructive in character. Governor GARVIN's contribution belongs to this class and is richly worth a careful perusal.

The Wonderful Life of Benjamin Franklin and His Great Service to Civilization: Our Book-Study this month is devoted to the life and times of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, a subject very timely and important when unrepublican servants of reaction and oppression are uniting with privileged interests in everywhere seeking to subtly undo the great work wrought by FRANKLIN, JEFFERSON, WASHINGTON and the fathers who founded the greatest free state known to history.

Was Mansfield A Genius? In HARRY WAND-MACHER's paper on MANSFIELD we have a critical examination of the acting of the late RICHARD MANSFIELD with an estimate of his claim to genius. The author frankly admits the many serious faults that marked Mr. MANSFIELD's art but holds that his work in the greatest scenes stamped him a true genius. The paper is illustrated with some fine portraits of Mr. MANSFIELD in various rôles.

The Master Builder: Mr. MAILLY our special dramatic critic and correspondent in the metropolis, contributes a discriminating paper on IBSEN's great play, "The Master Builder," and its remarkable recent production in New York. It is the purpose of THE ARENA from time to time to publish illuminat-

ing criticisms of really great plays that are brought out on the American stage so as to keep our readers in touch with the most vital thought that is being presented in the drama.

The Symbolism of "The Tempest": We trust that no reader of THE ARENA will overlook the brief but profoundly thoughtful paper on *The Symbolism of "The Tempest"* which appears in this issue from the scholarly pen of GEORGE HERBERT CLARKE. Mr. CLARKE possesses the interior insight of the true poet and the broad intellectual vision of the philosopher. He has made a profound study of SHAKESPEARE and everything he writes on the plays of our greatest dramatist is thought-arresting and germinal in its influence.



ALFRED O. CROZIER.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them.—HEINE.*

The Arena

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THE LIFE AND ART OF F. EDWIN ELWELL.

By B. O. FLOWER.

I.

AMONG the many picturesque villages and towns of Massachusetts that environ Boston, no place holds such charm and interest for patriot, scholar and nature-lover as Concord. It was here that the first resolute stand was taken by self-forgetting and rugged sons of freedom, from farm, shop and office, in the opening conflict of the most momentous revolution known to history,—the revolution that ushered in the age of popular rule. Here were felt the first birth-pangs preceding the advent of the latest and fairest child of government—democracy. As Emerson later so happily phrased it,

"Here once the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world."

This accident of history will ever make Concord a shrine of interest for lovers of freedom.

As the nineteenth century approached her meridian, this quiet and picturesque little town rejoiced in a new and noble distinction. She became a miniature intellectual capital—a diffuser of the light of moral idealism and intellectual culture, as here dwelt a coterie of thinkers

marked preëminently for their moral worth, their love of nature and their penetrating mental vision. Of this group Ralph Waldo Emerson was the most distinguished. He was, we think, beyond question the greatest ethical philosopher and the most thought-stimulating essayist and poet that America had given to the world. His writings were among the first literary work whose high excellence commanded the interested attention of the thoughtful of Europe.

Nathaniel Hawthorne at this time also formed one of the brilliant Concord group. He was our first great novelist who combined at once rich imagination, subtle penetration, delicate humor and a graceful and fascinating style.

Here also lived Henry Thoreau, the nature-loving philosopher; a college man whose life voiced more eloquently than any of our writers the sentiment expressed by Byron when he wrote:

"There is a pleasure in the pathless woods;
There is a rapture on the lonely shore;
There is society where none intrudes,
By the deep Sea, and music in its roar:
I love not man the less, but nature more,
From these our interviews, in which I steal
To mingle with the Universe, and feel
What I can ne'er express, yet cannot all conceal."



ELWELL AT THE TIME OF DICKENS AND LITTLE NELL, AND THE EQUESTRIAN OF HANCOCK

Thoreau and Emerson, more than all other of our early writers, awakened the thoughtful to the beauty, meaning and message of nature.

Bronson Alcott, philosopher and educator, and his gifted daughter, Louisa, whose charming stories brought joy into tens of thousands of children's lives, and her artist sister, May, were other distinguished persons who added to the moral greatness and intellectual wealth of the Concord of this period.

Though eccentricity marked the lives of some of this group, moral idealism and intellectual penetration were distinguishing characteristics, and the influence that emanated from them could not be other than spiritually and mentally stimulating.

At this period, when Concord was thus one of the moral and mental germinal centers, two lads were passing through the formative period of youth: one in a home of wealth, surrounded by all that refinement could bestow;

the other in a home of poverty. Both were destined to win international reputations as sculptors of great ability. It is of the life, the struggles, the triumph and the service to American art of the child of poverty that it is our purpose to speak.

II.

Frank Edwin Elwell was born on June 15, 1858. When four years of age he was left an orphan and adopted into the home of his grandfather, Elisha Farrar. This foster-father of the boy was a blacksmith, a man of simple habits and possessing little of this world's goods; but he belonged to the race of sturdy giants of character which make nations great. His moral worth was recognized by all, and one of his most intimate friends was the philosopher Thoreau, both men being passionate lovers of nature, poets and philosophers alike. Both were simple, sincere and genuine in character, and on Sundays

and holidays they were wont to journey into the woods to worship God by studying His handiwork and coming into rapport with His brooding spirit. At such times little Edwin usually accompanied them, and these hours are among the most treasured memories of his early years. The two men opened his eyes to the witching charm of the Great Mother, ever garmented in glory. With a poet's imagination and much of the interior vision of the mystic in his nature, the lad eagerly drank in the great truths, while his imaginative faculties were so awakened that never again could he be other than a poet-artist.

The poverty of the family made it necessary for the boy to earn his own clothing from the time he was eight years of age. This was done by rising very early in the morning and working for a farmer until school time. On Saturdays he toiled in his grandfather's blacksmith shop, assisting the old gentleman in the construction or mending of machines and in molding things in iron. The influence of this simple-hearted and essentially great typical American on the boy's mental and moral make-up was profound and life-encompassing. One incident made an indelible impression on his mind.



F. Edwin Elwell, Sculptor.

"THE FLAG."

Rhode Island State Monument, at Vicksburg, Miss.
From the Clay.

A dishonorable person had defrauded the old blacksmith, and his neighbors were greatly exercised about his taking the wrong so quietly. At length they determined to go in a body and remonstrate with him. On entering the blacksmith shop the spokesman said:

"'Lisha, if I were you I would have the law on that scamp who defrauded you or I would go and knock him down."

The quiet lover of nature worked the bellows of his forge for a little while in silence; then turning to the people in the shop he rose to his full height and with great dignity of manner said:

"Sirs, in time he will have his reward; in time I shall have mine."

The neighbors stayed for a few moments; then one by one they filed out and the two, the grandfather and grandson, were left alone and the evening stole upon them without another word. But as the fitful flame of the forge lighted up the face of the old man, the boy studied his countenance with new interest and admiration. The moral grandeur of the grandfather had touched and awakened deathless emotions in the mind of the child. It was germinal in effect and not long since the now great sculptor in narrating to us this incident said:

"The words and conduct of my grandfather were so essentially great that they made an indelible impression on my mind,—so much so that ever since, when I have felt I was wronged, instead of seeking the courts or visiting bodily harm on those who have unjustly treated me, I have followed my lamented grandfather's example, knowing that in time they will have their reward; in time I shall have mine."

The influence of the grandmother on the child's mind was less beneficent. Mrs. Farrar was a typical product of the theology of the Mathers and Michael Wigglesworth. To her God was a jealous and vengeful Deity who demanded that His children should regularly frequent His house of worship, to engage in forms and rites and lip service, else they might expect His relentless displeasure. Young Elwell found more satisfaction in roaming the woods than in listening to the long prayers and tedious sermons that were the order of the day. He accordingly received from the pious grandmother several severe thrashings that were unforgettable, though they not only failed of their desired effect, but served to make the child grow up in dread and fear of his grandmother's God. Later, after the death of the grandfather, the grandmother became much softened, and the

child and the aged woman, sharing the same great grief came very close together. The boy went regularly to church with his grandmother, but his young heart always revolted against the hell-fire and brimstone doctrine so popular at that time.

Among the boy's vivid and pleasing recollections of early years is the memory of Emerson, and because it is so suggestive of the fact that none of us live unto ourselves and that from us goes forth a subtle influence that touches and consciously or unconsciously exalts or depresses life's motor springs, we mention it here.

"I can never forget," said the sculptor, in the course of a conversation, "the strong, subtle influence which the poet and philosopher always exerted over us boys. We were young, thoughtless, and given to the rough pranks which characterize childhood, but the indefinable influence of Mr. Emerson, whose supreme self-mastery was only exceeded by his sweetness of spirit, exerted a strange power over us. His face always seemed luminous to me, and his smile was something that not even a thoughtless boy could forget. I very distinctly recollect one time when a number of us were in the woods. Very likely we were up to some mischief, but of that I do not remember. Suddenly one of our number said, 'Here comes Mr. Emerson,' and instinctively, as by common consent, every one of us took off our caps while the silent sage passed by."

When the boy had barely passed through the high school, his loved grandfather died. The loss of this one who had been more than a father to the boy darkened his young life for many months, and with that death came pinching poverty. His food was of the plainest and often it was insufficient, and he was compelled to clothe himself in his grandfather's old garments. But kind hearts were not wanting which went out in love and sympathy to the twice orphaned child. Louisa Alcott



F. Edwin Elwell, Sculptor.

"THE DISPATCH RIDER."

From the Plaster in the Studio at Weehawken.

finest elements in man's nature. If our people were wise enough to build on enduring foundations, by calling forth the high ideals of the noblest men of genius in all departments of culture and refinement, to beautify the city, state and nation and enlighten the brain of the people, awakening it on the Godward side as well as stimulating the intellect, we should find men like F. Edwin Elwell taxed to their utmost capacity by municipal and national governments to create works that would be nobly educative in influence on every beholder, awakening sentiments of patriotism, nobility, love, humanity and justice and also quickening the intellectual faculties in such a way as to lead the beholder to read and investigate.

To appreciate this, let the reader contemplate for a few moments the picture of Mr. Elwell's statues, "The Flag" and "The Dispatch-Rider." Here are life and soul; here is a subtle power

that instantly appeals to the patriotism and the essential heroism in man.

Now turn to the exquisite and compelling "Little Nell" and note how it appeals to the heart. Let us suppose the beholder is a child or an art-loving emigrant recently Americanized. How eager either one would be to know more of Dickens and the story of Little Nell.

Again, turn to the allegorical or symbolic creation recently made by the sculptor for the New York Custom-House, entitled "Rome." How much is conveyed by that masterful but soul-stified figure who is crushing the barbarian with force instead of leading him upward by the path of love. Rome's way has been the world's way, which is precisely the opposite of the Christ's way.

These pictures explain what we wish to impress in regard to the educative value to the brain and soul of the people, and especially the young, to be gained from great and noble art—art that is glorified and reinforced by moral idealism and the imaginative power of the genius of poet soul.

If the nation, instead of squandering millions upon millions in armaments and military expenditures that encourage rather than discourage that greatest of all crimes against civilization—war, should devote one-third of the money thus annually appropriated to coast defenses, one-third to fostering measures that would encourage international fraternalism and favor compulsory arbitration, and with the other one-third of the sum thus saved the government should call to her service the greatest artists, sculptors, architects, practical educators, inventors and men of genius, to create works that should minister to the highest side of man's nature, thus exerting a lasting influence for moral upliftment and mental awakening; she would soon again become not only the greatest moral leader in civilization's family, but in the Republic there would soon be an art renaissance of which the Periclean



"A SERIOUS THOUGHT."

Marble by F. Edwin Elwell.



F. Edwin Elwell, Sculptor.

"KRONOS."

Fountain at Pan-American Exposition.

Made for Carrere and Hastings, Architects, New York City.

Age of Greece and the Renaissance of Italy would be but the prophecy, complementing a summer-time in poetry and music such as the world has never known; because here we have a fusion of all the nations that have given the Western world her greatest triumphs in art, literature, poetry, music and philosophy.

As yet the mortal blight of moral decay has not stricken our national life, and though it is doubtless true that the materialism of the market and the amazing growth of the gambling spirit throughout the Republic since the ascendancy of

Wall street and the birth of modern high finance, have faced our Republic in the direction in which Rome went after the downfall of the Gracchi, the heart of America is yet sound, and all that is necessary is to so arouse the moral idealism or spiritual enthusiasm of the nation that it will return to the old paths, making the spirit that was dominant when the Declaration of Independence was signed again the controlling spirit of the nation, substituting justice and altruism for greed and egoism and insisting that first and foremost the fundamental principles of free government—equality of

opportunities and of rights—shall be reenthroned. This done, and the Republic will soon become the crown and glory of civilization.

V.

Space renders it impossible to mention more than a few typical examples of Mr. Elwell's art creations which have gained for him an international reputation. Many of his admirers regard his Dickens group as one of his masterpieces. This work consists of a wonderfully life-like representation of Charles Dickens, seated, and by his side stands Little Nell. The face of the great novelist, like all Mr. Elwell's portraiture, is almost startling in its lifelikeness.



MONUMENT AT EDAM, HOLLAND.

First Monument by an American-born Sculptor to be erected in Europe.

Commission given by Krusman Von Elten, Artist.

You involuntarily imagine that Dickens will speak while you are contemplating the statue. But, fine as is the seated figure, it appeals less powerfully to the imagination than the wonderful creation of Little Nell. This group was given a place of honor in the section devoted to American sculpture in the Fine Arts building at the Chicago World's Fair. "Diana and the Lion" or "Intelligence Subduing Brute Force" was also exhibited at that time. The Dickens group was subsequently exhibited at the Art Club of Philadelphia, where it was awarded a gold medal. Later it was purchased by the Fairmount Art Association, of Philadelphia. "Diana and the Lion" occupies a place in the Gallery of Modern Masters in the Art Institution of Chicago.

Perhaps one of Mr. Elwell's most famous pieces of work is his heroic statue of General Hancock, mounted on a splendid charger, which adorns the battlefield of Gettysburg.

"The Flag," the Rhode Island State monument at Vicksburg, Mississippi, is a most striking creation, instinct with human interest; while some idea of the wide range of the artist's imaginative power will be realized if from this picture we turn to his wonderful symbolic statue, "Egypt Awakening," in which we see, though the feet and limbs are yet encased in the stone of the dead past, the body is alive and the brain luminously awake. In the upraised hand modern Egypt holds the lotus, the symbol of spiritual truth.

"A Serious Thought" is an exquisite creation, as nobly suggestive of thought and contemplation as is "The Flag" of intense action and aroused patriotism.

In symbolic representations Mr. Elwell has, we think, no peer in America. It will be interesting to turn from "Egypt Awakening" to the picture of his statue of "Classic Art" and study this representation. The art of Egypt, Chaldea and Assyria, however strong in symbolism and suggestive it might be, failed sig-



F. Edwin Elwell, Sculptor.

"CLASSIC ART."
Art Museum, St. Louis, Mo.

nally in representing life in its grace, beauty and naturalness. Grecian sculptors made a marvelous advance in this respect. Indeed, the gifted sons of this old mother of European art and letters reached perfection in portraying the physical man and woman, their strength, power, grace and beauty; but Greece did not portray the awakened soul. Indeed, the soul side of life has as a rule eluded both sculptors and painters throughout past ages. It is only of comparatively recent date, since the advent of democracy, that art has begun to reflect the deeper and more subtle qualities of brain and soul, and in this noble advance American sculpture is taking a prominent place. We believe that the art of the twentieth century will become the greatest art of the ages, because it will be most full-orbed. It will not only shadow forth physical charm, strength and beauty, but also the intellectual life.

Now returning to Mr. Elwell's "Classic Art," let us compare the face with that represented in "The Flag" or "The Dispatch Rider," and we shall readily see the difference between classic art and the soulful twentieth-century concept. In the former statue we have grace of form, regularity of feature and physical charm but the soul quality is wanting.

In "Rome," to which we have already alluded, and in "Kronos," we have further illustrations of Mr. Elwell's power as a sculptor of allegorical and symbolical creations.

"The Dispatch Rider" is an exceptionally impressive statue, and the history of its genesis is interesting. One day Mr. Alden Freeman of Orange, New Jersey, came to Mr. Elwell's office at the Metropolitan Museum in New York and said: "We are going to have a monument put up at Orange, and I am afraid that it will get into the hands of some stone-cutter. Now if you could make me a sketch or tell me of some idea that would be attractive, I will see what can be done."

On the instant Mr. Elwell took his pencil and drew in rough outline what now stands at the corner of Scotland and Main streets, in Orange. This is what he calls inspiration, and he has often said that the trouble with modern education is that it kills the ability of a human soul to seize an inspiration, and the machinery of education so clogs the way that all sorts of things, like conceits of learning, get the better of that message from the Infinite, Who is well able to bring it to the mind of him who can receive it in spirit and in truth.

It is a great thing for America that she has a band of high-minded artists, educators and poets who place character before all else and are thoroughly honest, sincere and loyal to the high demands of art; and among this band we know of no one more entitled to a high place than F. Edwin Elwell.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

THE RECENT PANIC AND THE PRESENT DEADLY PERIL TO AMERICAN PROSPERITY.

BY ALFRED O. CROZIER.

PRESIDENT BARNEY is dead. It was suicide. He had committed no crime. Mortification because of the failure of the great financial institution he had builded with such patience and effort unhinged his mind. The Knickerbocker Trust Company was as sound as any Wall-street bank or trust company. The forced decline of the price-market had caused enormous shrinkage, but every bank does not reveal such losses by honest bookkeeping. Every banker knows that *no* bank can survive a persistent "run" without outside aid. This is why country bankers fear to oppose the practices of the big Wall-street banks. They may need their aid in some pinch. This fact vastly increases the evil power of those who dominate the great New York banks. The solvency of any bank depends on two things. First, confidence of its depositors. Second, outside and adequate aid in an emergency. To wreck the institution, it is only necessary either to cause a "run" by discrediting it publicly, or refuse it outside financial assistance to meet withdrawal of deposits. Banking is a bluff,—all banking. At all hazards, its depositors some way must be made to believe the bank unbreakable. Only thus can "runs" be avoided. Banking is a gamble,—all banking. No bank is absolutely certain it can obtain sufficient outside assistance quick enough to pay all depositors on demand in event of a "run."

The National Bank of Commerce long had been the member of the Clearing House to act as agent and clear for the Knickerbocker Trust Company. One day last November, and, it is said, without notice, the bank suddenly refused to clear for the trust company to

the extent of some \$8,000,000 of checks. This fact was emblazoned with scare-heads in the newspapers. Of course the run by frightened depositors immediately followed. The great financial institution, one of the largest, strongest and most proud in the land, closed—a wreck. It would be the same if any other bank or trust company in the country were selected as the target and similarly treated.

Wide publication of these menacing facts started every one of the twelve thousand banks of the United States to hoarding money and calling their loans against industrial and commercial borrowers. They feared the most timid of their depositors might take alarm and bank their savings in their stockings instead of the banks. This general action caused a vast and quick contraction of the available money supply. And it caused a ten-fold greater contraction of that credit on which ninety per cent. of the business of the country is done. Great industries smothered with profitable orders closed down for lack of ready money to meet pay-rolls. Railroads stopped vast improvements. Hundreds of thousands of workmen were thrown out of employment without warning, and their wives and children confronted with suffering, privation, want and, perhaps, the bitter taste of public charity.

The uneasy depositors of other banks and trust companies naturally took alarm. Runs on many began. Some closed. Others paid out tens of millions, which disappeared from circulation and use. This contraction further complicated things. A half-billion was loaned on call on Wall-street listed securities. With this good excuse, or real necessity

so caused, loans were called wholesale. The weight of these immense offerings smashed the price-fabric, from under which support by the pools already had been largely withdrawn. Prices dropped vertically like a shot. The losses of the American people on the listed securities they were holding totaled billions. Panic reigned.

If reports are correct, Wall street ordered the Federal government to place the public treasury at its disposal. This was done. It was the bluff that worked. It quieted depositors and stopped runs that otherwise might have wrecked the entire system of banks and trust companies, to the loss of Wall street itself. Tens of millions of public money was deposited in the banks without interest to further secure depositors, but was immediately loaned out to favored ones among the dominating factors and enabled them to harvest at bottom prices the securities the people were forced to sacrifice because they no longer could borrow of the banks.

Was the panic artificial? If deliberately caused by men whose experience told them it would induce suicides, then those men are criminals in morals if not in law. They should be indicted for causing the death of President Barney, for they knew suicide would be the natural and inevitable result of the panic. It is proper to state some facts and ask some questions. The public can draw its own conclusions as to how the panic started. Who caused the National Bank of Commerce to suddenly refuse to further clear for the Knickerbocker? Who caused this act to be so exploited in the public press? What was their object? Are those great Wall-street operators who most profited through the panic the same men who dominate this bank?

For years J. Pierpont Morgan has been considered the mightiest force in Wall street. The billion-dollar steel trust acknowledges him as its creator. This trust benevolently assimilated at a bargain the Tennessee Coal and Iron

Company, its principal competitor, when the panic had put its chief owners in a financial hole. Mr. Morgan is said to be the dominant factor in the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad. Its monopoly of the New England traffic was menaced by the competition of Morse's \$60,000,000 coast-wise shipping trust, and by the Port Chester Railroad's proposed through line from New York to Boston. The New Haven road is reported to have gobbled up both of these competitors for a mere song, the former owners, who presumed to engage in the enterprise without the consent of certain all-powerful parties, being practically ruined. It was a forceful object-lesson to all, of the fate prepared for those who dare to organize industries and transportation lines to serve the people and develop the country, without getting the consent of the few giants who rule the trusts and the railroads of the country, presenting them with control and the lion's share. Other industries and enterprises throughout the country likewise were driven by the created panic into the pawn-shop of Wall street, there to be sand-bagged and seized by the inside few who knew in advance that the panic was coming and thus were able to accumulate the ready cash by selling to the confiding public securities they knew they soon would be able to buy back at half the price they sold them for.

Who created the panic? Wall street shouts, Roosevelt. Carnegie lays it on to Providence. But the man caught wearing another's stolen clothes usually is promptly arrested, at least on suspicion, and his mere word that he came by the garments honestly is not accepted as conclusive and final.

It must not be forgotten that there was among Wall street's national banks bitter hatred and envy toward the trust companies because they were not subject to the same legal restraints, and particularly because their higher interest rate paid for deposits was attracting

money the banks otherwise would have obtained. If the soundness of the trust companies could be discredited, and their power to oppose weakened, it would be easy to get the legislature of New York, soon to be again in session, to pile on a few extra burdens, and incidentally the depositing public might be frightened into pulling its money out of the trust companies and putting it into the banks. Albany, under the advice of eminent Wall-street bankers, is now forging the legal hand-cuffs with which the trust companies are to be shackled, the keys to which henceforth will be carried by the masters of the Wall-street banks.

What a useful thing a providential panic is—to a few men. What a curse to the other eighty-five millions!

Then to have Providence think so happily to send it immediately before the session of Congress at which the big conspirators of Wall street purpose forcing through a law giving them a stranglehold on the entire currency supply of the people, so they can contract and expand the volume of money at their will for the purpose of artificially raising and lowering at their pleasure and for their profit the prices of stocks and property, and for reducing wages. For years Congress refused to repeal the provision of the national banking law against contracting or retiring more than \$3,000,000 per month of national bank currency. It considered the power to suddenly contract in large amount the volume of the people's money too dangerous a power to put into the hands of banks or private parties. But, if Congress passes the Aldrich bill in its present form, it will be possible to contract the supply of currency a quarter of a billion dollars in one day. If the greatest legislative ambition of Wall street is realized, a privately-owned central government bank, with absolute control over the volume of the currency of the country, and unrestricted power to contract and expand it at pleasure, Wall street's secret

masters of that bank will soon own the whole United States in fee simple. Also, hereafter they will dictate the nomination and election of the Nation's Chief Magistrate, who will ever rule the Republic for their profit-lust.

It is the game of the ages. It is the conquest of the conquests of all history. (It is a struggle to capitalize for the benefit of private greed the welfare of the greatest nation in the world and the liberties of its inhabitants.) Yet, on the very brink of this chasm the people are asleep! They have been lulled to slumber and then chloroformed with the sweet siren music about an elastic currency which will automatically expand and contract with the volume of business. The entire country is keeping step to the rhythmic tune. Few seem to understand that what Congress at this moment seriously contemplates granting is an elastic currency with control over its expansion and contraction taken away from the government, where the Constitution put it, and given into private hands in a way to make it possible to contract the currency when the demand and volume of business is the greatest. This would create fearful panic. And panics, as we have seen, are the bargain-days when Wall street goes shopping; the days when the balance of the people are sold out of house and home by the sheriff

If contraction of some \$50,000,000 by depositors in a week can work the recent nation-wide havoc, what sometime may we not expect if Congress makes it possible to take away from the people and destroy a fourth of a billion dollars of money in twenty-four hours? The nation is face to face with one of the most deadly perils in all its history. The good Lord has caused factions among the piratical grafters, disguised as financiers, in their present assault upon the people's fountain of law. One faction would profit more from the Aldrich scheme; another, the central government bank; still another, the asset currency. Each plan is

selfish and sordid. All strive to take from the government and put into private hands for private profit the control over the money of the people. They ask to be granted by law a monopoly of the money supply, that they may force the producers of the country to pay higher interest rates and accept lower prices for the products of human toil. The law makes other monopolies crimes.

If we must have an elastic emergency currency at all why farm it out to the banks? Why give the benefits only to national banks? Why not let the government itself issue it to any one willing to pay the high tax and who puts up the proper security in the way of government or first-class municipal bonds? The law of supply and demand would then regulate the volume unobstructed. The Aldrich bill makes it impossible for the government on its own initiative to issue a single dollar of the emergency currency even to comply with general public sentiment or to relieve a wide necessity. It must wait for the banks to act. The banks will not act so long

as high interest makes it more profitable for them not to do so.

This currency legislation will give Wall street a far greater panic-making power even than what it now has. The fearful panic of 1893 could be duplicated at any moment. We must take away instead of adding to Wall street's power for mischief. No one desires to harm its legitimate business. But the fight to utterly destroy its lawless and dangerous powers and practices is now on. Margin gambling must be made a felony. Usurious rates on call loans must be stopped by law. These two things accomplished, the country would be emancipated from Wall street, and freed from the perpetual menace of created panics. There would then be no currency problem to solve. The campaign of 1908 will witness a great struggle by the people to shake off the strangling grip of Wall street from the throat of the country's prosperity.

ALFRED O. CROZIER.

Wilmington, Del.

COÖPERATION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

BY J. C. GRAY.

THE CO-OPERATIVE movement is by no means confined to Great Britain. The application of coöperative ideals and principles to industrial and commercial relationships may be found in some form or other in most parts of the world, but it is in Great Britain more particularly that there has been developed a form of coöperative enterprise, based on the *organisation of working men and women in business and industry*, with the object of improving the conditions of their lives as workers and raising themselves in the social scale.

Coöperation in Great Britain is not a

patronage movement. It is not a movement in which good men and philanthropists work *downwards* for the benefit of those who are on a lower platform of life, but is a force working *upward* from the people themselves: people impressed with the necessities of their position; who are inspired by hope and confidence in their own powers to improve that position; and who have learned that even the poor and weak by union and combination may achieve great things. The ideal of "Coöperation" is that most, if not all, of our social and industrial evils may be removed by the honest coöperation and

working together of men and women concerned in the various affairs of life. Therefore all true coöperation must be carried on for the good of the community and not for the benefit of the few. Coöperation must be open to all comers on equal terms, and should never be allowed to develop into a class movement.

Coöperation was born in poverty,—had its rise in the necessities of poor men and women, ill nourished and badly paid. It was a protest against the misuse of capital in the hands of rich men, and it was an attempt to obtain, by union of effort, an inflow of capital into the hands of working men to be used by them for the benefit of themselves and their fellowmen. The pioneers of the Coöperative movement had no quarrel with capital itself, they disagreed only with the manner in which it was used by the people who owned it; they claimed that they did not get sufficient of the product of capital through labor, therefore they determined to build up capital for themselves not so much as individuals but as a class. That, from the commencement, has been the object of Coöperation—the increase of wealth for the workingman, to be used in the elevation of his industrial and social condition, and that of his class generally. It may be that in many cases the ideal has been lost sight of and men have been content when by combined efforts with others they have obtained a small share of the world's wealth for themselves, and have then used it in their own interests only; but the results of Coöperation show that a member of a coöperative community cannot benefit himself without at the same time helping to benefit others, and the combined efforts of all have thus resulted in an accumulation of both wealth and energies which have had far-reaching effect. Let us clearly understand, then, that Coöperation is not a commercial or money-making movement; its true aim is the social and industrial elevation of the people. True, Coöperation may make money and accumulate wealth for its adherents, but this is simply a result of the

process and is not the object itself. If the accumulation of funds in a coöperative society does not lead to better conditions of life in the workshop, in the home, and in all the social surroundings of the people, then it has failed in the object for which it was founded.

There are so many spurious forms of Coöperation seeking public support at the present day that it is as well we should be able to form a definite opinion as to what Coöperation really is. Whenever any so-called coöperative scheme seeks public financial support it should at once arouse suspicion if it cannot show that it has behind it that most essential element of success, viz.: a body of people (if only small) who are convinced of its necessity and who are willing to devote themselves and their means to the attainment of its objects. Coöperation does not require numbers in order to be successful. Ten, or one hundred, men and women can coöperate as effectively and successfully as ten thousand if they are only loyal and devoted to the objects of the society which they combine to form; the addition of members and trade except by a reduction in working expenses does not bring any more profit or advantage to the original members, because each member shares in benefits only in accordance with the support he has given to the society. Therefore no person should be urged to become a coöperator unless he has become personally convinced of its merits and is determined to give his loyal and undivided support. Coöperation does not advertise for supporters in trade; it seeks converts to its ideals and methods. It is not a scheme for capturing the trade of outsiders and non-sympathizers, with cheap bargains; it seeks loyal members to support it ideals and purchase goods which have been produced under conditions fair, both to worker and customer. It seeks not to enrich the already wealthy capitalist, but to find an honest use for the capital of its members at a just and reasonable rate of remuneration, and it seeks, more than all

else, that those who labor and produce the wealth of the world shall have their just share of the product.

Coöperation in Great Britain may be said to have made a practical beginning in 1844 with the foundation of the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers Coöperative Society. It would be difficult to imagine anything more unpromising than the commencement of this small and insignificant society, which was destined in after years to exercise such a great influence on the commercial and industrial life of Great Britain. With a capital of less than £30, contributed in small weekly instalments by a few devoted and earnest, but very poor men; and with a small shop which at first was opened only in the evening, and all services rendered free and willingly by the members after their ordinary day's work was done, it was scarcely to be expected that such great and lasting results should follow; but the figures quoted hereafter will show that the devoted efforts of these pioneers have not gone unrewarded. The program of these early pioneers has often been told, but it will bear restating if only for the purpose of showing the ideals and aims which they had in view. It has been previously pointed out that the essence of coöperative activity is to produce wealth and accumulate funds for the advancement of social and industrial life. Let us see how this statement is borne out by the original program of the pioneers, which reads as follows:

"The objects and plans of this Society are to form arrangements for the pecuniary benefits and the improvement of the social and domestic condition of its members, by raising a sufficient amount of capital in shares of £1 each, to bring into operation the following plans and arrangements:

"The establishment of a Store for the sale of provisions, clothing, etc.

"The building, purchasing, or erecting a number of houses, in which those members, desiring to assist each other in improving their domestic and social condition, may reside.

"To commence the manufacture of such articles as the Society may determine upon, for the employment of such members as may be without employment, or who may be suffering in consequence of repeated reductions in their wages.

"As a further benefit and security to the members of this Society, the Society shall purchase or rent an estate or estates of land which shall be cultivated by the members who may be out of employment, or whose labor may be badly remunerated.

"As soon as practicable this Society shall proceed to arrange the powers of production, distribution, Education and Government; or, in other words, to establish a self-supporting home-colony of united interests, or assist other Societies in establishing such colonies."

(1) To start a store and supply themselves with the necessaries of life and so secure for themselves the surplus or margin which under ordinary circumstances would have gone to the shopkeeper.

(2) To accumulate the surplus so obtained until they were able to establish workshops and factories, and thus employ themselves and their families under the best possible conditions as regards wages and conditions of labor.

(3) To proceed and further use the profits of shopkeeping and manufacturing for the provision of better houses with sanitary provisions and other comforts and luxuries previously unobtainable by the working classes.

(4) To provide for the better education and culture of themselves and their children; and finally

(5) By means of this accumulation of wealth to provide a better system of social government by the formation of home colonies.

This was a bold program to be formulated by a few poor working men, and at first sight would seem impossible of attainment. We will now see how it has worked out.

At the end of 1906 the position of the Coöperative Societies registered to carry

on the business of retail stores was as under:

Number of Societies.....	1,448
Number of members in these Societies.....	2,222,417
Amount of capital in shares.....	£27,350,588
Loans.....	£4,317,526
Reserve Funds.....	£1,694,436
Value of stock in Trade.....	£7,087,235
Value of Land and Buildings used for Trade purposes.....	£11,363,918
Investments in House Property.....	£6,706,867
Investments in Railway Companies, Municipal Corporations and other bodies.....	£11,239,642
Number of Employés.....	76,190
Trade for 1906.....	£63,353,772
Profit for 1906.....	£9,972,250
Interest on Share Capital.....	£1,108,869
Wages of Employés.....	£4,173,198
Bonus on Wages.....	£45,809
Grants for Educational Purposes.....	£38,952
Grants for Charitable Purposes.....	£38,709

These societies, without except on, are all established and managed by working people. Their constitution is democratic, each member having only one vote whether he hold £200 or only £1 in the shares of the Society. Two hundred pounds is the limit fixed by law as the amount which any individual may hold in the shares of a coöperative society. The Committee of Management is elected from and by the members at the general meetings, which are held quarterly, or half-yearly, as may be provided in the rules. A detailed report and balance-sheet is submitted by the committee to each quarterly meeting, after being audited by the persons duly appointed for that purpose. In most of the societies capital receives interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum; in some societies it is four and one-sixth per cent.; and in some as little as three and three-fourths per cent. In other societies the rate of interest on capital is made to depend on the loyalty of the member in purchasing his goods from the society; i. e., if he purchase according to a certain scale then two and one-half per cent., but if he purchase nothing at all he gets no interest on his capital. After paying the specified interest on share capital, interest on loans, allowances for depreciation of property and other assets, wages of employés and other expenses of management, the profits of the business are allocated to different purposes, such as the building up of a reserve fund to meet contingencies, grants for educational and

charitable purposes, the formation of special funds for social, provident and recreative objects, and the remainder is appropriated to the members of the society at a certain rate per pound on the value of the purchases which each member has made from the society. The dividend allocated to members in a well-managed society averages from 2-6 to 3-0 in the £ on their purchases; these dividends may either be withdrawn by the members to whom they are due, or they may be left by them in the society to accumulate as shares or loans.

To show what might have been done by the Coöperative Stores had the members loyally followed out the idea of accumulating funds for the furtherance of the higher objects of the Coöperative Movement, let us look for a moment at the figures which are available. From 1861 to 1906 inclusive, the trade of the Coöperative Movement was £1,662,077,367, and from this trade there resulted a profit of £164,093,701. From this grand total of profits there has been accumulated only the £31,668,114 which is shown in the previous figures as the total share and loan capital investment of the members: this means that the sum of £132,425,687 has been withdrawn from the societies by the members and used by them personally for their own comfort and advancement.

The Coöperative Movement has therefore, at the present time, funds amounting to £31,668,114 with which to carry on its work; but even this comparatively small accumulation of the £164,093,701 resulting from coöperative efforts during the last fifty years is not as well utilized as it might be, seeing that several millions of the accumulated capital are invested in concerns entirely outside the Coöperative Movement.

In the early days of the Coöperative Movement it became necessary for the retail stores to join together for the purpose of obtaining their supplies of goods at wholesale prices. The opposition of traders and merchants was such that the coöperative societies had great difficulty in obtaining the goods which were

required for sale to their members in the stores. Hence in 1863 the Coöperative Wholesale Society was formed in England, and in 1868 the Scottish Coöperative Wholesale Society for Scotland. The progress of these societies will be seen from the following figures:

ENGLISH WHOLESALE SOCIETY.

	FOR THE YEAR 1863.	FOR THE YEAR 1906.
Shares	£2,455	£1,307,341
Loans	Nil	£1,994,088
Sales	£51,857	£30,785,460
Profits	£267	£368,300

SCOTTISH WHOLESALE SOCIETY.

	AT THE END OF FIRST 2 YEARS.	FOR THE YEAR 1906.
Shares	£2,668	£352,731
Loans	£9,875	£2,020,173
Sales	£196,041	£6,939,738
Profits	£3,770	£267,564

The two wholesale societies supply goods to the retail societies to the extent of nearly £30,000,000 each year, at wholesale prices. The total sales of the Retail Societies amount to £63,000,000; therefore if an allowance be made for the difference between retail and wholesale prices, and also for the goods purchased by societies from local producers, it will be seen that the Wholesale Societies have gone a long way towards the attainment of their object in supplying the requirements of the retail societies. The wholesale societies of England and Scotland have also entered extensively on the field of coöperative production, and in this manner attract the surplus capital of the retail societies, which is thus used in finding employment for coöperators and their families. The two wholesales employ in their various departments of distribution and production 21,756 persons whose salaries and wages amount to £1,217,212.

It will be remembered that the second step in the coöperative program, after distribution, became established, was to enter on production to find employment for members and their families. Coöperative production has been somewhat slower in its development than has retail coöperation, but it bids fair in the near future to overtake its responsibilities and be in a position to supply all the requirements of coöperators, and at the same time to pro-

vide employment for the workers under fair conditions. Coöperative production in Great Britain is carried on in various forms, but two distinct systems predominate. There is the form of production as carried on by the two wholesale societies, as departments of their great business organization. The retail Societies supply the capital for carrying on the wholesale societies, and, as this capital accumulates more rapidly than is required by the business of wholesale and retail distribution, it is bound to be used in production or some other form of coöperative work. Hence the wholesale societies embark in productive enterprises to manufacture the goods required by the retail societies, and to find employment for coöperative members. The profits from these productive departments of the wholesale societies go to swell the general profits of the wholesale societies, and are by them divided amongst the retail societies in proportion to their purchases. In all workshops and factories belonging to the wholesale societies the workers are employed under the best conditions as regards their workshops and general surroundings, and in all cases enjoy the standard rate of wages fixed by the Trade Union for their particular industry, and in some cases have much shorter hours of labor. The other form of coöperative production is to be found in the Societies established *especially* for productive purposes. Of these there were 131 in existence at the end of 1906. Some consist only of the workers in the industry which is carried on, who supply the capital on which they receive a fixed interest, and any profit made by the sale of their production is divided among the workers in proportion to their earnings. There are however, but few of such Societies now in existence on account of modern industrial requirements entailing a greater expenditure of capital than it is possible for men in the trade to supply. Some of the societies obtain their capital from their workers, from individual sympathizers, and from

the coöperative retail societies with whom they do business. In such societies the profits are usually divided between shareholders, workers, and customers. All Coöperative Workshops aim at having the best conditions of labor. The statistics of coöperative production are as under:

	WHOLESALE SOCIETIES.	PRODUCTIVE SOCIETIES.
Number.....	2	131
Capital employed.....	£2,655,899	£802,969
Value of productions..	£6,467,557	£2,773,976
Profits.....	£179,737*	£168,675

*After paying interest on capital employed.

In addition to carrying on these forms of coöperative production, we have the productive departments of the retail societies. There are no definite statistics available in regard to these, but as far as can be gathered by careful inquiry, it is estimated that the retail societies produce in their workshops goods to the value of about £5,000,000. This, with the Wholesale Societies and Productive Societies, gives a total of over \$14,000,000 as the annual output of Coöperative factories and workshops in Great Britain.

Coöperative farming, as a means of using Coöperative Capital for Coöperative production, ought to come next in order of procedure, as the aim of Coöperation is not only to provide industrial and textile workers with better conditions of employment, but also to give similar assistance to the workers in that most important of all employments—agriculture. Unfortunately, however, the hopes of coöperators have not been realized in this respect, and such progress as has been made by the Coöperative movement in connection with farming and agriculture has not done much to improve the condition of the agricultural laborer. It is hoped, however, that as the outcome of the act to facilitate the acquisition of Small Holdings, which was passed during the last session of Parliament, by which it is now possible for a Coöperative Society, or a Coöperative Society of Small Holders specially formed for the purpose, to enlist the help of a County Council so as to obtain from the owners land for

cultivation by Small Holders under Coöperative conditions, an impetus will be given to this form of Coöperation and that in the next few years many Societies will be formed for this purpose. If this hope be realized then there is no doubt that the advantages of Coöperative action can be reaped by the agricultural laborer as well as by his brother worker in the textile industries.

Whilst nothing very practical has been done for the benefit of the agricultural laborers the farmers of Great Britain have to some extent become alive to the advantages of Coöperative methods and systems. There are Societies in England, Scotland and Ireland to promote the organization of agricultural Coöperative Societies amongst the farmers for the sale of their produce, and for purchasing farming implements and necessities. No complete statistics however are available in regard to the number of these Societies or their position.

The next step in importance is that of Coöperative Housing and here some steady progress has been made. According to the statistics sent in to the Coöperative Union in 1907 by 413 Societies out of a total of 1,448, it is shown that these 413 Societies had assisted in the providing of houses for their members, to the following extent:

STATISTICS RELATING TO 413 SOCIETIES.		
	No.	VALUE.
Houses built and owned by the Societies.....	8,530...	£1,839,069
Houses built and sold to members by Societies.....	5,577...	£1,232,073
Houses built by members on Advances made by Societies.....	32,600...	£6,532,296
Total Value.....		£9,603,438

We have thus a total of £9,603,438 as used by only 413 Societies in carrying out this important item in the Coöperative program, but this does not cover the entire field of operations because so many Societies fail to send in statistics.

In some cases the Societies build to *hold and own* the houses which they let on rent to members at reasonable rentals. In other cases the Society is always willing to *sell* to members any of the

houses which it has erected: whilst in other Societies building operations are only undertaken to the order and requirements of the members, and the Society builds only to sell and not to hold. It will be seen also that a large amount of money has been used by Societies in making advances of money to members to enable them to build their own houses to their own liking and design; the money so advanced being paid back by installments, with interest at 4 per cent. or 5 per cent.

Another phase of Coöperative Housing is the formation of Societies specially for the purpose of providing housing for members, such houses to *remain the property of the Society* and let to tenants at usual rents; any profit derived therefrom to be used for the benefit of the community, or allowed to the tenants by way of reduction in the rents. Each tenant is required to take up shares in these societies to the amount equal to the value of his house. The Society thus retains control over the houses and makes regulations for their upkeep, and also for the general well-being of the Society's estate. When a member desires for some cause or other to remove from the neighborhood he has not to sell his house and thus probably lose money by a forced sale: he can still hold his shares in the Society or sell them to the incoming tenant when opportunity offers. Under this system tenants on the estate of the Coöperative Society can enjoy communal advantages which would be impossible under conditions of individual ownership. The first Society of this kind was formed in 1888 or 1889 on a plan propounded by Mr. Benjamin Jones, and submitted by him to the Coöperative Union, by whose officials rules were prepared to meet the case and a Society named the "Tenant Coöperators, Ltd." was then registered. This Society is still in existence, and has done good work during the 18 or 19 years since it became established. Owing, however, to want of effective propaganda

this Society was until very recently the only one of its kind in existence. A few years ago owing to the development of the Garden City idea it was brought home to coöperators that something might possibly be done, by Coöperative action, to promote the formation of Housing Societies, to be constituted of tenants organized in a community in which the best ideas of the Garden City movement could be embodied. This has been done with marked success and under the auspices of the Coöperative Tenants, Housing Council several such Societies have been formed and are now actively at work, while many others are in process of organization.

What is the Coöperative Movement doing for Education? In 1906 the sum of £83,592 was granted by the various Societies for educational purposes. In connection with most societies there is a special committee, appointed by the members, to administrate the educational grant, and the duty of this Committee is to arrange the educational program each year. Some Societies have large and valuable libraries, especially in Rochdale, Bolton, and Oldham, where the Coöperative libraries attract more readers than the Municipal libraries. Lectures of high class and on a variety of subjects are arranged for the winter season. Classes in science, art and literature are conducted by competent teachers. Evening Continuation Schools for the young people who have left the day school, are carried on by some Societies. Concerts and entertainments, for the recreation and instruction of the members generally are also much in vogue. In the summer season, excursions to places of interest under the guidance of competent leaders are arranged; also rambles for botanical and geological research provide training for those whose minds tend in that direction. The children are not neglected for now most Societies set aside one day each year for a Children's Day when festivities are provided to suit their capacities.

Then as regards more serious fare in the instruction of Coöperators, there are Classes established under the auspices of the Coöperative Union for the training of managers and officials of Coöperative Societies also for instructing the members and young people in the history and principles of Coöperation, Industrial History, Political and Social Economics, etc., etc.; also special Classes in "Book-keeping" and "Auditing." These centers of instruction are established in various parts of the country and are well attended.

In addition to the sums which are annually granted for charitable purposes by most Societies, the Coöperative movement has established six Convalescent Homes, for the benefit of the poorer members who need the help of such institutions to regain their health. These Homes are maintained by the annual contributions of the Societies,

and will accommodate about 600 patients at one time. They are greatly appreciated by Coöperative members, and are generally utilized to the full extent of their capacity.

The above is a brief summary of the work which is being carried on in Great Britain under the name of Coöperation. The principles and methods of the movement have stood the test of more than 60 years' experience and have proved their ability to realize that social and industrial evolution which the originators of the Coöperators' program had in their mind. What has been achieved in Great Britain in face of the most bitter and determined opposition from those classes and interests which had reason to dread the advance of Coöperative ideas and systems can be done and, to a great extent, is being done in other countries.

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SCIENCE AND THE SUPERNATURAL.

BY AUGUST F. FEHLANDT.

OUR THEME lands us on soil drenched with blood. We stand upon a battle-ground that has witnessed the most sanguinary contests in the history of human thought. Over this broad field the opposing forces have ranged, with here and again a decisive victory, fraught with consequences for all time. On the one side it has been a war of liberation, the spirit of free inquiry rising up against the tyranny of tradition, the inertia of the ages. On the other side it has been a holy war, the strong arm of ecclesiastical power, as the custodian of the oracles of God, seeking to crush, with a zeal not always holy, the menacing presumptions of heresy.

But happily, in its main contentions, the contest is practically over. Passions

and prejudices there are yet, with some desultory fire of musketry, but formal hostilities have ceased. The task now concerns itself chiefly with the specific conditions of peace, and, for theology, with the larger work of reconstruction, following upon defeat.

The smoke has lifted sufficiently, and the field cleared to view, that we may pause briefly to point out again the main positions of each side, the several crucial points of attack, the chain of breastworks stormed and never retaken, and those defenses that have proved impregnable. This will help us to a clearer comprehension of the relative spheres of science and of religion, and enable us to trace with defter hand the border line between nature and the supernatural.

As is the case in most great conflicts, so in this the causes extend far back. They seem bound up with certain native characteristics of the human mind as they appear in the different stages of race development. For instance, a trait peculiar to the earlier life of the race, as in the earlier years of the individual, is that the sanction for faith and conduct comes not through reason and the moral sense immediately, but by the word of visible authority. No race reaches maturity before first passing its tutelage under patriarch, priest, and king, whose word is law. And this sway of authority extends not merely to the outward, ordered life of a people, but includes the scope of its thinking as well. Men believe what others have thought out and set before them, the validity of which they are as likely to question as they are the authority of kingship itself. Passing from generation to generation, these teachings and beliefs become traditions, which gather in volume with the cycle of the centuries, and become authoritative in proportion to their age.

It was such a mass of tradition that the ages of Jewish history brought down with them, increasing with succeeding generations, until it had become a burden grievous to bear. Thus the Pharisees asked: "Why walk not thy disciples according to the tradition of the elders, but eat bread with unwashen hands?" In replying, Jesus well said that to such extent had they carried the worship of tradition that they had rendered vain the word of God itself.

But a change was at hand. The Man of Nazareth received his authority from a new source; nay, he turned to the original first source, God himself. His directions were given him, not by following the weary paths of rabbinical decisions, but by immediate revelation from the Father. He saw with open vision, and spake as he saw. His sanction rested upon the voice from above. The Jews, looking for something impressive, asked for a sign; but he gave

them none. He pointed out that the blind saw, that the lame walked, that lepers were cleansed, and that the poor had good news brought to them; these he presented as his credentials. He gave the Jews, further, a criterion of truth that was new to the world, one which it had been well if the world had never again forgotten. This was to be the test: "If any man willeth to do his (God's) will, he shall know of the teaching, whether it is of God, or whether I speak it from myself."

The early followers of Christ did not wholly fail to catch these meanings of his teaching; for beginning with the great apostle to the gentiles, that incomparable expounder of the gospel in its various phases and larger bearings, there was a freedom of interpretation, a liberality in dealing with the authority of tradition, a joyous consciousness of the simplicity and immediateness of the knowledge and salvation in Jesus Christ, that was admirably in keeping with the mind of the Master. Christ broke down the wall of separation between Jew and gentile, so it was taught; and in his death the inner veil itself was rent, giving the believer immediate access to the throne of grace. Before this throne he is exhorted to come boldly. He is exhorted to stand fast in the liberty wherein Christ made him free, and not to be again entangled with the yoke of bondage.

But liberty is a blessing which only those that are strong can stand. With the passing of a few centuries the Church had again lapsed into bondage. A body of men had developed, the Church Fathers, whose word became authoritative. Ostensibly it was the Bible that formed the standard of faith, in reality, it was only the interpretation as given it by the Church that men believed. The veil that was taken away in Christ was again put over men's faces. These interpretations, zealously prosecuted, and containing various mystical and allegorical elements, added to by the decrees

of Church councils, at length formed a mass of tradition and law that as effectually fettered the Christian as ever the Mishnah bound down the neck of the Jew. When it was now asked, What is the criterion of truth, and what shall I believe? the answer was ready: *Quod semper, ubique, et ab omnibus creditum est*, what has always, everywhere and by all been believed. Every avenue of progress had now been closed to the human mind. Aside, therefore, from political disintegrations and the breaking up of empires, the centuries into which the Church now passed, under such a spell, could not but prove to be the *Dark Ages* of Christendom.

But the mind will not suffer itself to be always bound. After a thousand years there was to be a new day. When Constantinople fell, her scholars came into the Western Empire, bringing with them the treasures of the ancient classic literature, which had long since been forgotten here. A new impetus was given to letters and to the study of ancient languages. The horizon of the mind was enlarging. The invention of printing by movable type facilitated the multiplication of books. The invention of gunpowder revolutionized warfare. The use of the mariner's compass opened an era of adventure upon the sea, leading to the discovery of new continents. On every side the spirit of inquiry was stimulated. The Church herself was rent by this new liberty of the spirit, a chasm which all the learning and all the constraints of Christian love, up to this present hour, have not been able to close.

But the really important fact of all, during this stir of the morning hour, the tingling tales of discovery, the eager inquiry, the excitement of anticipation, modern science was born. It is by virtue of this event that the period is rightly named the Renaissance or Renaissance, the new birth; for the intellectual life of the race was now born again. The human mind now struck out in

new paths. Beliefs now found a new sanction, other than the tradition of the Fathers, or the decrees of Church Councils. Men were working out a new formula which was to interpret to them the meaning of nature, and already they had begun to re-chart the maps of knowledge.

The Church, as the lawful spouse of true learning, naturally did not take kindly to this young Ishmael, and he was cast out. When Roger Bacon, one of the forerunners of modern science, explained, in the middle of the thirteenth century, the character of the rainbow on natural grounds, he was promptly silenced; the Bible, in Genesis, plainly taught the origin of the rainbow, that it was set in the heavens for a sign that there should not be another deluge. For St. Augustine had laid down his famous rule, "that nothing is to be believed except upon the authority of the Scriptures, since greater is that authority than all the powers of the human mind"; and St. Augustine's thought dominated the Western Church for over a thousand years.

But the old pathway to knowledge was beset with increasing difficulties. The very times conspired to dispute tradition's right of way. The shape of the earth, for instance, had long been a subject of dispute. Weighty Biblical proofs had been marshaled against the theory of its sphericity, and of its being inhabited on the other side. A Portuguese navigator settled the matter, when in 1519 he started to sail around the earth; and settled the dispute as to whether people lived on the other side, for Magellan's survivors testified that they had looked upon them with their own eyes. The Schoolmen might refuse to believe, and the Church might pronounce anathemas, but the matter was open to future verification.

The race was coming again to the open vision, especially as touching, this time, the things of nature. Men began to interrogate nature, not through the

Church and scholastic philosophy, but face to face, receiving their answer at first hand. They found nature speaking a language that they could understand. In this new revelation, therefore, which has ushered in the modern scientific era of the world, the tradition of the Fathers, this veil of separation, has been done away. Man stands with uncovered face in the sacred Presence.

But Science, too, was to bring not first peace, but a sword. Aside from minor events, three momentous and decisive conflicts are on record. First, in astronomy, tradition held that the earth occupied a fixed position in the center of the universe, with the luminaries, hung in the firmament, all revolving around it. This had not been proven to be so—indeed its proof had encountered unyielding obstacles, but it appeared to be the teaching of Scripture, confirmed by long belief. As the special object of creation and plan of redemption, man could, in fact, scarcely think otherwise than that the earth, as his abode, should occupy a central place, the focus of Divine thought and care. When, therefore, the Polish priest, Copernicus, with some hesitation and delay, put forth his book in 1543, on the movement of the heavenly bodies, in which he maintained that the sun was the center, and the earth one of the planets only, the very foundations of religion seemed to be imperiled. It was clearly contrary to Scripture, and on the word of Scripture was staked the veracity of the Almighty. Protestantism fought for the faith as delivered to the fathers as stubbornly as did the Catholic Church. "Joshua commanded the sun to stand still, not the earth," thundered Luther. "Our eyes are witnesses that the heavens revolve in the space of twenty-four hours," said Melancthon, appealing to common-sense. Calvin clinched his argument by appeal to the 93d Psalm: "The world also is established, that it cannot be moved." It was probably fortunate for Copernicus that he was already on his

death-bed when his book came from the press at Nuremberg.

All protestation proved of but little avail, however. Galileo's glass added proof to the statements of Copernicus. Kepler demonstrated the exact course of the planets, and discovered the law of their periodicity. Newton supplied the final demonstration in that masterful generalization which we know as the law of gravitation. All the phenomena within the range of the solar system, including comets, which had been regarded as portents of evil, and eclipses, regarded as a sign of the grief of nature, all had been brought, at length, under the sway of law. Astronomy became not merely a demonstrated science, but a predictive science: so far had the heavens been cleared of caprice and of the unknown. Yet the foundations of God stood secure.

After discovering the position of the earth in its relation to the sun and planets, the next inquiry turned to the problem presented by the earth itself, in the contour of continents, mountains and streams, cliffs and chasms, rock stratifications, with their embedded forms of animal life. Fossils were generally explained as remains of animals drowned in the Noachian deluge, and distributed by the flood over the earth. Deep canyons, huge fissures, broken strata of rock, these were attributed to some unknown, sudden mighty cataclysm. From a religious standpoint, the entire rough, seamed face of the earth, with its numerous signs of violence, was ascribed as in some sense the consequence of sin. "There were no earthquakes before Adam's fall," John Wesley declared.

But events had been gathering for a change. In 1830 Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* appeared. This opened a new epoch, and was the beginning of the science of modern geology. Conservative in its statement, specific in its recital of observed facts, logical in its inferences, the book showed how the present appearance of the earth's sur-

face was due to the operation, during long ages, of the same natural forces that are at work to-day.

Tradition rebelled against this assumption of a *process* of creation, for Scripture stated that God created the world "in the beginning,"—everything at once. Furthermore, Lyell asserted that these forces must have operated through long ages, many times longer than the chronology of the Bible makes room for. Investigations in other fields were bringing corroborative evidence. Archeology discovered in caves and in layers of rock rude human implements, side by side with skeletons of animals long extinct, indicating the existence of man in a previous geological age. Excavations on the banks of the Nile revealed that here was the seat of a civilization, with cities of hewn stone, already centuries before Abraham. While ethnology, from etchings of human features found on temple ruins and exhumed tablets, and from a study of other evidence, pointed out that before the dawn of history the differentiation of the races must have taken place, and the various distinctive racial traits have become fixed, essentially as they are to-day. And from this point backwards it must have been ages to the beginning—the creation.

In vain did tradition appeal to the six days in Genesis. Proofs supporting the new view became cumulative. And as the learning of the race had, in a previous century, been compelled to enlarge the boundaries of space, so now it was compelled to stake farther back the bounds of time.

The spirit of scientific inquiry, flushed as with new wine, now turned to a study of living organisms. If the Bible stated that God made them all, sea animals, land animals, and lastly man, science was bold enough to inquire, How? It looked for some rational process that would lend itself to scientific statement. The general similarity of plan of the various species, in the homology of parts and functions, had long impressed men. It

suggested a relationship, back somewhere. There must be a general law or principle—a sort of skeleton-key—which would open the way into the formal secrets of the diverse species as they exist to-day. After not a few suggestions, supported by more or less evidence, of a theory of development or evolution, it remained for Charles Darwin to effect a demonstration of the theory, in his book, *The Origin of Species*, which appeared in 1859. The principle or law which he found to account for the variations in type, he called the law of natural selection. His conclusions, supported by an array of proofs, appeared incontestible. Thus was brought on the third decisive contest between science and tradition. God appeared to have been bowed out of the universe. Science seemed to have dispensed with His services in the work of creation, and with no Adam, no sin and no fall, the whole scheme of redemption seemed to be ruled out. No wonder men declared that with Darwinism Christianity would stand or fall. Yet it pleased God that both should stand.

To one more field has the spirit of scientific inquiry turned, against opposition. The Bible, many times invoked in defense of error, was now to be itself interpreted and tested. Possibly men had been as false in their interpretation here as were the Schoolmen earlier, when they discoursed upon the phenomena of earth and sky. The traditional interpretation of the Scriptures encountered, indeed, no fewer obstacles than did earnest observers of nature, earlier, when they tried to reconcile what they saw with current and accepted views. The first requisite to an understanding of the Bible was to get a right view-point, and a right way of approach. How certain words found their way into the leaves of the Bible, and what they mean, is no more directly revealed to man than is the meaning of the fossils and foot-prints found between layers of rock—the pages of geological history.

And tradition in the one instance is about as likely to be reliable as it is—or was—in the other. The inquiry must be first-hand, and the deductions carefully drawn from observed and verifiable facts.

First, certain hints gave a clue which placed the authorship of the Pentateuch at a period much later than the events it narrates. Statements like these were noticed: "The Canaanite was then in the land" (Gen., 12:6); "There arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses" (Deut., 34:10); "These are the kings that reigned over Edom before there reigned any king over the children of Israel" (Gen., 36:31). This seemed clearly to point to a writer who lived at a time when Israel had had a line of both prophets and kings. Again Moses does not speak in the first person, as if he were himself the writer, but is spoken of in the third person; and Deuteronomy speaks of his death and burial. Furthermore, among the historical sources made use of by the writer was the "Book of the Wars of Jehovah" (Num., 21:14); yet these tales of battle must themselves have been written after Moses' time, for they celebrate the events in which Moses was himself the chief actor. The authority of Moses could therefore no longer be invoked for the veracity of the Creation story, and the supposedly revealed history of all beginnings.

Further study of the text, free from the veil of tradition, revealed certain repetitions and discrepancies and diversities of style, within the Pentateuch itself, which led to the discovery of the composite character of those books,—no fewer than two separate traditions being discernible in the narrative of the Creation, the Flood, and succeeding events. Again, with reference to the ceremonial law, assigned to Moses, it was noted that all Israel was in ignorance of the existence of such a law during all the centuries after Moses, up to the exile. The inference of a post-exilic

origin for this body of law—the Priest code—became inevitable. Deuteronomy, also assigned to Moses, was upon the same considerations moved forward to the time of Josiah (2 Kings, 22), the appearance of this book leading to the reforms and to the centralizing of worship, as recorded for the first time in the history of this king. The book of Chronicles was seen to be a late recast, in theological mold, of the history of Israel, traced to the beginning of the world. Of these documents it may be said, generally, that they are more faithful as reflecting the spirit of the time in which they were written, than they are an accurate history of past events.

But we are not so much concerned with particulars here, as with general principles, the getting of a correct view-point, the fixing of Biblical bearings. This study as a correct method of approach to Biblical literature has been vindicated. That the Bible stands out as the Great Exception, and as therefore not amenable to universal methods of historical inquiry, this assumption has been, among leaders of thought, ruled out for all time. That contest—the really crucial contest, has been decided. Legend and history, parable and allegory, poetry,—all these are recognized as constituting the materials and forms of the literary workmanship of the Bible. Christianity as an historical religion must submit itself to accepted canons of historical interpretation. Its cosmologies, its miracles and wonder-stories, are to be approached as are similar narratives in other religions, and in the history of other peoples. These do not make a religion a "supernatural" religion: they are themselves to be accounted for. There is some great principle, or subsoil, out of which these all spring, whether in or outside the Bible. The law of universality is inexorable here. The wise Christian apologist will rest the uniqueness and superiority of his faith less on any uniqueness

of its historical forms, but more on the excellence of its historical content.

All this has given us our standpoint, and from here has shown us our way of approach. While scholars are, naturally enough, not at all points in agreement, this difference is expressed to-day in the terms, "This one does not go *so far*," or "That one goes *farther*"; but all proceed by the same way. Having received our directions, therefore, every one may become his own investigator, make his own observations, draw deductions from what his own eyes can see. The position of the Roman Catholic Church, recently re-affirmed, in planting itself anew squarely across the path of free inquiry, is an anachronism, to say the least. It is the mummied face of Medievalism projecting itself into a new age, in which the story of its unholy deeds done in the days of the flesh has already passed into a tradition.

Here we must stop. With somewhat swift strides we have now traversed many fields. But we wanted to look at the modern scientific method in its historical development, and in its main achievements. Furthermore, we have been in quest of the supernatural. Tradition had said, Lo here! Lo there! and eagerly, yet somewhat on our guard, we have looked. The sun, moon and stars said: "It is not in us—all is order here." The frowning cliffs, the yawning chasms, the embedded, fissured rocks, each spoke back: "It is not in me." Then we looked upon the human form, walking erect among the creeping and four-footed beasts of the earth, and here we confidently expected to find the clear marks of Divine workmanship. Man, looking upon his nearest of kin, and at his own hands and feet, replied: "It is not in my flesh." Then we found our refuge in the Scriptures. "Surely," we said, "here the Lord has manifested himself, here we shall find the *signs* of the supernatural." But not immediately. The Garden of Eden said, No: other nations have their

own story of a sinless age, and of a beginning of evil. It was not in the flood, by the same token; nor in Elijah's chariot, nor in the fiery furnace, nor in the whale. These and similar stories are the common property of antiquity.

But by such blundering we have learned much. We always learn thus. Like a child race, we have looked for the supernatural in *signs*,—in earthquakes, in eclipses, in the smiting by death or raising to life, in passings through the air, in mighty wonders. And having refused to be comforted, the jealous prophet of Jehovah sat down and cried: "It is enough: let me die." Then in the calm that followed it came to man that not in the extraordinary, but in the ordinary events of nature, here is God manifested. Not that the sun should stand still, but that it should move—or the earth—and in its resistless sweep never vary by the shadow of a turning,—these are the ways of the Almighty. In the regular habits of nature, as in man, rather than in her caprices, here is the evidence of the Divine. God *had* set his signs in the very places where we looked, but we did not recognize them. Science has established to the glory of God that his ways are orderly; that nature is trustworthy and her answers consistent. On the other hand, God has honored man in that he has admitted us into his confidence, enabling us to think his thoughts after him.

The spirit of science, then, means a new approach to knowledge. It means a new criterion of truth. Instead of the canon of tradition, "What has always, everywhere, and by all been believed," it says, "What may always, everywhere, and by all be *verified*"; for the laws of nature, like God, whose they are, are the same yesterday, to-day, and unto the ages. Yes, even in the epic of redemption, the Divine Spirit, coming into human life, takes the form of a "Servant," becoming obedient unto law—the law of universal necessity,

which makes this universe a place of order, and gives to the work of creation the impress of one Mind.

While science, therefore, may claim its rightful domain, it must at the same time acknowledge its limitations. From the notions of star dust to the growth of the embryo cell, from the processes of the brain to the habits of bacterial life, from world-making to myth-making,—these belong to science. Science studies forms and traces processes: essences and the life principle it does not know. It explores paths, but does not speak of the Personality that walks there. Ultimate plans and great over-ruling

purposes are not within its ken. In a limited sense only is science knowledge. In a larger sense it merely furnishes the correct materials for knowledge. It narrates; it does not explain, ultimately. The *processes* belong to science; the *meanings* to philosophy; the *realization*—moral meanings made flesh—to religion.

The supernatural, then? Yea, Lord, nearer than hands and feet. It is in the beating of the heart. It is the stuff of the soul.

AUGUST F. FEHLANDT.

West Salem, Wis.

ROOSEVELT AS A REACTIONIST.

BY GEORGE LEWELLYN REES.

THE GROWING unpopularity of President Roosevelt would have been impossible if he had carried out the reforms which he has put only in his speeches. These reforms are so just, practicable and imperative that the greatest success and personal glory would have followed their enactment. The Two-cent-fare laws in the several states have on trials proved their great practicality;* the Public-Service Commission of New York has been such a boon to the people that the sneer against "visionary reform" is heard no more. France was thankful that she accepted the reforms of the "visionary" Turgot. The period of great prosperity in every nation has been the period when radical reform was given a fair trial.

But Mr. Roosevelt chose to undo with his left hand what he proclaimed with

his right. In the midst of the growing deprecation he has not a solitary reform measure that goes straight to the life of the people to hold a brief for him in the day of his trial, after six years of opportunity.

At the outset it will be well for the reader to bear in mind that it was Mr. Roosevelt who said: "Words are good when they are backed up by deeds, and only so," and prepare to judge him in reference to this standard which he himself has set up. It would be manifestly unjust, however, to hold President Roosevelt as personally responsible for the non-enactment of laws, where he has earnestly, persistently and uncompromisingly striven to secure their enactment. His weakness, however, has been marked in two directions. In the first place, for the sake of the organization he has surrendered to the enemy when victory was in his hands and has made compromises with the anarchists of privileged wealth when there was no necessity for compromise. In the sec-

*Nebraska, heavy gain; Union Pacific, heavy gains; Burlington crowded in the aisles; Northwestern, heavy additions; Pennsylvania, gain of \$152,465; Reading, gain of \$1,529,660 in four months; Minnesota, great gains, heavier than ever before. Press dispatches, August 24, 1907.

ond place, he has time and again allowed his mind to be diverted from greater reforms which he has advocated and which the people had a right to believe he would have persistently demanded, knowing that the public sentiment of the nation was behind him and the public weal was to be conserved.

Reform is impossible when an executive plays into the hands of the politicians. To strengthen the "organization" is to tighten the cordon around the bull-pen in which the people are coralled. It is the most fatuous thing a "reformer" could do. Napoleon built up a *new* aristocracy, the Legion of Honor. He said: "Every man who had distinguished himself had a right to belong to the new nobility." But Mr. Roosevelt has taken the greatest pains to recognize the organization everywhere. It was characteristic of him lately to settle a patronage dispute between the senators from South Dakota by flipping a coin.* A true statesman would have refused to thus gamble on appointments, but would have insisted on inquiring into the merits of the respective appointees.

But there is no known instance of Mr. Roosevelt alienating a strong politician of his party.

The future will wake up to the shocking, treasonable expedient of peddling offices for delegates. Mr. Roosevelt has farmed out federal patronage in as shameful a manner as the French Louises sold the tax-collectorships to the highest bidders. The purpose has been to artificially generate presidential genius in Taft. The interminable specifications would produce moral tetanus. There is the selection of Postmaster-General Hitchcock taken from his post to strengthen Taft in 60,000 post-office centers. That the official carries out his oath of office and upholds the laws seems to be secondary with Mr. Roosevelt. The primary thing is fidelity to

the "organization." William J. Vickery was taken out of his position as head of the post-office inspectors because he is a Fairbanks man, and a Taft supporter put in.* The two collectors in Tennessee, who were not for Taft, were deposed, and a Mr. Sharp who is for Taft appointed.† Theodore F. Burton represents Taft in Ohio and is opposed to Foraker. Mr. Roosevelt therefore increases Burton's power by endorsing him against Mayor Johnson of Cleveland, to overthrow the best government ever given to an American city. He has called on Taft and Burton to fill the federal vacancies in Ohio.‡

Of the twenty Republican district leaders who are active for Taft in New York, fifteen hold official positions.§

The one thing needed is a strong guard, "a black-horse cavalry," of ultimately sinister import;—we will see how this very guard charges the people. Let one of the "guard" show insubordination and off goes his head. The removal of the internal revenue collector of New York was simply a notice to Speaker Wordsworth that strict party discipline is expected. The President has a record of placing men on the salary list without examination not equaled by any other. Rough riders have rough-riden into political office over all such low hurdles as efficiency and civil service. It is said that examinations in southern states are practically monopolized by negroes until federal office in the south is looked upon as a "nigger's" job.||

Mr. Roosevelt's conception of his first duty has been to the politician. The Panama canal, for instance, was the scene of an unseemly scramble for "places." So many political dead-heads

**Brooklyn Eagle*, January 5, 1907.

†*Brooklyn Eagle*, January 2, 1907.

‡*New York Times*, April 24, 1907.

§*New York World*.

||*Brooklyn Eagle*, May 2, 1907.

■ *Press dispatches, especially *New York Times*, November 25, 1907.

flocked there that Chief Engineer Stevens discharged many as incompetent. Disgraceful to relate, when they appealed direct to the President and Secretary Taft they were ordered reinstated. After writing several letters of protest Engineer Stevens said that if political control continued he would resign. The President immediately cabled for his resignation.* And the causes assigned by the newspapers for the resignation of John F. Wallace, chief engineer of the Panama canal, were Secretary Taft's red tape, delay in obtaining supplies, and political interference.†

No length is too far to go to endorse the organization.—the President has even winked the eye at polygamy, as in the case of Smoot. But Smoot is the organization's man, and is endorsed by Senator Hopkins of Utah. Mr. Roosevelt wrote congratulations to Hopkins for his defense of Smoot.‡ By his personally arranging for the return of Chauncey M. Depew to the Senate Mr. Roosevelt irretrievably arrays himself on the side of the people's enemies, and then at a time when the people thought that they were well rid of the insurance grafter. Depew was beaten in the legislative count, a majority were for Black. One midnight an order came to elect Depew, Harriman, with whom Mr. Roosevelt was at that time in close friendship, wanted Depew back. Platt, whom the President has many times served also wanted him back. Governor Odell has solemnly declared that Mr. Roosevelt forced the deal at the eleventh hour.§ Odell was then at his worst. He had outraged public sentiment by acting as state chairman and holding the governorship at the same time. In that manner he ran the 1900 campaign for Mr. Roosevelt. Though

the scandal retired him from political life Mr. Roosevelt accepted all the past-master's black art to increase presidential votes. And lest "auld acquaintance be forgot," the President recently named Odell's brother Hiram to be postmaster of Newburg.*

Mr. Roosevelt has everywhere further entrenched the state bosses by appointing them to political offices. The society of the future will look back upon this conscienceless policy of giving office to the boss as a land-mark of former low political morals. The boss of South Carolina is John G. Capers. Mr. Roosevelt made him internal revenue commissioner. This strengthens the organization and puts the control of its eighteen delegates into Mr. Roosevelt's hands. A short time since Boss Capers came out for Secretary Taft, after the President had sent Taft's manager, Secretary Hitchcock, south to see him.† The boss becomes an excellent Fouché in the hands of this pseudo-Bonaparte. It makes little difference,—either the boss or his proxy obtains the position. Mr. Roosevelt recently appointed George W. Wanmaker appraiser of the port of New York. He is the organization's man, while his opponent had the endorsement of the civic bodies. Senators Platt and Depew and other politicians urged the appointment of Wanmaker, one of the old guard for fifteen years, and it was done. Wanmaker is for Taft.‡ Mr. Roosevelt's appointments in New York indicate his anxiety not so much to serve the people, but to serve Platt, Depew *et al.* There was a general demand that John C. Davies be appointed to the federal judiciary, but Boss Platt had a "safe and sane" type in Judge Ray, and in obedience to the repudiated boss he was appointed.§

*Press dispatches, especially *New York World*.

†*New York Herald*, Tuesday after resignation.

‡*New York American*, August 20, 1907.

§Editorial in *New York Press*.

*Press dispatches, January 17, 1906.

†*Brooklyn Eagle*, January 5, 1906. *New York World*, January 2, 1906.

‡Press dispatches, January 4, 1906.

§*New York Sun*.

Mr. Roosevelt's autocracy is especially weak in view of his taking the word of the politician every time. He would be an authority and yet remain deductive. Napoleon had a more logical claim, because he rejected all of the "necessary truths" of the old *régime*. One arises to true dictatorship through the mastery of facts. Before Napoleon could be a despot he had to marshal regiment upon regiment of facts, which none other could command. He had no proxies in the "organization" who palmed off on him false facts. From a thousand miles from home he would write: "I send you details of offenses committed in the county of Herse and which you do not mention in your letters to me." Again: "Report things in their true colors." But Mr. Roosevelt consults such decrepit marshals as the Quays, Paynes, Platts, Odells, and acts upon their suggestions. Napoleon could remember a cannon left on the Soussons road which was omitted from the reports. Mr. Roosevelt is so ignorant of the conditions in the various states that the flipping of a coin decides what he shall do. He cannot see the thousand obstacles to reform which his alliances have created in every state in the Union. If he would be a Napoleon he must attain to vastness through vision. Take, for example, his exceeding his powers in proclaiming a commercial treaty with Berlin.* Now, the supposition is that he has all-knowledge to warrant such ultra authority; and yet I have long known, in writing ship news, that there is a clause in the treaty exempting from federal interference any criminal or brutal act upon a seaman on a German vessel, whether an American citizen or not, whether in American waters or not,—a piece of barbarism in no other treaty with us. Now does not his autocracy look foolish? Did he know of this? If not, by what right is he an ultra-authority?

*Special article in *Brooklyn Eagle*, by W. C. Hudson, *Boston Herald*, January 24, 1908.

And that the charmed circle is complete is evidenced in the fact that the bosses reciprocate. The bosses do not like Bryan or La Follette, but they actually admire Mr. Roosevelt. The boss knows his own. What must be said is the especial attraction in Mr. Roosevelt when Boss Cox of Cincinnati loves him?† What is there in Mr. Roosevelt to invite the sincere approbation of Pennsylvania's Penrose, of Senators Scott, Elkins, Lodge, all proved enemies of the people?‡ "I have no intention of being an Andrew Jackson and splitting my party," said Mr. Roosevelt. And in that policy the bosses say Amen. The railroad legislators at Harrisburg, the crowd that was mixed up in the Capitol scandal, endorsed Mr. Roosevelt without a dissenting vote and coupled the endorsement with an eulogy of Penrose.† The railroad's handy man, Knox, proxy also for Quay's successors, was Mr. Roosevelt's attorney-general. The organization is ever for the President and the President for the organization.

If he entertains the fatuous idea that he can obtain reform by recognizing the organization the consequent reaction and bad government contradict him. The previous statement that Mr. Roosevelt undoes with his left hand what he proclaims with his right is carefully weighed. Some people imagine that telling nothing but the whole truth is "intemperate"; and put forth the claim of "conservative" as a cheap bid for "wisdom." It is not a great effort to see how endorsement of the organization means the destruction of good government and the routing of the people's solidarity. The triumph of Burton against Johnson in Cleveland, which Mr. Roosevelt desired for the sake of the organization, would have set back progressive government a decade. Mr. Roosevelt's selection of

**New York Times*, May 8, 1907.

†*Press dispatches*, May 4, 1907.

‡*New York Times*, April 9, 1907.

the rich, aristocratic and reactionary Mr. Wadsworth as speaker of the New York legislature has evolved into an alliance between the speaker, Senator Raines, Chairman Woodruff, and the worst of the democratic party, as McCarran and Brady,* to defeat every reform measure recommended by Governor Hughes. A psychologist would see in Speaker Wadsworth's outspokenness against ballot reform the quiet, sub-conscious attitude of Mr. Roosevelt himself towards the measure. At great personal effort Mr. Roosevelt won the Speakership for Wadsworth. Ambassador Tower, again, was appointed ambassador to Germany because he made a large contribution to the Republican campaign fund. Secretary Hay complained that Tower was mediocre and asked for his removal. Cortelyou, who collected funds for Mr. Roosevelt from the trusts, interceded for Tower, and he was therefore retained.† We can think of only one other ruler inflicting a people with an official chosen for such aristocratic and financial motives—George IV., in his foppish appointments to the colonies. When John W. McMackin, one of the old guard of New York, failed of reappointment as State Labor Commissioner because charges were publicly preferred against him, Mr. Roosevelt selected him for consul to British Guiana. He used to be glad to do this kind of service to oblige Quay, his "dear friend,"‡ as he called him. Secretary Taft reported that the charges of Minister Bowen against Assistant Secretary of State Loomis, of accepting \$10,000 from an asphalt company and for mulcting debts from Venezuela to private parties were not founded; and not being able to convince an adamant secretary Minister Bowen was removed. Everybody now knows that the charges were true. Because I have often noted

it while a reporter, I know what a precarious thing it is to bring up charges against a superior. The great purpose of the Roosevelt administration is to keep the political *régime* intact. Insubordination and not wrong-doing has therefore been the unforgivable sin.

"Even had Mr. Loomis been guilty," said Mr. Roosevelt in his report, "Mr. Bowen's conduct (of publicly bringing charges) would be unpardonable."*

Emphasis on the sin of insubordination in office results in keeping the private interests favored intact. Later when Mr. Loomis was granted a "leave of absence," Mr. Roosevelt, as though to take a still stronger stand for the interests involved, appointed Robert Bacon, once J. P. Morgan's partner, in Loomis' place. Boss Platt had asked Mr. Roosevelt to make this appointment.† It was this same Bacon who afterwards so flagrantly denied the British admiral's insult to the American warships at Kingston. The *régime* in office is generally so solid with the corporate interests that when one steps on a superior officer's toes some corporation feels it and squeals. An unpublished case in point exists in the United States Steamboat Inspection Service for New York. One of the two inspectors officiating at trials and hearings in navigation cases has complained of the difficulty of getting cases against railroads done with, for offenses on the waterways. Formal charges, backed up officially by the Supervising Inspector, were made by the lesser of the two trial officers against his superior. I have long known some inside reasons for the disasters on our waterways. But the unpardonable sin of insubordination was again committed and the complainant dismissed from the service by order of Mr. Roosevelt's man, Secretary Straus. The railroad corporations chuckled with glee. Their watchword is: "Keep the political *régime* intact," and by so doing

*Press dispatches, January 11, 1907.

†New York World.

‡New York World.

*New York Sun.

†Press dispatches.

the "interests" are served insidiously by this pseudo-reformer. These are the segments of the charmed circle:—By his solicitude for the "organization" and its sentries, the bosses, Mr. Roosevelt keeps the *régime* intact. A split in the *régime* would reveal the Senegambian in the wood-pile, who employs the bosses to hide him. Hence charges of insubordination, or "breach of discipline," rank above treason. There is an official order out that all charges must be made confidentially. They therefore never become public, unless given out by a party or society making them.

Keeping the political *régime* intact works in the interests of the predatory wealth every time. For instance, the Republican party of California belongs to the Southern Pacific Railroad. Victor H. Metcalf has been its handy man in Congress for three terms. The organization as proxy for the corporation recommended this faithful servant to Mr. Roosevelt. To preserve the integrity of the organization, Mr. Roosevelt put Metcalf in charge of the Department of Commerce and Labor, and of course under his *régime* not a single indictment of a "rich malefactor" was possible.* It is this same Metcalf, now promoted to be Secretary of the Navy, who so zealously defends the iniquitous naval bureau system, which "has put the American navy at least five years behind its competitors in practically all mechanical devices."† It was also this same Metcalf, this prototype of Mr. Roosevelt's mind, who, as Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor, issued in Department Circular No. 96, October, 1905, the severest strictures upon the news since the days of free institutions.

Said the New York *World*, in an editorial, on July 25, 1907:

"Is Mr. Metcalf qualified to execute in its spirit a law imposing such obliga-

tions? Is not his selection for such a responsibility as gross an impropriety as the transfer of Mr. Cortelyou from the work of investigating corporations to that of extracting their fat, or that of Mr. Knox from the task of prosecuting law-breaking combinations to that of representing the Pennsylvania Railroad in the Senate? Is it not, like the appointment of Vice-President Morton of the Santa Fé to the Cabinet six weeks after his initiation into the Republican party, a proof that Mr. Roosevelt has definitely surrendered to the trusts?"

Mr. Cortelyou, as Secretary of Commerce and Labor, had learned about the petty sins of the corporations. Mr. Roosevelt, seeing that no results came, said: "Well done, good and faithful servant," and promoted him to be Chief Fat-Fryer during the campaign. Then in came the contributions as penance money in lieu of punishment. The President had promised to not "run amuck" among them, and as evidence of good faith selected their ally, Metcalf, for Cortelyou's place.

Far off at all the radii of the periphery the same obedience to the organization results in the same lease of power to corrupt influences. Who is Pearl Wight, for instance, that he should be made collector of internal revenue for New Orleans? He is the head of the Lily White organization. He handles hundreds of government contracts—one a contract for \$184,000 of lumber for the Panama canal. Mr. Roosevelt has left the selection of appointments in that state to Wight. Now we have heard (in speeches only) of Mr. Roosevelt's efforts to preserve the forests. Wight is prominent in the lumber trust of Louisiana, against which suit has been brought by private parties, although the papers have been accumulating dust in a pigeon-hole in the department of Commerce. Because he desires to make use of Wight, Mr. Roosevelt is permitting the lumber trust to cut down timber on government reservations. Every sawmill

*Editorial in New York *World*, July 26, 1907.

†*Literary Digest*, page 3, January 4, 1908.

on the lands is supposed to be inspected by agents of the government. And yet the very names of these prospective agents are submitted to Wight of the lumber trust before they are appointed; and all to strengthen the rotten Lily White organization and thus control delegates in Louisiana.* A United States District Attorney brought charges against Senator Borah for alleged complicity in forest steals. A judge lately appointed by Mr. Roosevelt, Judge Lewis, dismissed the charges. And yet the federal district attorney who secured the indictment of Senator Borah for alleged connection with the timber land frauds was dismissed from office for *lese majeste*.† And again the interests rejoiced that the *régime* was kept intact by plugging this leak in the hull of party organization. The *régime* is the impregnable square in which the "interests" are enclosed and protected from the decrepit assaults of the wild Mamelukes, the People, outside.

The politico-corporation *régime* is especially solicitous about the judiciary. Mr. Roosevelt appointed a federal judge in Missouri at the behest of Senator Warner and the organization, whose chief reputation is for the non-payment of his debts and who has no legal or civic standing.‡ A judge who will not recognize his own obligations is of all men most likely to believe in an "exempt class." The man whom the political bosses serve, the railroad's attorney and lobbyist, is recommended by them for the judicial vacancy, and obtains it. The subterfuge of federal for state supervision ultimately converges all power into the hands of corporation attorneys, on their way to becoming federal judges, like Jones and Prichard of anti-two-and-one-half-cent-fare fame in the South.

Another instance of concomitant bad government with Mr. Roosevelt's recognition of the *régime* was the defeat of the

Lincoln Republicans under Stuart in Pennsylvania,* the Augean stable of politics. In vain did the reform element turn to Mr. Roosevelt for a message of encouragement. No answer: the party of Quay and Capitol scandal was good enough for him.

Machine organization is built up by Mr. Roosevelt at the expense, also, of the people's rights. When he endorses politicians like Lou Payne, Aldrich, Barnes, Black, Odell of New York, the ultimate responsibility for their whitewash, for instance, of Justice Hooker, tried under charges of the Bar Association, should fall upon him. Because of his intimate alliance with the worst political element in New York state, Platt, Depew, Odell and the above, New York has been without a decent reform for five years, or until last spring: Mr. Roosevelt's friends will not permit any. And fatuous-like, when reform is in sight he arrays himself against its mild sponsor, Hughes. It is significant that every official who has lately done something dynamic for reform has earned the ill-will of Mr. Roosevelt,—Merritt, of the legislature; Tom Johnson, of Ohio; Senator La Follette, Governor Folk.

All the rest follows as an inevitable consequence—no really vital reform rendered possible to hold a brief for him in the day of his tribulation. On the contrary corruption still more corrupt. His alliance with the politician shows that he cannot see beyond the personal. The first sign of a weakly despotic nature is the dominance of personal relations in his official life. The general good has not overbalanced the personal favorite. In a great ruler the personal is lost to sight. Mr. Roosevelt has too many confessedly "dear friends" among the Paynes, Quays, Harrimans. His Justice wears near-visioned spectacles. He will not "run amuck," he said, which means, he will not step on toes concealed under patent leathers. So he has left a record of not bringing a

*New York World, June 24, 1907.

†New York Times, October 2, 1907.

‡Editorial in Collier's Weekly.

*Editorial in THE ARENA, January, 1906.

single indictment against a "rich malefactor" during his two terms.* Indeed, the dominance of the personal forbids it.

He is a very subtle doctor, giving the patient sweetened water for medicine. He has ever chosen the flowery path to reform—which he now sees yields no fruit. The campaign for the Rate Bill is a pitiful instance of the primrose path to glory, flowers a-plenty, without punitive thorns. He is a political Burbank and has eliminated the thorns. His federal judiciary dismissed the great case, which was a test of the law, against the Pennsylvania Railroad for rate discrimination.† Railroad rates affect one-tenth of one per cent. of every dollar we spend; the tariff affects ten cents on every dollar we spend. But Mr. Roosevelt acquired a great name as a reformer along this easy direction, and then agreed to make his bill ineffectual by court and other provisions. It was a billy-dilly he wielded over the trusts, not a sledge-hammer, as the outcry led one to believe, to the keen enjoyment of the "criminal rich" and the loud applause of the gallery gods, who did not understand that the great god Thor's hammer was stuffed with straw. Behind the scenes he suggests to his stage managers that he try to heft a heavier weapon—the Tariff. Stage-manager Cannon struck it off the program with a blue pencil.‡ Once Hanna and a delegation also called on him and said that the present boards were quite an attraction—so drop the tariff. So he left the feat off the boards until his moral muscles should strengthen. Now he is considering with his managers whether the poor, decrepit Rate Bill is not too radical, and this session may see the straw taken out of that.

The accident bulletin is a good gauge of how much the people are being benefited by railroad legislation. The last bulletin showed an increase of 157

killed and 6,056 injured in three months and a total of 23,063 casualties for the quarter ending September, 1907.*

We are misguided as to the origin of the scant reforms made. Not the least of them originated with the President. The late bill originated with the Interstate Law Convention, backed up by three governors.† The Anti-Injunction Bill, defeated by the organization he had built up, was the proposition of Moody, Garfield, and Gompers. The Peace Conference at the Hague, like the Russo-Japanese Peace procedure, were proposed by the Interparliamentary Union and other bodies.‡ The great reform measure that really brought Mr. Roosevelt into notice was the Franchise-Tax Law of New York. But the fact is, he was hostile to it in its early stages, and wrote to the Legislature: "I recommend that you create a joint committee of the Senate and Assembly to investigate the subject in full and report to the next legislature." In other words, Forget it. But public sentiment was at such a high pitch that it meant Mr. Roosevelt's political annihilation to disregard it. One month later he acquiesced and sent a message in its favor to the legislature.§ The little he has done for reform has ever been wrung from him. And because of his instinct to get into the limelight he has jumped into the reform yet never been the first to turn on the light.

Few men have had such a list of contradictory policies against them. The *New York Post* once published a solid page of them. Take the smallest instance: Mr. Roosevelt's favorite sport was "shooting buffalo and other big game." Yet he has written to a society: "I feel real and great interest in the work being done by the American Bison Society to preserve the buffalo."|| Then at

**New York Times* and press dispatches, January 22, 1908.

†Press dispatches.

‡*New York Herald*.

§John Ford, in a letter to *New York World*, fall of 1907.

||*Country Life in America*, January, 1908.

*Editorial in *New York World*, December 30, 1907.

†Press dispatches, January 4, 1907.

‡*New York Times*, June 3, 1907.

the first creak of the band-wagon he will climb down. He is ever changing cars; he is a "rocking-horse crusader." When it was rumored that Morgan's yacht was at Oyster Bay during the campaign Mr. Roosevelt with the most untoward anxiety denied having any consultation with him. But how different a few weeks ago after the panic. Mr. Morgan was then the man of the hour, and Mr. Roosevelt had him at the White House enthusiastically endorsing both him and Cortelyou for mortgaging the future. It makes no difference what way the band-wagon is going, Mr. Roosevelt is bound to be aboard. He swims when the crest is strong, then he floats.

Down in his nature he is not for reform that counts, else he would not have delivered his muck-rake speech, first in private to a few of his corporation friends, then in public at their request. Muck-raking, though as vital as sanitation, is not to his liking because there is nothing spectacular in it. It is not the work of a gentleman, and Mr. Roosevelt was once confessedly aristocratic.* He used often to say privately that reform is the business of the high-born only. What orchestral crash was that at the announcement of the prosecution of the Tobacco Trust? Receivers to be appointed "To take possession of all the property, assets, business and affairs of said defendants."† Quiet, ye galleries, the drama may be a farce! The trouble with Mr. Roosevelt's "suits" is they are quickly out of style, and then consigned to the wardrobe of forgotten things. Yet his attorney-general, who believes in death for human degenerates‡ but immunity for industrial degenerates who revert to the genus swine, can't find the papers for the dust on them. In the meantime the Tobacco Trust grows so oppressive that peaceful farmers in two states organize themselves into "night-riders" to drive

the trust out with the torch. Mr. Roosevelt's attorney-general also believes in death for anarchists. Yet, in the words of another, his official indifference has given the farmers "a deep, dumb conviction that since the trust either owns the law or is beyond its reach, the only recourse of the plain people is to be thus a law unto themselves."* Mr. Roosevelt's administration has been a two-act farce, and just as the gallery gods were "beating it" he announced that there would be no third act. If the President had any predilection for reform he would have removed his apologetic and delinquent attorney-general long ago.

It was Bonaparte who stood out for immunity to the rebate-giving Chicago & Alton Railroad, and he converted his chief. It is logical for a *régime* that imposes secrecy upon the government's relations with the press to enter into secret promises of immunity with meat and railroad trusts. He, also, is simply a Baltimore politician who "spent very little of his time in Washington. . . . spent only a few hours a week there." Judge McReynolds, special counsel in the Tobacco Trust prosecution, once had to wait a week to see the delinquent, and finally had to go over to his political center, Baltimore. "He devotes less time to his official duties than even Moody. . . . Matters requiring his attention and the signature of the Attorney-General pile up on the hands of the chiefs of divisions and can get no further."† Napoleon would not put this *extreme* descendant of his even in his awkward squad.

Seldom is a pill administered without a sop in the same spoon. Along with the announcement of no criminal prosecution of Harriman is another—that coal-carrying roads will be prosecuted.‡ Examine Mr. Roosevelt's speeches and there is scarcely a sentence that is in-

*Letter from F. H. Johnson, in *New York Times*, November 25, 1907.

†*Literary Digest*, July 20, 1907.

‡*Literary Digest*, July 20, 1907.

**Literary Digest*, December 28, 1907.

†Press dispatches.

‡*New York World*, June 8, 1907.

tended to be committal that is not capable of two meanings, that does not trail a rider, with clauses that go together like two horses, so that he can jump to the one when the other is lamed;—ever preaching against the rich and the poor in the same sentence, yet never throwing his weight on the most unequal side. After a speech one paper hails it as a new radicalism, and a *New York Times* announces that he is sober once more. But no communication that is, yea, yea, nay, nay, leaving no room for doubt.

Now all this requires an explanation. Mr. Roosevelt is an honest man, and in private life a great American. The trouble with him is essentially intellectual. He does not *mean* to play into the hands of the people's enemies, but he does so, as actually and insidiously as a guard in a beleaguered city is enticed out at night and delivers the keys to the attackers. It is not "intemperate" to make this deduction. Would you give a dishonest interpretation to the above facts for the sake of a cheap endorsement of "conservative"? It is my feeling that Mr. Roosevelt is a man of limited mental vision who cannot see logical consequence. It is the most charitable commentary on the facts. A glance at Mr. Roosevelt's phrenological development shows that the cerebrum, the seat of prevision and imagination, is not highly developed. If, for instance, Mr. Roosevelt, after knowing certain facts about Thomas Paine—facts about his deep and great philosophical principles, of his God-fearing and God-confessing nature, of his martyrdom in dungeons for liberty—can only generalize it all into the statement that he is "a filthy little atheist,"* we must assume, to avoid imbecility ourselves, that it is the opinion of a very unenlightened, undeveloped mind that was fated, sooner or later, to

involve itself in hopeless contradiction and defeat. What is there in the essential mentality of Mr. Roosevelt to invite the support of the Catholic press in the last campaign without an important exception?*

What attraction of mind was there between the two that Dowie at Zion City should thunder senseless diatribes for Mr. Roosevelt?†

Mediocre alarms when a Mrs. Morris visits the White House, and though a fine, cultured woman, is outrageously dragged away by order of his secretaries, for whom he refused to apologize;‡ his calling the wrong men liars and absolving the real liars in society; his carrying a "gun" in his hip-pockets to be seen at the least flapping of the wind;§ his revelling in the killing of animals; his confession of shooting a Spainard in the back,||—these are not traits that indicate a fine, progressive nature. Then his support of militarism; his spoken contempt of the Quakers; his strictures on cabinet and departmental news; his arranging of grim military welcomes with 500 policemen massed about his carriage;¶ his tearing out the White House so that scarcely a vestige remains of its former simplicity;** his unprecedented costly military suite, with its nine officers having the exclusive function of being in attendance on dance floors at the White House,*† reveal what order of thought his mind is heir to.

In his choice of Taft for his successor he makes the final revelation of the reactionary cast of his mind. An uncle of mine who represents an association of merchants knows Taft as a man who cannot be persuaded to assume responsibility or take the initiative. For a year

**New York Herald* Sunday after election, 1904.

†*New York Herald*, Tuesday before election, 1904.

‡See Senator Tillman's speech, about January 5, 1906.

§Press dispatches, June 9, 1906.

||*Scribner's Magazine*.

¶*New York World*.

***Brooklyn Eagle*, August 10, 1907.

*†*New York World*, special Sunday story.

**Life of Gouverneur Morris*, by Roosevelt. The biographer of Paine, Moncure D. Conway, presented the facts personally before Mr. Roosevelt, proving the very opposite of his fling. Mr. Roosevelt promised to make a correction, but it still remains in the later editions.

he has been asked to take steps to stop the pollution of New York waters by Jersey streams and the blocking of its channels. He has temporized with the merchants, doing nothing yet ever pretending he is going to do something. I remember the tone of disgust in my uncle's words: "I have no use for Taft, for he is afraid to act." There is nothing more in radicalism than individual initiative—the one thing Taft avoids. He is well sized up when he is called an "echo." The smiling, genial, glad-hand Taft is the outer face of the apologetic, temporizing, uninitiative Taft. Taft is the king's jester. The "big stick" in his hands will become a billy-dilly. He loves the jest so much that, as judge, he ever gave the corporation the benefit of the "joker" in the bill. He has also distributed a few choice frowns, to wit: No judge stretched farther the powers of the injunction than he, when a federal judge in Ohio. He rushed to Oklahoma to tell the people to postpone entrance into the union, perhaps with the sinister purpose of keeping out of the union a Democratic state until after the next

election.* His great hobby is to maintain the present autocratic power of the courts. He has especially condemned trial by jury before punishment for injunction proceedings.† He has condemned the initiative and referendum. He opposed Direct-Legislation with Senator Lodge. He discovered that the Interstate Commerce Law could be used as a club over labor.

The day has gone by when a mere name, whooped up by artificial and fortuitous means will ever again epitomize the great American people. The defeat of Parker was the exit of that *régime*. We know that Mr. Roosevelt has little prevision else he would see that Taft will never be president. But we bring in Taft to further reveal Mr. Roosevelt's reactionariness.

And now the charmed circle is soldered: The organization has been built up; the interests within the "square" are intact; the delegates will be delivered, and the interests, main hope, Taft, will be nominated—and defeated.

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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE CONCEPT OF DEITY.

BY GEORGE H. MOORE.

TO PRESENT the Christian Science concept of God to those who have not come into touch with it through experience, one must clear the ground of some ideas falsely associated with Deity, before he can point the way to that scientific and practical understanding of His nature which Christian Science unfolds.

All Christendom unites in ascribing to God the attributes of omnipotence, omnipresence and omniscience. If all men accepted these terms at their face value, there would be no need for the

Christian Scientist to insist on the absolute impossibility of any reality in matter or in evil as part of the divine nature, manifestation, or purpose. Altogether too well, have men learned to take the universe as they find it, and then to adapt their thought of God to their own chaotic sense of things. The Christian Scientist accepts God as He manifests Himself in Christian revelation and then

**Literary Digest*, September 7, 1907.

†He now comes out for limitation of injunctions; but in the last six years has there not been enough of words without deeds?

corrects his concept of the universe accordingly; afterwards verifying his conclusions in a richly modified experience with this human environment. In short, the Christian Scientist affirms of God nearly if not all the attributes enumerated in the historic Christian creeds, and then through thick and through thin he sticks to his thesis. A large part of Christendom likewise declares for the infinite goodness and power of God, and then vacates its premise in order that it may make room for an evil presence and power, an intelligent, malevolent and scheming devil.

Christian Scientists are even reproached because they have no devil, and they accept the reproach. Yet they have to contend with and to overcome the same apparent evil as do others. And the unquestioned evil in human passion and fear, in sin, disease, and death may seem at times, to those who have not yet learned not to fear it, as horrid and hydra-headed, and certainly a far more familiar monster, than the traditional devil of hoof and horn. The advantage of the Christian Scientist's attitude of thought inheres in the fact that he recognizes evil as no part of the divine order, and therefore as having no more entity, consistency, reason for being nor continuance, than do the dreadful monsters of a nightmare. He therefore insists that to understand God's allness one must first abandon all thought of evil as an independent power, as a degenerate part of God's creation, or as "good in the making," and relegate it all—"the devil and his works"—to the realm of illusive phenomena, self-evolved and self-destructive. Not otherwise, be one's logic ever so agile, can the omnipotent, omnipresent goodness of God be established in fact or in faith.

The description of God given by Mrs. Eddy, the Leader of Christian Science, to whom every Christian Scientist owes all that he knows of this truth, is as follows:

"God. The great I Am; the all-knowing, all-seeing, all-acting, all-wise, all-loving, and eternal; Principle; Mind; Soul; Spirit; Life; Truth; Love; all substance; intelligence." (*Science and Health*, p. 587.) Elsewhere she speaks of Him as the "infinite Father-Mother"; "the universal cause, the only creator." (*Idem.*) By each of these terms she illustrates some phase of the divine nature. Thinking of God as Principle, one may learn of Him as the source of all true being, may understand in a degree the invincible integrity and changelessness of His nature, the infinite scope of His power, and also His nearness in the very minutiae of human life. Thinking of Him as Mind, one divorces thought from corporeality and anthropomorphism, and recognizes infinite personality as inspiration and origin of all wisdom, of all science, and of that spiritual thought energy which creates and sustains man and the universe. Thinking of God as Spirit and as substance, one eliminates matter and all its supposed law and phenomena from His being and His expression and denies pantheism. As Father-Mother, one apprehends, in a measure, His infinite tenderness and kindly protection. But the Christian Scientist's supreme effort and aspiration, Mrs. Eddy expresses in her message to the Mother Church, June, 1901: "As Christian Scientists you seek to define God to your own consciousness, by feeling and applying the nature and practical possibilities of divine Love: to gain the absolute and supreme certainty that Christianity is now what Christ Jesus taught and demonstrated—health, holiness, immortality."

Humanity is profoundly concerned to understand God, and sincere men welcome any and every ray of light shed on His nature and His ways. It is a self-important and caviling critic that will reject such illumination because he conceives it to be unconventional or without precedent, because it is scientific, that is,

well-ordered and demonstrable and not merely intuitive or emotional as religious light has been declared to be. The critic who asserts that our God is "no God," but merely a substitute for Deity, is simply juggling with words and calls for no answer, except for the fact that thoughtless readers may accept sound for sense and harden their hearts in shrinking fear of something new in Christian faith. Words are but poor vessels for spiritual truth, though they serve as honest enough instruments for an honest thought. To a quibbler they furnish abundant material for blinding both one's self and others.

The one thing men most desire to know about God is in regard to His attitude toward humanity. And Christian Science has much to offer here, for it is practical in all its teachings and meets an honest searcher always on the ground of his greatest need. The early Hebrew corporealized God as his king and avenger. Jesus endeavored to transform this crude thought by exalting God as a loving Father and friend, as a guardian presence and protector. But Christendom early lost the love out of its thought of God by again personifying Him as magistrate and judge, and bringing the race to His throne not as wayward children craving His protection, but as suppliant criminals cursed for the sin of a common ancestor.

This error gave warrant to the most cruel dogma in "old theology" that involved in its false conception of divine judgment. The far-reaching cruelty of this teaching is in its hopelessness, in its assumption that God's attitude toward men, that is, His judgment of men, is retributive and spectacular, consigning men to an irrevocable destiny of bliss or of suffering according to their blind stumbling or their palsied indifference and bravado during a few ill-guided years. The fear of God and the fear of death, which so harries human life, find perfect justification in this teaching, for death means to the individual, who

accepts this theory, a peremptory closing of all opportunity, and summons him to an ordeal which would be a travesty on justice and a betrayal of his legitimate trust in God's love. Christian Science destroys this fear of God and fear of death, by exposing the falsty of this harsh conception of divine justice. It teaches that divine judgment is purely redemptive and never retaliatory; that the door of opportunity is never closed, here or hereafter; and that death is but an incident of human belief, utterly powerless to shut man out from God's love.

This Love, Christian Science asserts to be absolutely irresistible and that it cannot by any means be deprived of its object. It declares that divine Love cannot lapse into indifference or be transmuted into vengeful hate, nor can His kingdom be divided. As a religious body, Christian Scientists assume no precedence in extolling God's love as comprehensive of all men. They go much further, however, in asserting that divine Love is even now an available human resource, in which men may find cure for every ill that besets their thought, and so finds expression in their lives.

In material terms, the operation of divine Love may be illustrated by the action of the magnet, which attracts to itself and endows with its own power particles of true metal, but shows neither attraction nor recognition of their encumbering dust. The divine judgment as a "proclamation of the right" involves of necessity the rejection of the wrong, including everything that would defile or distort God's perfect creation; but it rejects no integral part of that creation. Divine judgment separates men from sin; and sin thereby exposed as unreal, untrue, and having no part in God, man, or the universe, is destroyed. The traditional concept of divine judgment often tends to make of human life a daring gamble with sin and repentance, based on the hope that repentance may

precede death and so cheat sin of its penalty. An understanding of Christian Science quenches the desire for sin by showing that suffering is concurrent with sin, and that sin invents and applies its own torment. The divine judgment is to be interpreted not so much as intervention in human affairs to arrest guilt and to reward virtue, as it is prevention, leading us into appreciation of God's kindly provision and care. Seeking His ways, one seeks re-adjustment of one's thought to His law and so finds redemption from the chaos of material and of evil thinking. Divine judgment is therefore never to be feared as an ordeal, but is to be eagerly anticipated and desired as a return of consciousness to its spiritual birthright and dominion.

Physical science has not yet declared aright that mysterious force called gravitation which holds the earth to its orbit and maintains its rhythm with the rest of the universe. The best that man has yet done is to stand in awe of the marvelous reach of its power and to rest in its security. But the astronomer's story of the evolution and control of the physical universe through the operation of omnipresent force, is but a poorly worded interpretation of the all-encircling unity and power of divine Principle, which holds not only the stars to their courses, but guarantees to all God's ideas their security in His love and care. This ever-present love manifests itself in ever new avenues of light, revealing His power in a multitude of ways, according to the impulses of humanity's

varied needs. To the Christian Scientist, God is in very deed a guardian presence, satisfying every human need, filling thought with confidence and good cheer, and opening up a vista of spiritual understanding and dominion which is without parallel and without limit.

The Christian Science concept of God is scientific, because within the ever-widening range of human experience it is verifiably true; because it is "well-ordered knowledge" gained through intelligent appeal to Principle; and because it robs error of its seeming reality and assumed power. As individual thought broadens to grasp the majestic sweep of divine revelation, and as thereby, human consciousness more and more closely reflects the divine, the true concept of God, that is of life, directly and inevitably manifests itself in more orderly, more sane, more healthful and more efficient living. The practical efficacy of the teachings of Christian Science is the sufficient confirmation of their truth, and of its discoverer's secure place in history as one of the world's greatest benefactors.

Human theories may continue to come and go. Human philosophies may continue to battle among themselves for a supremacy which can never be won. The only unity of thought possible to mankind is the unity already existing in the divine Mind. As the years go on all humanly evolved systems of thought must lay down their arms before divine revelation, the one unerring source of truth.

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MANUFACTURING-WORKS HIGH SCHOOL FOR YOUNG WOMEN.

BY WILLIAM THUM.

MATERIAL, intellectual, and spiritual progress depends upon the bodily health of the individual, upon his memory, his power to reason, and his accumulation of interesting and valuable knowledge. It is the generally accepted belief that the reform agencies of the day can hope for success only through the further development of these qualities in the individual; without their further development, advancement in wisdom becomes impossible.

A store of valuable knowledge necessarily includes a fair understanding of the laws of health, and the process of accumulating this store, best develops the memory and the reasoning power. So-called primary knowledge is almost universally distributed, but the so-called secondary knowledge is enjoyed by comparatively few. Although without the primary there could be no secondary knowledge, it is upon the latter that we directly depend for advancement in wisdom. It is only through a further advance in popular wisdom that the present and future problems of humanity can be satisfactorily met, so it is of the utmost importance that every available young person should receive a secondary or High-School education.

At the present time, most of us obtain what secondary education we may possess through observation and reading, without guidance or system; and we gain this at a later period in life than it should be gained. When one considers that in well managed high schools the teaching is done by specially trained instructors in subjects selected by experienced educators and that these subjects are treated according to their relative importance in the student's development,

it is evident that the usual random studying is of little value when compared with systematic high school training given at the most suitable age.

The greatest hope for the future lies in inducing every capable young person to graduate from some thorough high school. The accomplishment of this is the problem that outweighs all other reform problems, for as just intimated, the final solution of any reform problem depends on the wisdom of the individual citizen, and without an early secondary education growth in wisdom is seriously and permanently retarded.

In trying to solve the problem under discussion, one of the principal points to consider is the obtaining of means necessary to build and maintain so large a number of high schools as would be required to accommodate practically every individual during the high school period of life. The public could do this if it were determined to do so, but the taxes would have to be increased, and they would become a hardship in many more instances than they are at present. In addition to the means required for the building and operation of the schools, means would have to be provided for the full or partial maintenance of all students whose parents could not fully maintain their children through a high school course. Under present economic conditions it would be impossible for the public to furnish this maintenance, and even if this were possible, it would be most harmful.

It has been suggested that the public build and equip the high schools, put them in operation, and then let the students themselves pay the running expenses. This plan would be easy for

the public and good for the students. As it is evident that the high school students who could not or would not be maintained by their friends must provide their own maintenance, the question of how to supply the students with remunerative employment becomes a paramount one.

One object of this article is to make a specific suggestion for the employment of young women students. We are told that many organized plans to supply students with employment for full self-support have been tried, and that all have failed. This, however, should be no reason for discouragement. So important is the problem that a score or more of experiments, all unsuccessful, might be considered profitable if they should lead finally to the discovery of a practicable method for a better distribution of secondary education. One of the successful efforts to train in good citizenship is that seen in the George Junior Republic. And the plan, akin as it is to that for a manufacturing works high school, would promise equal or greater success for the latter school; there would be fewer difficulties encountered in establishing a manufacturing works high school as the ages and previous training of the children in a George Junior Republic would make the problem simpler of solution.

Among many industries with which the experiment might be tried, a practical one would probably be found in knitting works for women's and children's underwear, as this seems to be an industry especially adapted for the employment of young women students. Any standard article that can be manufactured under healthful conditions, and for the making of which adequate remuneration can be given, would answer the purpose.

A high school that could properly be called a manufacturing works high school and a knitting works might be operated conjointly on lines similar to those suggested for the joint operation

of public works and high schools in an article published in *THE ARENA* of December, 1907, entitled "Public Works High Schools." As far as that article is applicable to the present subject, we shall borrow from it and make alterations to fit the present case. The public works high school is best suited for young men, while the present suggestion is for the education and employment of young women.

Most young women of sixteen years or over would be benefited by earning their living and education, if the work is within reason and also instructive.

"The legal time for attendance in this school should extend over a period of eight years, anywhere between the ages of sixteen and twenty-eight. The public would be expected to provide only grounds, buildings, and initial expenses, and then exercise general supervision over the schools; the students themselves would be obliged to earn and pay all operating expenses of the schools, once they are in good running order." In the case of young women a maximum age of twenty-four years would probably be sufficient.

The most feasible program for work and school attendance for self-supporting students would require the alternating of work and study every half-day. One-half of the students in each high school grade would attend school three hours in the forenoon and work for wages five hours in the afternoon; with the other half, the time of work and study would be reversed. Some prominent educators are confident that six years of this half-time school attendance would be ample in which to complete what at present constitutes a four years' high school course. The more mature years that would be brought into the latter part of the course; the presumably better health, due to the intermissions occupied by work; the better assimilation of the studies due to the more deliberate progress of the entire course, all would make it possible to take a regular four years'

course in six half-time years. We shall here assume that such is the case.

"It is evident that the study program of a high school for self-supporting students would have to differ from that of the present high school mainly in that each morning program of study would have to be repeated with the other set of students in the afternoon." The program of the school could be so arranged that full-time pupils could have full-day sessions by attending the first half of a grade in the forenoon and the second half in the afternoon. Regardless of best results, parents will, no doubt, always support their daughters in high school just as many years as they can afford to do so. The student that attends school full time during the ninth and tenth grades would ordinarily pass the tenth grade at sixteen years of age and if, after that, she attends only in half-day session, she would require three years more to graduate, and would be nineteen years of age. The young woman who enters the ninth grade at sixteen and goes through all the grades on a half-time schedule would graduate at twenty-two years of age. Much the larger number of the young women would graduate at twenty-two or younger. Those who by actual experience learn the lesson of full self-support and all that necessarily goes with it, would be certain to gain much more from the school course than would the other students.

In the article from which we quote, an imaginary water-works operated by self-supporting students is described. In the description of this water-works a plan is given for an annual change of employment for the student workers. This change of work was suggested partly to avoid monotony, but principally to acquaint the student with the entire operation of the business from janitor up to manager. This changing of work, as far as it could be made to apply, might be profitably adopted in the knitting works. The education of

several years duration obtained from a complete and thorough working study of a knitting works or of any other business is most valuable and interesting. Such a complete knowledge of any manufacturing business is rare, and few can fully appreciate its value. The student workers would all become well informed in business methods, and it is probable that the experiences of such a course would, in later life, aid greatly in every coöperative effort of whatever nature.

Many believe that young women under twenty years of age would not render adequate service to deserve wages necessary for self-support. We must bear in mind that the students would be young women who would be willing to work for an education and who would be chosen on account of special ability. After once the operating methods were well established, we would find that these self-supporting young women from sixteen to twenty-four years of age, could do not only the manual but much of the managerial labor in as satisfactory a manner as it is done in the best works at the present time. We must also bear in mind the fact that the study of the knitting works would, as the name of the school implies, become a part of the curriculum of the manufacturing works high school. This would put every part of the operation of the works under the observation of the entire school, both students and instructors.

The works would in all probability be owned by some voluntary association of public-spirited citizens, who would not operate them for profit other than a moderate and fixed interest profit. This voluntary association of citizens would require that full and clear business reports be issued to the general public at regular intervals. These reports and the actual bookkeeping could be made the regular course of study in the book-keeping classes in the school. In this way the general public, the instructors and the students would become well acquainted with the details of the busi-

ness, and this publicity would tend to increase the efficiency in the works.

A general introduction of half-time employment for self-supporting students would be a boon to parents who appreciate the value of a secondary education, yet cannot pay the required schooling for their daughters. As a general rule, a self-earned secondary education is far better than one paid for by others, because the self-supporting student learns how to study, earn, save, spend, and live. Learning these things well, more than repays her for any extra time required to finish the course.

It would be difficult to estimate the great benefit to humanity if the number of mothers who are thorough high school graduates could be increased but two or three fold. This would be especially true if all future high schools for girls would give courses in domestic science, nursing, and motherhood. The increase in the number of graduates due to the system for self-support would consist of just those whom Nature would choose as the most desirable mothers.

Young women of sixteen years of age, who are selected for ability above the average, could earn enough in five hours at the knitting works to pay their personal expenses and their proportionate share of the running expenses of the school. The young women under discussion would be willing to live simply, and one dollar a day could be made to answer, if a supply of clothing, the lighter room furnishings, and about \$25.00 for books and emergency were on hand. An energetic, capable young woman who tries to do her best ought to be paid enough for five hours of labor to enable her to meet the necessary expenses of one day of such simple living. If she is not paid that much, others are living off her efforts. At the present time the women workers in privately-owned knitting works are not paid twenty cents per hour, and the established prices for knit goods may forestall wages at that rate. The stu-

dents' knitting works would be required to yield only a moderate profit and the student workers would, no doubt, show greater average efficiency than do present workers, so it might be possible for a students' knitting works to sell its goods as cheaply as the same goods are now being sold. As is shown in the article on public works high schools before referred to, the effect of student workers on the general labor market would be in no way depressing.

Some believe that five hours of daily work and three hours of school attendance would result in physical injury to many young women, but actual experience indicates the contrary. Whether it would be injurious or not, it would be less injurious than eight or ten hours of daily work such as those who would constitute the greater number of the self-supporting students now have to do, as the work and surroundings in a students' works would probably be more healthful and pleasant than those of the average private factory.

We wish to make a specific suggestion for the creating of a students' knitting works. Let the National Federation of Women's Clubs appoint a committee to investigate the knitting works business. If this business appears to be well suited for a students' works, have the committee make a detailed report of the entire business. This report should include every item of expense and income in the operation of the business, detailed drawings of buildings and machinery, and a commercial, practical, and scientific description of the raw material required. The report should give the cost of constructing a knitting plant of the desired size, also the cost of the necessary buildings for dormitory, restaurant, and high school. In making this report, the committee might profitably use several years of time. It is, of course, not necessary that the committee confine itself to knitting works, these are suggested here merely as a possibility.

The mode of management under which

the works is to be operated until experience teaches better ways, should also be determined at this time. One of the foremost essentials for success in any plan for a school of self-supporting students, is that the applicants for work be given preference as nearly as possible in the order of their ability and character, as shown by previous standing in school. Such a preference is only fair, and it encourages the less capable to do their best. Let us suggest a board of directors consisting of three members chosen by the Women's Clubs; let there be added to this board twenty student directors chosen by the student body, from the eleventh and twelfth grades. Each student director should have one tenth the voting power of each director chosen by the Women's Clubs. A special state law might have to be enacted sanctioning such a board of directors.

Let us assume that the report will show that one dollar per day can be paid capable young women. In a short time economies could be introduced into the operation of the works which would permit giving a second year student \$1.05, a third year student \$1.10, thus advancing the daily wages five cents for each year of experience that the student gains. The daily wages for each of the six years respectively would therefore be \$1.00, \$1.05, \$1.10, \$1.15, \$1.20, \$1.25

making an average of \$1.12½. All wages over the \$1.00 per day could be saved by the student until graduation. A student working three hundred days per year for six years could in this way accumulate \$225.00. In voting for student directors, the individual student might be given voting power in proportion to the length of time she had served, as the length of service would, in a way, be a measure of her experience in the business.

Another important step for the committee to take would be to obtain the pledge of a sufficient number of the members of the Women's Clubs to buy their knitted goods from the student works, provided that the quality is equal to that of the best factories and that the prices are not more in excess of market prices than fair wages might make necessary. Investigation may show that students' knitting works could produce underwear at less than present ruling prices. These and other preliminaries being accomplished, a stock company for the required amount might be formed, possibly for \$250,000, and the by-laws framed to make possible the desired mode of management. Should the experiment finally prove successful, students' works and manufacturing works high schools of various kinds could be introduced into every city of sufficient size.

—WILLIAM THUM

THE UNITED STATES TRUST.

(BY CAPTAIN W. E. P. FRENCH, U. S. A.)

IN HIS annual message (of 1904) to the Congress of eighty odd millions of Americans, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, struck the key-note of the trust problem and showed

the way to a wise, lawful and feasible solution of some of the most burning questions of our day.

There are five important texts in this valuable sermon on corporations, and every citizen whose patriotism is stronger than his pocketbookism, whose mind is

not mortgaged to some corporate interest, and who has the wit and courage to think for himself, would do well to consider them in order, and to make his own comments and deductions; for the Nation's security, honor and life are menaced by those to whom she has given great rewards, the foes in her own household.

Says the President in Text I:—"When we come to deal with great corporations the need for the Government to act directly is far greater than in the case of labor, because great corporations can become such only by engaging in inter-state commerce, and inter-state commerce is peculiarly the field of the General Government. It is an absurdity to expect to eliminate the abuses in great corporations by State action. It is difficult to be patient with an argument that such matters should be left to the States, because more than one State pursues the policy of creating on easy terms corporations which are never operated within that State at all, but in other States whose laws they ignore. The National Government alone can deal adequately with these great corporations."

If "inter-state commerce is peculiarly the field of the General Government" (and it is, the opinion of the Supreme Court to the contrary, notwithstanding), then any corporation doing business in that field is a national trespasser and is lawfully amenable to prosecution, fine, imprisonment, and confiscation of its illegally acquired property. It is, indeed, absurd to expect that corporate abuse can or will be eliminated by State action, for not only is the average State wax in the hands of corporations; but the State can usually reach merely one tentacle of the enormous body whose lair and home-office are elsewhere. The man or corporation that "ignores" law, is a law-breaker, is living in lawlessness and is an anarchist within the meaning of the word as commonly used.

National Governments have, here-

tofore, "dealt adequately" with certain great corporations by the simple, common-sense methods of absorption and nationalization. The treatment that cured one set of ills in the body politic will cure similar ones.

Measured in terms of the world's life, it is not so long ago that individuals and private corporations raised and maintained armies and navies, and levied inter-state war; but the State became convinced that this was a dangerous power to give to citizens, as it led to anarchy, so nations sensibly assumed charge of the military and naval establishments. Neither is it so long ago that individuals, rejoicing in "initiative" and "enterprise," collected the taxes of nations, owned and operated toll-roads and bridges, carried the mails, held property in mankind, and exercised powers of life and death; but the State properly concluded that these privileges and "vested rights" were unsafe in irresponsible hands, so it emancipated the black slaves, and made national trusts of the other matters, greatly to the benefit of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." No one but a lunatic, a "frenzied financier" or the reincarnation of a "robber Baron" would care to go back to those "good old times." There are some of us, thank God! besides the President, who see plainly the evils of our own time, and long with heavy, loyal hearts to rid the Great Republic of them.

Says the President in Text II:—"The American people need to continue to show the very qualities that they have shown—that is, moderation, good sense, the earnest desire to avoid doing any damage, and yet the quiet determination to proceed, step by step, without halt and without hurry, in eliminating, or at least minimizing, whatever of mischief there is to inter-state commerce in the conduct of the great corporations."

The American people have charge of this trust matter, and they have the power, as they evidently have the will,

to deal with it. That they will "proceed decently and in order" is hoped and believed, but that they will be inexorable is a certainty in the mind of the Chief Executive and of every other sensible citizen.

No damage could or would be done by the government regulation, control and ultimate ownership of public utilities, which as at present mismanaged are a source of lawlessness, corruption and national danger; but, on the contrary, great good would result to the people, the Government and the corporations themselves, inasmuch as they would be stably, honestly and lawfully administered, their officers would become honored and trusted public servants, instead of being in the category of "the criminally rich," and their "securities" could not be gambled in, and would become as safe an investment for the earnings and savings of the people as government bonds.

Almost any "mischief" may be "minimized," but if it can be entirely "eliminated" it should be done, for no sane nation or individual wants to endure an ill that can be cured. If there be ways of curing the trust disease other than by National absorption or by organized labor building up one lawful, competitive organization which, by the approved business methods of individual saving and collective buying, should and would become the final source and reservoir of all capital, I am free to confess I do not know them, and, so far, I have met no king of high finance or captain of industry who could or would show me such ways.

Says the President in Text III:—"Great corporations are necessary, and only men of great and singular mental power can manage such corporations successfully, and such men must have great rewards. But these corporations should be managed with due regard to the interest of the public as a whole. Where this can be done under the present

laws it must be done. Where these laws come short, others should be enacted to supplement them."

As the great corporations, acting in obedience to economic necessity (which knows no law), absorbed by "benevolent assimilation" the lesser ones, so shall and should the great corporation known as the United States of America, acting in obedience to National economic, industrial and financial necessity, and in the interest of Justice, Law, Order, Patriotism, Economy and Public Welfare absorb these watery masses of undigested insecurities. And this final corporation would be "managed with due regard to the interest of the public as a whole"; for it would be public property, and people, individually and collectively, are somewhat prone to safeguard their own property.

The United States Post-Office, which is one of the great "business enterprises" of the world, is not permitted to "inflate" or "depreciate" stock, "wreck" properties, give "private rebates," charge a tariff of "all the traffic will bear," or assign million-dollar salaries to its "general managers;" and, while it pays excessive tolls to the railroad trust, and has, as yet, neither the will nor the power of the post-offices of most civilized countries to safeguard our savings, send our telegrams and carry our express parcels (thus creating revenue where we now have deficit, and cutting trust prices in half), it does give us cheap, excellent, expert service, and its speculations in thirty years would hardly pay interest on the sum stolen from the public in thirty days by one great "financial institution."

It is, indeed, true that the managers of great corporations are "men of great and singular mental power" and should have "great rewards." We have had at the head of the Nation and of the army and navy men of remarkable and peculiar ability. There was a man named Lincoln, to whom we paid

twenty-five thousand dollars a year. There were men called Farragut and Grant, who received for their rather valuable services to the Nation about half that sum. It may be that I am prejudiced, but I like to think that these patriots, and hundreds, nay, thousands, of others we all know, are the moral and mental superiors of any money-changer, magnate, capitalist, promoter or other pensioner on society that the world has ever seen. If the Nation can get such men at normal salaries as chief executives and heads of specialized departments, is it not "wasteful and ridiculous excess" to pay, even indirectly, from a million to a hundred millions a year to coal-men, oil-men, iron-men, insurance agents, railroad kings and financiers? Is not the price we pay for presidents, admirals, generals and cabinet officers enough compensation for managers, middlemen and monopolists in finance and industry, and are not the former at least the intellectual peers of the latter? Does any human being need greater pecuniary rewards than he can use? We all know the story of the man who said to his companion, "See that man across the street? Ten years ago he had n't a shirt to his back, and now he has a million." The other replied, "Poor fellow! he must be mad. A million shirts! What can he do with them?"

Says the President in Text IV:—"More important than any legislation is the gradual growth of a feeling of responsibility and forbearance among capitalists and wage-workers alike; a feeling of respect on the part of each man for the rights of others; a feeling of broad community of interest, not merely of capitalists among themselves, and of wage-workers themselves, but of capitalists and wage-workers in their relation to each other, and of both in their relations to their fellows who with them make up the body politic."

True "community of interest" exists

in the army and navy, but it would not exist a moment if the officers were permitted by vicious laws to pay themselves and the soldiers and sailors from the military chest. A wise Government has delivered us from that temptation, for we are only human, and if we were our own and the men's paymasters, without Congressional and statutory limitations, there would be multi-millionaire Generals, magnate Colonels and Majors, Captains of vast wealth, Lieutenants of handsome fortune, and enlisted men barely able to keep body and soul together.

There can never be real community of interest between Labor and private capitalism, but there can be between the workers and public capital, as we see in Switzerland, New Zealand, Australia and other States. I may desire to impress my hens that our interests are common, inasmuch as I feed and shelter them and provide raw material, wages and machinery (in the shape of worm-infested ground, clam shells, box-nests and egg-inspiring door-knobs), and merely take as my profit the eggs and broilers, with, here and there, an original wage-worker for soup, salad or the scrap-pile; but if they were not hens and fools they might perceive that the undomesticated birds-of-the-air had free access to natural opportunities and paid tribute to the predaceous only and not an alleged altruistic benefactor.

A "community of interest" of the community, for the community and by the community would, in my humble estimation (I lived in one for a score of years), inculcate very rapidly a "feeling of responsibility and forbearance" among all concerned, and a "feeling of respect on the part of each man for the rights of others." For when the "Commonwealth" shall come to mean the common weal and welfare, no geese will lay golden eggs for one man or class of men to poach. The average human being differs from the hen in not having feathers.

Says the President, quoting from, and

endorsing as "sound common sense," the speech of a wise railroad president: "Publicity, and not secrecy, will win hereafter, and laws be construed by their intent, and not by their letter, otherwise public utilities will be owned and operated by the public which created them, even though the service be less efficient and the result less satisfactory from a financial standpoint."

"Publicity" will never win the day in corporate bodies so long as "secrecy" can be made to declare greater dividends. It is idle to hope for it. But Mr. Roosevelt and the kindly, sensible, far-seeing railway official (that man should manage a National railroad, and he would if the Nation called him) are quite right in their deduction, that, if laws be not interpreted by the spirit instead of by the letter (they will not be while it is "good business" to evade statutes, bribe legislative and judicial bodies, and manipulate "stock" values in the interest of "insiders"), an aroused and angered people will own and operate public utilities. There is no reason why they should not be far more efficient, and far more satisfactory from the standpoint of the whole Nation, both financially and economically, though it is cheerfully admitted that the results in money-profit might not be quite as agreeable to the gentlemen with a million shirts or a billion poached dollars (I mean eggs, of course).

The railroad, telegraph, telephone, tramway, light and water services wherever (in the large majority of instances) they have been nationlized or municipalized have shown wonderful results in efficiency and cheapness, and, as a rule, they do not seem to have "corrupted politics," for which we should be very grateful: the purity of our politics is a matter of intense national pride.

The facts and figures about what other Governments have done in the way of creating national trusts are very interesting and instructive reading, and

some of our magazines publish them.

Government insurance has been successful, the premiums small, the policies safe, the methods "open." Government coal-mines have reduced the market price of fuel. Postal savings banks are (I have read) features of all enlightened nations except Spain, Turkey and the United States, and they never fail or omit dividends. It is rather suggestive that the first year in which England operated her telegraph in connection with her post-office the business increase was a thousand per cent., that thereafter the postal system showed no deficit, and that New Zealanders send relatively more telegrams than we do.

In the army we have Government-ownership, coöperation and other things that savor of paternalism and "community of interest"; we manage, or have managed, about every business and industry, except stock-watering and brokerage; and I venture the assertion, that if the United States concluded to do its own banking, insurance, rail-roading, telegraphing, mining, and most other producing or distributing, and the colossal intellects which require so many shirts and eggs refused to serve their country for fair and generous salaries, the Nation could get managers by the hundred from the army and navy at from fourteen hundred to fourteen thousand a year, and these public servants would, in a short time, give better, safer, cheaper and more "efficient" service than our country and her people have ever had, or ever will have, from privately-managed corporations run for the purpose of piling up useless, dangerous wealth in a few hands to be spent in "conspicuous waste" or used to breed a further menace to the Republic.

I read in an editorial on the President's message, written in sarcastic vein and published in a great metropolitan daily paper, that Mr. Roosevelt "would in all possible and needful ways have the Federal Government throw its strong,

protecting arm about the weak, defenseless and shivering citizen." All honor to the Government or man that would help and protect the helpless! The Government that will not, does not dares not, shield the wronged and oppressed among its own people should be destroyed and a decent one put in its place.

This same paper ends its editorial with these words, also meant in irony and scorn:—"We are one Nation, one people; there should be one power, and it ought to be lodged in Washington, D. C. The people, what are they but sheep? They need the shepherd every hour."

The editor is right. There should be one power to serve, to save, to reward, to punish; and that power should be at the capital of the Nation, and not in Wall street or a newspaper office. The people are, indeed, largely sheep, following the bell-wether of special privilege, and they do, God knows, need "every hour" the wise shepherding of a strong, brave, clean government to protect them from the bulls, bears and wolves of "high finance," which, may it please the court, is a polite equivalent for speculation without the s and grand larceny, being wholesale theft under the protection of class-made law. We all know that to steal a million is genius, but to purloin a loaf of bread for starving children is war on Society.

I heartily dislike and distrust the so-called Republican party, believing its avowed policy and practice of protection for the privileged few, its evil class-legislation, and its cowardly and stupid conservatism, to be among the dominant causes of our National socio-economic danger and discontent; and in sociology, politics and religion I am an honest opponent of the President; but, in my dual capacity as citizen and soldier, I respect every man who has the courage of his convictions, and who shows a fearless front to the most defiant, most

sordid and most criminally unscrupulous power the world has ever seen, the power of privately-organized corporate wealth, the Anarchy of the Dollar.

II.

The foregoing was written and laid aside, three years ago, it has now blossomed into a prophecy; for the United States has, of late, become the owner and the operator of a number of rather important industries (all of which we have been assured by the organs of vested interest were entirely without the pale of government activity). And our Government, with the aid of its officers, its enlisted soldiers and a few good, average citizens, is making a far greater success of these big and "enterprising" business ventures than has been made by the financial giants (and economic pigmies) who have mismanaged and looted the public-service corporations of a great Nation. Indeed, it would seem that the Commonwealth, working for the common weal, has conducted these huge enterprises better, more economically, more intelligently, and infinitely more honestly and honorably than similar examples of individual initiative and enterprise have been run by our masters of finance and industry. Incidentally, I have sometimes wondered if these altruistic gentlemen are really our Goliaths-of-Gray-Matter, or if the God they worship and serve has not made them just a little mad—"Quem Jupiter vult perdere, prius dementat."

What we have done in the line of National ownership and operation reads like a fairy story, and our capitalist-inspired daily press has cleverly suppressed the tale. But "The United States Government now owns and operates one of the longest and most intricate commercial cable and telegraph systems in the world." This was written by a man with access to State papers and records, and it is a curious and very

suggestive fact, that certain politicians with equal opportunities, and whose duty it is to know about these matters, have not only failed to mention them to the people, but have loudly asseverated in public that National ownership is impracticable in this country or under a democracy—a sinister state of affairs, and one that should give us pause, by and by.

To return to our mutton, the cable for this vast system was made in New Jersey, cost less and is more efficient than the private commercial cables, and would reach from Newfoundland to Ireland. In connection with it, is a wireless section (the only one of its kind in the world for a long time) with a record of no errors. Yet, it is still insisted by those whose motives may be biased by self-interest (as well as by ignorance, cowardice and sycophancy), that federal ownership of public utilities is an iridescent dream.

The people, through its national servants, now possesses and runs five passenger steamers, modern, up-to-date, and "enterprising." They sail from 22 State street, New York City, and this great ocean steamship line is our sacred property, our "vested right." Incidentally, it has *paid better* than it did when in private hands, although we know, of course, that those gifted private hands were guided by an almost supernatural wisdom.

For many years our "captains of industry" and their henchmen have told us that government-ownership of railroads was madness. Most of us believed the statement (it is easier to believe than to think); a few, better informed, doubted; and some rash skeptics held that these protesting beneficiaries of an iniquitous system were trying to deceive the people in order to safeguard a cunning and conscienceless plunderbund. Yet, despite the disinterested and unselfish advice of Solon, Aristides and Croesus (now reincarnate in our midst), the Federal Government took

and completely transformed a railroad, making it an object lesson to Americans in efficiency, safety, economy and common honesty.

It has been stated, probably with truthfulness, that every civilized country in the world has national, state, cantonal, or municipal postal savings banks, except poor priest-ridden Spain, "unspeakable" Turkey, and the United States of America; and most citizens of this Republic know that many efforts to obtain these safe depositories for our savings have been defeated by the lobby of the banking interests in Washington. "But, while the 'safe' and 'sane' have thus imagined they have averted a movement toward socialism, and while financiers have been vigorously denying the possible workings of such a chain of banks, the United States Government has introduced in the Philippines an innovation which converts every post-office in the archipelago into a savings bank." It is true that our wiseacres abolished at the same time a similar system in Hawaii, "which existed when we annexed that island republic"; but, doubtless, there was some wise and good reason for this act, entirely unconnected, we may be sure, with any scheme of our money-lords to clutch the purse of the Nation's wards. It seems strange that we, red and white and black Americans unlike our Filipino brown brethren, should not have banks with the credit of the United States behind them; banks in which there could be no loss, banks whose doors never close, banks whose deposits can always be drawn, and banks operated for the service of the depositors instead of for the private speculation of officers and directors and the destruction of a Nation's credit.

We have several other Federal "trusts." Ice-machines and cold-storage plants; a dozen slaughter-houses, twenty-four telephone systems, a watering-place, schools, universities, farms, tenant-houses circulating libraries, trading stores,

a newspaper, a magazine, saw-mills, public roads, hospitals, sanitariums, and other object lessons of the superiority of government-ownership to individualism and infernalism.

And all these wonderful and beneficent things, which should give us joy to own, and which should make us heartily ashamed of our cruel system of greed and force and falsehood, are in our own loved land, in our island possessions, in Panama, on the sea, under the sea, and where through a hundred miles of arctic air speed the messages of Uncle Sam's wireless.

When the next special-pleader for plutocracy tells us that the Government of the Union of the States cannot run any monopoly or trust as well as magnates, financiers and oligarchs, we can refer the gentleman who "relies upon his imagination for his facts" to the records of the Philippine Commission, to the War Department, and to Harold Bolce's article in *Appleton's Magazine*, for December, 1907, "Uncle Sam, Owning and Operating."

During the many years of my active service as an officer of the army, I lived under the conditions of a practical and almost ideal paternal phase of Socialism, in which rent, profit and interest were eliminated, in which there was no exploitation, no child-labor, no social evil, no crises, no lockouts, no strikes, no blacklists, no taxes, no commercial competition, no class-war, no "criminal wealth," no poverty, no vulgar and conspicuous waste, no bread-line, and no unemployed problem. But in this logical and kindly collectivism there was, and is, individual initiative and

enterprise, generous emulation, a high code of honor, a wonderful *esprit de corps*, a genuine loyalty to country, a true equality of opportunity, a high sense of justice and duty, a beautiful fellowship and comradeship, and (thank God!) an absence of the chicane that has made our political, financial and "business" methods National shames.

All over the world are splendid examples of nations in business for themselves, and no loyal, right-thinking, decent American should imply that his people and its government are incapable of doing what has been successfully done by New Zealand, Switzerland, Australasia, England, Germany, France, Scandinavia, Belgium, Italy and Japan.

The burning question before the United States to-day is, shall the Nation own and operate its own public monopolies and utilities, or shall it let a handful of "soulless corporations" suck the life blood of a once free people, and bring disaster and death to the great Republic.

We have got to destroy Poverty, or Poverty will destroy us.

We have got to decide, and decide speedily, whether we want a dangerous plutocracy of a few inordinately rich men ruling and robbing thirty million wage-slaves and the public depending upon them, or whether we want a Nation of well-to-do citizens governing themselves.

Which shall it be, The United States Trust, for the benefit of all the people, or The United Trusts of America? Choose, and as you choose, you are patriot or traitor.

W. E. P. FRENCH, U.S.A.
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SIXTY YEARS' FUTILE BATTLE OF LEGISLATION WITH DRINK.

BY PHILIP RAPPAPORT.

IN 1863, the first year of record, only a little more than two million barrels of beer were produced in the United States. The annual production now is about sixty million barrels. The consumption of beer in that time has risen from four gallons per capita to twenty-two, that is to say, the consumption of beer has grown five times as fast as population.

The consumption of distilled spirits has for a time been on the decrease, but in the ten years from 1897 to 1906 the quantity of distilled spirits deposited in distilleries and bonded warehouses has risen from 63 million gallons to 147, also an increase far beyond that of population.

That is the net result of "one hundred years' battle with the poison trust," of which Charles R. Jones, chairman of the National Prohibition Press writes in the December issue of *THE ARENA*.

Is it true, as Mr. Jones asserts that "the day of the legalized liquor traffic and its twin cause and effect, greed and appetite is passing?"

Proudly Mr. Jones exclaims: "The five prohibition states now have a population in excess of 7,000,000 and it is estimated that 25,000,000 others live in local prohibition territory of thirty-five other states."

I have before me the three latest publications of the census bureau giving statistics of cities, Bulletin 45 of cities between 8,000 and 25,000 inhabitants in 1903, bulletin 20 of cities of over 25,000 in 1902 and 1903, and Special Report of cities of 30,000 and over in 1905, and what do I find?

Of the 154 cities of 30,000 inhabitants and over in 1905 only 10 had no licensed

saloons, add to these three cities of Alabama and four of Georgia, having since become prohibition states, there are among the 154 cities of that size only 17 without saloons.

Of the 368 cities between 8,000 and 25,000 inhabitants, only 51 had no saloons in 1903; added to these three cities in Alabama, four in Georgia and two in Oklahoma, there are in cities of that size only 60 out of 368 without licensed saloons.

Of the thirty cities between 25,000 and 30,000 inhabitants only one was without saloons in 1903, none of them being in the newly created prohibition states. So we have among the 552 cities of 8,000 inhabitants and over only 78 without saloons, and among these only one (Atlanta) that belongs to the cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants and only six belonging to the group of cities between 50,000 and 100,000, so that only seven of the 78 are cities with not less than 50,000 inhabitants. Besides one of these seven (Charleston, South Carolina) has a dispensary and is, therefore, not prohibition territory.

I have a very strong suspicion that a close examination of the large prohibition territory of which prohibitionists boast will reveal the fact that it covers cities in so close proximity to others not under prohibition laws, that they practically form one city, as for instance, Cambridge, Malden and Boston, or Kansas City, Kansas, and Kansas City, Missouri; that it also covers such, usually aristocratic, residence parts of the cities, in which no saloons are allowed, and in which none would find support anyway, and that the principal part of that extensive territory consists of villages and

hamlets in which, with or without law, saloons would find no paying existence.

And if we examine that territory a little closer still, we will find that, considered by the number of inhabitants, of course, that part of it which is only theoretically but not practically under prohibition is very small, indeed.

Or, does any unsophisticated person, any one knowing the character and the habits of the Southerner, believe for a moment that prohibition in Alabama, Georgia and Oklahoma is intended for the Whites? Of its effect upon the negroes and the Indians it is too early to speak.

I do not intend to quote the opinion of anybody on the enforceableness of prohibition. Mere opinions are plentiful on either side and how shall the reader know which is more reliable than the other? I will confine myself to statements of facts, and as Mr. Jones states also a number of facts to show "what prohibition has done for Maine," "how prohibition works in Kansas" and what "the experience of Kansas City, Kansas," is, I will take up some of the facts as he stated them, probe them and supplement them.

Mr. Jones says "Maine has more savings banks and \$22,000,000 more money deposited in them than the great manufacturing license state of Ohio with six times as many people."

This statement, intended as it is, as proof that this is the result of prohibition, is amazing. A sociologist would never have made such a statement; to do it one must be possessed of only one idea to the exclusion of everything else.

Capitalists ordinarily use no savings bank; the deposits in these represent the savings of people with little or moderate means.

The population of the United States in 1900 was 76 millions in round figures, that of Maine 700,000. The total value of distilled, malt and vinous liquors produced was 340 millions. If we are liberal and quadruple this amount to arrive at

the amount expended for consumption of liquors, we find the amount to be 1,362 million dollars; this would be for Maine in proportion to population twelve and a half millions. Even if the total amount in the United States would be somewhat larger if there were no prohibition laws, thirteen million dollars is all that could by any possibility be directly saved in Maine if not a drop of liquor were sold, which we know is not the case in Maine, where in Portland Bangor and other cities there are even open saloons, not to speak of the blind tigers and bootlegger. And yet we are asked to believe that \$22,000,000 of deposits in savings banks over and above the deposits in the savings banks of Ohio are due to prohibition.

According to the census of 1900 the whole amount of salaries and wages paid in Maine was 29 million dollars and yet it is claimed that prohibition saved—22 millions?—no 22 millions more than in Ohio where the whole amount of salaries and wages paid was 154 millions.

The average total annual earning in Maine was, according to the last census, \$381.31, in Ohio \$445.13, a difference of nearly \$64 annually for each wage-worker, and still we are asked to believe that the 75,000 wage-workers of Maine saved annually 22 million dollars more than the 346,000 wage-workers of Ohio, all through the operation of prohibition.

Truly, truly amazing.

A thinker would arrive at another conclusion. He would from the start perceive that there must be other causes, and the fact that the average annual earning of the workers in Maine is pitifully small, \$64 less than in Ohio, would point the way to the solution of the problem.

Large deposits in savings banks are often not a sign of prosperity, but of comparative poverty. . . say comparative poverty, because absolute poverty needs no savings bank. They are frequently the proof that the earnings are too small for the acquisition of homes,

or that trade is so poor that the small merchant has no use for the money in his business, or that there are few opportunities for business investment, or that farming is so unremunerative that the farmer does not make enough to increase his possessions; in short that the people who in wealthier and more prosperous communities have many opportunities for the investment of their money, have in poorer and less prosperous communities none other than to deposit it in savings banks. This explains why in the poor state of Maine savings bank deposits are larger than in the rich state of Ohio and other similarly rich states.

"Of the 9,350 murders and homicides in the United States in 1906, Maine furnished but three," says Mr. Jones. I do not know where Mr. Jones got his information. In 1903 the number of arrests for homicide in all the cities of the United States with 8,000 inhabitants and over was, according to Bulletins 20 and 45 of the census office, 1,432; in 1905 the number in all the cities of 30,000 and over was, according to special report of the census office 2,239. As most murders are committed in the large cities (in 1905 group 1, cities of 300,000 and over

furnished 1,393 of the 2,239) I cannot see where the 9,350 came from in 1906. In 1903 the city of Portland, Maine, alone furnished three, in the same year the large cities of Pittsburg, Hartford, Connecticut, Reading, Pennsylvania, and other cities with saloons furnished not one murder; Fall River, Massachusetts, Grand Rapids, Michigan, and others only one. Of what value then is Mr. Jones' statement?

The conditions in the very large cities, of which neither Maine nor Kansas has any, are, in respect to composition of population, to opportunities and kinds of occupation, to modes and habits of living, influx of strangers and other things so vastly different from those of smaller cities and towns that all statistical comparisons in reference to crime and school attendance are valueless.

In the following statistical table which I have prepared, I confine myself therefore to cities of between 8,000 and 25,000 and selected three licensed states, two prohibition states and one semi-prohibition state. The figures are taken from Bulletin 45 of the Census Bureau, the computation per 1,000 inhabitants is my own.

STATES.	Population of all cities bet. 8,000 and 25,000 inhab.	Arrests for Drunkenness.	Arrests for Disturbance of peace.	Both together.	Arrests for other causes.	Total number of arrests.
Illinois, license.....	380,260	6,957	2,352	9,309	6,615	15,9 4
	per 1,000 inhabitants	19.50	6.53	26.03	18.40	44.23
Indiana, license.....	275,953	4,854	476	5,330	6,248	11,577
	per 1,000 inhabitants.	17.58	1.72	19.30	22.64	41.94
New Jersey, license.....	222,296	2,018	948	2,966	2,683	5,649
	per 1,000 inhabitants.	9.09	4.26	13.34	12.11	25.45
Kansas, prohibition.....	104,745	1,535	802	2,337	2,523	4,860
	per 1,000 inhabitants.	14.61	7.64	22.25	24.04	46.29
Iowa, semi-prohibition.....	164,506	4,510	942	5,452	4,389	9,841
	per 1,000 inhabitants.	27.50	5.10	32.60	27.40	60.00
Maine, prohibition.....	118,541	2,997	38	3,035	933	3,968
	per 1,000 inhabitants.	25.29	0.32	25.71	7.93	33.64

This shows that there is more drunkenness in even the smaller cities of Maine than in those of Illinois, Indiana and New Jersey; that for drunkenness and disturbance of the peace together more arrests took place in either Kansas,

Iowa or Maine than in New Jersey and in Indiana; that the total number of arrests in semi-prohibition Iowa was more than twice as large as in New Jersey, larger in Maine than in New Jersey, and larger in Kansas than in

either Illinois, Indiana or New Jersey.

A few weeks ago I read in the *Kansas City, Missouri, Journal* the following item:

"The Kansas City, Kansas, council at a meeting last night passed a resolution instructing Chief of Police Bowden to increase the present police force twelve men. The action was taken on account of the present epidemic of crime in the city.

"The department was reduced several months ago on account of threats made by Assistant Attorney-General Trickett to the effect that if the mayor and council did not curtail the running expenses of the city enough to keep within revenue income he would bring ouster proceedings against them. At the time Mr. Trickett argued that since he had closed the saloons of the city there was no longer need for a big police department. His theory was that most of the crime was due to the existence of the saloons. However, the many robberies and murders committed during the past two or three months exceed in numbers and viciousness any reign of crime in the city during the days of the dramshop."

Whether these figures speak for prohibition or not and whether the roseate statement in reference to Kansas City, Kansas, is justified or not, I leave to the contemplation of the reader.

"Turning to educational figures, Maine has in its public schools the largest percentage of the total population of all the North Atlantic states, including New York." So says Mr. Jones.

I have not the statistics for the whole states on hand, and if I had I would not care to use them, for the reason above stated, that comparisons between the very large cities and small cities and towns are of no statistical value. But using again Bulletin 45 and using only statistics of cities of between 8,000 and 25,000 inhabitants, I prepared the following table:

STATES.	Population of all cities bet. 8,000 and 25,000 inhab.	Number of children attending school.	Attending school per 1,000 inha. (high and day school)
Maine	118,541	13,077	110
Kansas	104,745	14,471	137
New York	498,564	61,884	127
New Jersey	222,296	28,449	129
Massachusetts	445,419	62,268	140
Indiana	275,953	39,874	145
Illinois	360,260	53,950	150

So we find that of these states Maine has the smallest school attendance of all and Kansas the smallest among its western neighbors.

In reference to the rise of valuation of property, I might show that this is only a rise of tax-valuation, but I am afraid the article would become too long.

I have given the prohibition question a great deal of study and have found that the prohibitionists' statistics, even where true, never bear close scrutiny, because of the entire neglect of other possible influences than prohibition.

In reference to its moral influence I confine myself to a quotation from a book entitled: *The Liquor Problem in Its Legislative Aspects*, an investigation made under the direction of Chas. W. Eliot, Seth Low and James Carter, sub-committee of Committee of Fifty, etc.

There it is said on page 5: "The efforts to enforce it during forty years past have had some unlooked-for effects on public respect for courts, judicial procedure, oaths, and law in general, and for officers of law, legislators, and public servants. The public have seen law defied, a whole generation of habitual law-breakers schooled in evasion and shamelessness, courts ineffective through fluctuations of policy, delays, perjuries, negligences, and other miscarriages of justice, officers of the law double-faced and mercenary, legislators timid and insincere, candidates for office hypocritical and truckling, and office-holders unfaithful to pledges and to reasonable public expectation."

PHILIP RAPPAPORT.

Washington, D. C.

IS THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MAKING CRIMINALS?

BY ABBIE FOSDICK RANSOM.
President of the Bluejackets' Friends Society.

I AM NOT a pessimist. I believe most thoroughly that everything makes for good and Wrong is always counterbalanced by the stupendous weight of Right. I believe in our Government, a government of the people, by the people and for the people. But, inasmuch as it is all of this, just so far can it be guilty of wrong-doing. Not intentionally, but as we have grown up out of the order which has endured since the beginning, following the established things, unthinkingly repeating the sins of our fathers, we are loath to tear away what they have builded and erect new structures on the revered foundations.

To one who loves his country, to whom honor and life are of equal value, the word *deserter* has an ugly sound. Yet, to-day, the desertions from our Navy have caused for it a diminished respect among foreign powers and a Chicago professor declared that patriotism is dead among us. But let it be borne in mind that there are two kinds of deserters. The first holds duty cheap and turns his back upon it; the second, enduring until his strength is exhausted, lets go his grip, thinking to fight with renewed force should the occasion come. An officer who at one time was captain on a training ship has this to say regarding the deserters from the Navy:

"A large proportion of the enlisted men are boys ranging from 17 to 20 years. They come on board for their trial trip, full of energy, ambition and patriotism. We give them shore leave and instead of welcome they receive neglect and insult. They become discouraged and homesick, then 'jump ship.' For the sake of discipline we must punish and oftentimes that is as

hard for the officers to give as for the boy to receive."

What is the punishment? From six months to a year in a Naval prison? Then what?

Meet some of these boys who have been inmates of a Naval prison from any cause and when you have gained their confidence, learn the other side of the story from them. Many will confirm the remark of the training ship captain, speaking of a longing for home, a weariness of monotony which developed into a distaste for the service. The story will usually end with this:

"The Department is not to blame even when we think officers are unjust. They would n't stand for that a single instant in Washington. Officers are obliged to treat their men white. I'm sorry I did n't stick it out; I only wish I might have been restored to duty but that's against the law when you're charged with desertion and I got a dishonorable discharge."

In Charlestown Naval prison during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907, 516 prisoners were confined. Of these 176 were deserters and 129 absence without leave (a distinction without a difference from desertion), the remaining 211 were guilty of various offenses ranging from murder down. The prison originally built for 150 has held anywhere from that number up to 300. Among these are boys who, while conscientiously endeavoring to do their whole duty, stumbled and fell over a mistaken idea as to what constituted duty; boys who had scarcely left their mother's apron strings before driven back to her by a consuming homesickness; deserters from reasons of every

kind, fraudulent enlistments, embezzlers; men who have committed every crime in the calendar;—here they are, tier on tier, mingling in one great family. Here boys listen with bated breath and eyes aglow to the tales criminals spin of their past in which crime is made magnetic as the loaded steel. Gathered for six hours a day in close companionship with men no power on earth can reform, the rest of the time locked in a cell, perhaps with a criminal for a cell-mate, to dwell upon the fascinating story, to dream of emulating their examples when the doors unlock and they are free to roam the streets of a city where electric-lights, gilding and paint hide the rottenness of guilt behind a seeming beauty.

For this the Navy Department is not responsible; it is obliged to conform to the laws which we have made. It is a sin of which the government (that means you and me) is guilty. What are we going to do about it? Continue to herd these boys with these criminals just as we have been doing? What are we going to do with them when their sentence has expired? Send them back to fulfil their oath to the Government and serve out their unexpired term? That is what many of them desire and what we should do with those not guilty of actual crime but up to the present time it is precisely what is not done excepting with a small percentage.

These prisoners, whom officers of the Navy declare have disgraced their uniform, are unfit to wear it or be employed in the service of the government, are sent out from prison in that uniform, man and uniform tainted with a dishonorable discharge. Many times they are absolutely penniless and hundreds of miles away from home or friends. The result is that the uniform is pawned or given to any one who will furnish them with a suit of civilians; too often it passes into the hands of a drunken loafer who never stepped foot upon a government deck and then the newspapers delight the town with extrava-

gantly colored accounts of drunken blue-jackets insulting ladies or turning a restaurant out of doors. A double wrong of which you and I are guilty. One against these, who having been tried, were found wanting and also against those who are standing faithfully at the post of duty no matter how irksome the toil becomes or what temptations assail. Why not furnish these discharged prisoners with the uniform no amount of sinning can disgrace, the one worn by every man in civil life? For years the Judge Advocate General has tried to induce Congress to authorize the Navy Department to furnish them with civilian clothes and has failed utterly. Can we expect him or the Secretary of the Navy to go down into their own pockets for the amount required? Can we expect Congress to be interested in the matter? Certainly not so long as we, the mothers and fathers of these boys who enlist, are so little interested that not one in a hundred among us knows that the uniform is being disgraced in this way. Not so long as we permit proprietors of public amusements to shut their doors in the faces of the enlisted men and allow owners of restaurants to refuse them food when clothed in the garb which it should be our delight to honor. Not so long as we see these patriotic boys walking the streets of the city unwilling to look the passer-by in the face because of the scorn upon it. In time of war we pack our valuables and flee to an inland city, there to prate about our noble country and its brave defenders, we wear cap ribbons and badges and then, when peace is restored, insult those who stood between us and the shells of the enemy. We, the people, are at fault; not Congress, not the Navy Department and we, the people, will some day see the handwriting *mene, mene, tekel, upharsin*, upon our walls.

What right have we, through our government, to enlist these boys in their nearest home city and because they break a federal regulation pen them up

for months with hardened criminals, then turn them loose in a strange city, in uniform, without friends or money? It is true, some have money but what defense have they against a sharper who sees in them lambs to be sheared? Many a mother-heart is breaking to-day whose son might have made an honorable citizen had a friend been near to lend a helping hand when the gates of the prison closed behind him. For years one long procession of boys has been passing in under those gates while another procession is coming out. Boys, who are to mingle with criminals, passing months of the formative period of their lives in worse than idleness which should be spent in fitting themselves for citizenship. Many of them, enlisted because of their love of country, have been driven into that prison by one of three causes, *i. e.*, distaste of the service brought on by its monotony when kept for months at one station, insults received on shore or homesickness. Often, it is a combination of all three causes. The cases are rare, indeed, where lack of patriotism or love of evil has caused their downfall. They come out discouraged, disgraced, disfranchised, weak and inefficient to face a world which is all against them without even honor to resume their work. We, the people, among whom their lives are henceforth to be cast, have n't respect enough for the service they disgraced to confiscate whatever they possess of regulation clothes and give them civilians in return. We turn them out to beg, to starve, or to steal. That is the result, what is the remedy?

In the first place, let us, the people, respect the cause which we declare they have disgraced. Let us, the people, respect the uniform which represents that cause. The United States is not running a reformatory and calling it a Navy. None but the best, the most noble, are wanted there and under proper officers and with better shore conditions there is not a trade or profession which offers to a young man the advantages which thirty

years in our Navy will afford. In order to enlist the candidate must be an American citizen, he must possess a good moral character, a fair education and all the characteristics which make for manhood. It is an insult to every self-respecting bluejacket in the service to suppose otherwise. But these boys who have been declared unworthy have passed the recruiting officer, have sworn to give four years of service to their country and they are enrolled on the books of the government; more than that, whether in the service or out of it, they are part of the body politic, what shall be done with them?

As matters now stand, when a boy enlists he can secure release from his oath by breaking a Naval regulation. He will be court-martialed, convicted, serve a short term in prison and go free. Are we not, by this course, teaching him to think lightly of his oath? Even as it is, many of them seem to have no conception of its nature, no realization of its binding character. We, the people, are supporting many dead weights in idleness who should be made useful somewhere in the line of duty.

Why not transfer these "Court-Martial" boys to a Probation Ship in charge of officers strong in discipline and equally strong in justice? Why not make this ship one of the fleet, every member of the crew being a "Court-Martial" boy? Here they could take part in the work of the fleet, making no distinction between their ship and any other in commission. Here they could be kept for a period ranging from six months to a year and then be transferred to another ship upon recommendation of the superior officers. But if a boy prove incorrigible, then send him back to his home State to become an inmate of some House of Correction in that State until his enlistment has expired and he is proved worthy of a life of freedom. It is not right that these delinquents be herded in prison with criminals to sink still further in the mire

of crime, neither is it right to turn them loose upon the community. In all cases have it distinctly understood that, once enlisted, four years of service must be given either on ship or in prison. My thirty years' experience with boy nature counts for little if it has not taught me that in the majority of cases the service will be rendered on board ship.

The largest number of desertions take place within the first year of service before the boy has become wonted to the change. We, through our government, take them at seventeen or thereabout, from the street, the home, country places where liberty was theirs in the fullest measure and restrict them to narrow quarters, keep them under a discipline which requires a radical change in their whole manner of life. Our doors are closed against them when on shore, we neglect and insult them in every possible way, making them feel that while serving our country they, themselves, have no country. In witness of the truth of this statement go to Newport News, Virginia. Unless it has been very recently removed you will see at the end of Ocean avenue a sign which reads, "Dogs, Niggers and Marines, Keep Off the Grass!"

When the Civil War had ended 440,000 men had died that our Union might remain one and undivided. Add to these 440,000 lives the sufferings in prison pen, in camp, on battlefield and weary marches, the agony of wives and mothers who endured at home. Go back still further in the history of our Nation, add to this sum the deaths, the sufferings of the War with Mexico, the Indian wars, the War of 1812 and the Revolutionary War let us measure, if we can, the value of our Flag. All this worth is symbolized in the uniform of our sailor and soldier of to-day. Let us remember that these boys who wear it are still our boys. Let us treat them with due respect because of that uniform and by their inherent manliness they will soon win it for themselves. Let us remember the words of the training ship captain as confirmed by one who is now serving a term in prison for desertion:

"If we could only feel when on board our ships that on shore, somewhere, someone was thinking of us, there would n't be quite so many of us here."

ABBIE FOSDICK RANSOM.

Milton, Mass.

THE EDITOR'S QUIET HOUR.

THE POET AS A PHILOSOPHER.

I.

THE MAN of genius, as we have seen, is the favored child of earth who possesses the seeing eye and hearing ear; whose profound and rich imagination enables him to penetrate into the hidden things and deliver to man messages of life for the spiritual nature. To the poet "the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth His handiwork." He sees and feels the profound facts that escape the casual millions. To him "day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge." To him the lilies that spangle the field, more beautiful than Solomon in all his glory, are the witnesses of the Divine Mind, hinting in language comprehensible to the finite understanding of the beauty resident in the Soul of the Universe. The daisies that star the emerald meadow and the planets and suns that jewel the deep blue ether, alike tell of the Life that is the soul of all life. He sees and understands that not in one land or age alone has God spoken to His children. It is this seeing eye that enables Whittier to exclaim:

"O friend! we need nor rock nor sand,
Nor storied stream of Morning-Land;
The heavens are glassed in Merrimack,—
What more could Jordan render back?

"We lack but open eye and ear
To find the Orient's marvels here;—
The still, small voice in autumn's hush,
Yon maple wood the burning bush."

And it is the same interior vision that finds voice in Emerson's "Apology":

"Think me not unkind and rude
That I walk alone in grove and glen;
I go to the god of the wood
To fetch his word to men.

"Tax not my sloth that I
Fold my arms beside the brook;
Each cloud that floated in the sky
Writes a letter in my book.

"Chide me not, laborious band,
For the idle flowers I brought;
Every aster in my hand
Goes home loaded with a thought.

"There was never mystery
But 't is figured in the flowers;
Was never secret history
But birds tell it in the bowers.

"One harvest from thy field
Homeward brought the oxen strong;
A second crop thine acres yield,
Which I gather in a song."

So in the broad realm of ethics, it is the poet that is most potential as a character-builder, because he forces upon the consciousness of the people, in legend, dream, verse and story, those great vital truths that make life a benediction to all who come within the charmed influence of those who have been made to see and feel the transforming spell of the truths of spiritual growth,—love, justice and truth.

We have already seen in our brief glance at Wagner and Browning, how the typical poets of the inner life have appealed in a masterful way to the spiritual side of being. But sometimes the poet becomes the philosopher and boldly deals with the profound questions that confront the reason. From the mountain-tops of contemplation he descends into the valley with a new message for the children of men. Thus, for example, we find Emerson, who in prose is a master teacher, becoming a *seer par excellence* in his somewhat limping verse. No one who has had the pleasure of listening to that fine Emersonian scholar, Mr. Charles Malloy, can fail to appreciate the wealth of wonderful and illuminating truth told in parable or metaphor by the sage of Concord in his poems.

Like so many of the world's master teachers who were in advance of their day and generation, knowing that their age would fail to grasp the meaning of their most vital messages, Emerson chose in his verse to present some profound truths in parable, allegory, or under the veil of metaphor. He had become convinced from bitter experience that the unreasoning prejudice and narrow vision, and the world-wide fear of freedom of thought upon deeply religious problems, would make his message the target for all but universal attack from the scribes and pharisees in high places; while the people had not advanced

far enough along the highway of independence to dare to think for themselves. Therefore he adopted metaphor that only the broad-minded and deep thinkers could be expected to readily comprehend, leaving for those of a freer and more tolerant day the easy understanding of the fuller truths presented.

That we may understand the poet in the rôle of a profound philosopher, let us for a few moments look at "The Sphinx," the poem which Mr. Emerson selected as the opening number in his volume of verse. Not that this creation is markedly greater in its significance than several other of the wonderful philosophical messages found in the work, but in our judgment it is at least quite as great as any of his poems and it deals with one of the master problems of the age,—the fate of the man-child in the presence of seeming evil.

For the thoughts here given as illustrations of the poet as a philosopher dealing with life's great problems, we are largely indebted to Mr. Malloy, whose fifty years' study of Emerson, Browning and kindred great poets has made him justly entitled to be regarded as a master in this field of research. Even where we have found it necessary to depart radically from some of the conclusions of this scholar, we have been indebted to hints of his as well as to the study of Emerson for our conclusions.

II.

In the poem we are to consider, it is well to notice at the outset that there are three speakers or personifications introduced as taking part in the discussion of the "fate of the man-child." These are the Sphinx, the Great Mother, and the Poet.

The Sphinx, in its broad significance, when considered as one of the great *dramatis personæ* of the poem, may be regarded as the intelligence or reasoning function of man; as the propounder of the great question which is here given; that ever-brooding, ever-interrogating and searching element in man which seeks by reason and logic to solve its own riddles, the master one of which is here propounded,—the "fate of the man-child," the meaning of life and its destiny in the presence of the problem of evil. The Sphinx is the mental principle, the ever-eager interrogator.

The Great Mother, the second personification, is of course Nature. Her eye and ear

are largely concerned with the materialistic phenomena that assail the physical senses.

Now the third personification is the Poet. Mr. Malloy holds that he stands for or represents language, the diffuser of knowledge, but we find it impossible to coincide with this opinion. To us it appears clear that the Poet represents that other great complement of reason—its "spirit, yoke-fellow," Imagination, embracing also what we may term the spiritual sense, the seeing eye and hearing ear that penetrates the veil, enters the holiest of holies, beholds the shekinah and gets at the heart of things which are veiled from reason, and furthermore, in its noblest aspect, which expresses in a large way the spiritual entity, the soul side of life; that interior vision or imagination that makes a Shakespeare able, as has been well said, to represent the human heart in all its moods, stations and conditions as perfectly as though the great dramatist had created it. It is not logic nor reason that explains how Shakespeare reflects the profound melancholy and philosophic contemplation of Hamlet; the guilt of the king who is also a regicide; the ambition that relentlessly drives on Lady Macbeth, and the profound horror of her lord. It is not logic nor reason that gives us the wonderful interpretations of many of life's greatest problems as found in the messages of prophet, seer and poet. Indeed, we find in Emerson's Poet the seer for whom the Reason, or the Sphinx, has been waiting while the ages "slumbered and slept; the seer that utters the new word in reply to the old, old question,—an answer that not only illuminates the problem but unbinds the Sphinx herself, heretofore the slave of fear, dreading even to bravely consider the mystery or the countless questions suggested by earth, sky and air, or the phenomena of life that lay round about earth's travellers, lest thereby a jealous Deity be offended.

Language is essential alike for the Sphinx and the Poet, in order that they may be the diffusers of light for the millions yet in darkness. It is the window through which streams the light of intelligence and imaginative truth or spiritual perception that falls athwart the darkened pathway of the mountain climbers, revealing the narrow path and the yawning precipices on either side; but it is not the revealer of the inmost secrets of existence. It has no power to answer the Sphinx or to show the Great Mother how

groundless are her fears. It does not possess the power to show man the perfect beyond the seeming evil or imperfect,—the perfect of which the physical eye can take no cognizance, but which when once apprehended by the soul breaks the spell of illusion the trance or dream state induced by physical sense perception. Of the importance of language as a popular medium for the diffusion of the light of truth for both Sphinx and Poet, there can be no doubt. Emerson well says: "But for articulate speech, man would still be roaming the forests as a wild beast." And again: "The world being put under the mind for verb and noun, the Poet is he who can articulate it."

Yes, the Poet articulates the great messages and often answers the Sphinx by revealing hidden secrets.



This brings us to the consideration of the opening lines of the poem:*

"The Sphinx is drowsy,
Her wings are furled:
Her ear is heavy,
She broods on the world."

The reader will call to mind that the Sphinx of ancient myth was a fabled creature that waited by the roadside propounding riddles to the passers-by. If the traveller failed to answer aright, the Sphinx devoured him, but if he gave the true answer, the Sphinx immediately perished.

As time passed, the word "sphinx" came to have two meanings in the popular concept. "Any subject about which there is a question difficult of answer," or any riddle hard to solve, may be called a sphinx.

Now for many generations prior to the writing of "The Sphinx" the thought or intellectual energies of Christianity had been actively engaged in furious religious contentions relating to man and his destiny. Luther, Calvin, Knox, Zwingli and Melancthon had opposed the might of Rome. Then came, together with persecutions, the great religious contentions of master theologians, led by Calvin. These controversies, mainly related to more or less abstract religious dogmas, such as election, foreordination, eternal damnation, salvation by faiths

*"The Sphinx" is the opening poem in Emerson's volume of verse, published by Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Boston, Mass.

and other theories all connected with the "fate of the man-child." Milton and Dante in their stately verse threw into bold relief the popular concepts of conventional theology. Milton impressed the imagination of Protestant Christendom as did no other poet, with the vivid pictures of the age-long war between light and darkness, God and Devil. According to his theology, which reflected the current ideas and was accepted in turn by the people almost as implicitly as if it had been a revelation, man was ever being pursued by Satan, harried by the arch-fiend of the pit. But at length the thought of the world began to weary of the eternal wrangling, and at the time of the writing of the poem there was a lull in the battle. True, in certain lands and localities the war was still waged with intense bitterness, but the intellect of Christendom showed unmistakable signs of weariness. "The Sphinx is drowsy." She appears in a brooding mood. Still the great question, being uppermost in her mind, finds expression, and the historian of the poem hears her propound:

"Who 'll tell me my secret,
The ages have kept?—
I awaited the seer
While they slumbered and slept."

Following this introductory remark by the Sphinx comes the statement of the problem or question:

"The fate of the man-child,
The meaning of man;
Known fruit of the unknown;
Daedalian plan;
Out of sleeping a waking,
Out of waking a sleep;
Life death overtaking;
Deep underneath deep?"

"The fate of the man-child"—the meaning of life in the presence of seeming evil; life so full of mystery, so daedalian or labyrinthian in character. Life if eternal must in its present aspect be but one appearance in a series, a little journey on a great spiral stairway, waking for a day from a sleep that marks an earlier day, and to be followed by a sleep that shall herald another waking.

It is well to remember here that Emerson was one of the few Americans who when this poem was written, about 1840, had made a serious study of the Bhagavad Gita and other sacred books of the Far East. He had also steeped his mind in the thought of Plato and of the great German transcendental

thinkers. A new world had unfolded before his intellectual vision and the old religious concepts that for generations had held the brain of man in a vice-like grip had fallen from the mind of Emerson. Hence while many of the thoughts here uttered or implied are neither new nor unfamiliar to many people to-day, they were entirely contrary to the popular thought of a half a century ago—so much so that even great liberal thinkers like Theodore Parker were as completely blinded to the message and meaning of this great poem as were the disciples of Jesus ignorant of the import of many of His beautiful parables until the Master interpreted or explained them.

The descriptive lines beginning with

"Known fruit of the unknown;
Daedalian plan,"

give Emerson's first great thought that ran counter to popular theological concepts, Here the "man-child" or the soul is represented as having always existed, as having come up a labyrinthian pathway marked by successive wakings and sleepings. Though this was Greek to the popular theologians in the New World sixty years ago, it expressed Emerson's conviction, as will be seen from the following brief extract from his "Essay on Experience":

"Where do we find ourselves? In a series of which we do not know the extremes and believe that it has none. We wake and find ourselves on a stair; there are stairs below us which we seem to have ascended; there are stairs above us, many a one, which go upward and out of sight. But the Genius which, according to the old belief, stands at the door by which we enter and gives us the lethe to drink, that we may tell no tales, mixed the cup too strongly, and we cannot shake off the lethargy now at noon-day. Sleep lingers all our life-time about our eyes, as night hovers all day in the boughs of the fir-tree. . . . Ghost-like we glide through nature, and should not know our place again."

Drugged by the draught, man's life becomes largely a dream-life, illusionary rather than real in the true concept of the term reality; a prolonged dream under the spell of illusion in which he fails to see, save in rare moments, beyond the veil of materiality, or to grasp the great truth that life is in essence spiritual rather than material, and that in proportion as the spiritual dominates life man becomes

great, strong, robust and masterful in the highest meaning of those terms.

The problem, mystery or question has now been stated, and the Sphinx proceeds to point out something which in the light of what follows is a seemingly inexplicable fact. She shows that earth, air and sea, and the multitudinous manifestations of nature below man, speak of normality and sanity in filling their appointed functions; that lower natural life is erect, or, as Emerson in one of his essays, voicing the popular concept and picturing the seeming phenomenon, declares, "Nature is erect, but man is fallen."

"Erect as a sunbeam,
Upspringeth the palm;
The elephant browses,
Undaunted and calm;
In beautiful motion
The thrush plies his wings;
Kind leaves of the covert,
Your silence he sings.

"The waves, unashamed,
In difference sweet,
Play glad with the breezes,
Old playfellows meet;
The journeying atoms,
Primordial wholes,
Firmly draw, firmly drive,
By their animate poles.

"Sea, earth, air, sound, silence,
Plant, quadruped, bird,
By one music enchanted,
One deity stirred,—
Each the other adorning,
Accompany still;
Night velleth the morning,
The vapor the hill.

"The babe by its mother
Lies bathed in joy;
Glide its hours uncouned,—
The sun is its toy;
Shines the peace of all being,
Without cloud, in its eyes;
And the sum of the world
In soft miniature lies."

Here we have a beautiful picture of concord, harmony and sanity; the heaven-aspiring palm, the great beasts of the forest, the songsters in the trees, the waves and the breezes, all, all fulfilling their mission, true to the law of their being. Even the babe playing with the sunbeam, enwrapped in a mother's love and "bathed in joy," gives no hint of the fear-haunted man of to-morrow. And if we leave the world visible to the physical eye and consider the atoms, which no glass has ever revealed but which we apprehend as concepts, we find here also the same harmony

and obedience to the law or their true function. All are stirred by one Deity.

Now comes the bold and striking contrast in the seeming condition of the man-child, the crown of creation and darling of the Great Mother:

"But man crouches and blushes,
Absconds and conceals:
He creepeth and peepeth,
He palter and steals;
Infirm, melancholy,
Jealous glancing around,
An oaf, an accomplice,
He poisons the ground."

This fearful indictment against man by the Sphinx arouses the Great Mother, Nature. Hearing her dearest child thus described and noting his fear, while seeing no farther than the outward material phenomena, she accepts as true the terrible charge and demands the cause of man's fallen estate:

"Out spoke the great mother,
Beholding his fear;—
At sound of her accents
Cold shuddered the sphere:—
'Who has drugged my boy's cup?
Who has mixed my boy's bread?
Who, with sadness and madness,
Has turned my child's head?'"

Now the historian of the drama hears the third voice take part. The Poet, which we hold to be the imaginative power, with something of the deep spiritual sense that complements the reasoning function of man, speaks:

"I heard a poet answer
Aloud and cheerfully,
'Say on, sweet Sphinx! thy dirges
Are pleasant songs to me.
Deep love lieth under
These pictures of time;
They fade in the light of
Their meaning sublime."

"The fiend that man harries
Is love of the Best;
Yawns the pit of the Dragon,
Lit by rays from the Blest.
The Lethe of Nature
Can 't trance him again,
Whose soul sees the perfect,
Which his eyes seek in vain."

"To vision profounder,
Man's spirit must dive;
His aye-rolling orb
At no goal will arrive;
The heavens that now draw him
With sweetness untold,
Once found,—for new heavens
He spurneth the old."

"Pride ruined the angels,
Their shame them restores;
Lurks the joy that is sweetest
In stings of remorse.
Have I a lover
Who is noble and free?—
I would he were nobler
Than to love me."

"Eterne alternation
Now follows, now flies;
And under pain pleasure,—
Under pleasure, pain lies.
Love works at the center,
Heart-heaving away;
Forth speed the strong pulses
To the borders of day."

In these musical lines Emerson gives us the heart of his religious convictions, which were in bold and almost startling contrast to those of the conventional religious thought of his age. From the far-off dawning days of civilization a large proportion of the world had believed in dual deities contending for supremacy. Zarathustra's gods of light and darkness, Ormuzd and Ahriman, had been the faith of multitudes. The Jews and Christians accepted the same idea in God and Satan, who were supposed to be waging relentless warfare upon each other. Man had been created by God in His own image and likeness, but had been snared by the great Enemy of the Creator and thus had fallen; and through all succeeding ages the conflict was supposed to be carried forward, Satan making terrible inroads in his assaults on the hapless children of the Supreme Deity. For about two thousand years the children of Christian civilization had imagined that they were being harried by the Arch-Fiend or his emissaries. Hoping to escape their countless wiles, thousands and tens of thousands had fled to deserts, caves and mountain fastnesses, living as beasts, hoping thereby in their selfish isolation to save their souls. Great convents and monasteries were reared and multitudes who should have helped the world onward and upward, binding up the wounded and succoring the helpless, took refuge in these secluded retreats in the hope of saving themselves and eluding the Fiend who was supposed to harry all men. Milton in his splendid and rhythmic verse had crystallized the religious thought of Christendom and riveted still more firmly on the intellect the fear of the Prince of the Power of Darkness and his fiends that were pursuing the children of God.

Now in the face of this great problem of

evil we find that Emerson, speaking as the Poet, who, we have seen, stands for the seeing eye or spiritual and imaginative sense of the soul, "does not attempt to account for evil," to use the words of Mr. Malloy. "He denies its existence; and what we call evil is only a transient appearance, not affecting the real integrity of things. The fearful antimonies involved in the postulates by which our fathers struggled with the great moral sphinx in the case of the man-child, show that faith is given to the false as well as the true. The ingenious casuist, if he cannot carry a hard position by assault, will try to flank it, and much in the philosophy of evil has indeed proceeded by flank movements. To answer the fact of evil by denying it is certainly heroic treatment. Emerson, sixty years ago, when 'The Sphinx' was written, stood quite alone in this attempt. Much argument by others has since been given to his support."

The Poet we find serene and cheerful in the presence of the dark and terrible pictures presented. And why? Because he sees that all these pictures are not real in the sense of being enduring. The dream is very real to the sleeper while it lasts, but on awaking it vanishes and he does not regard it as reality. The dark and forbidding pictures of the Sphinx are illusionary or transient in character. Like the mist of the morning or the frost pictures on the window-pane, they will melt away before the sun's rays. Love, deep love, says the poet, underlies all these forbidding pictures. Now love is the great solvent. It is to the spiritual world what the sun is to the world of sense perceptions. It lights, warms, vivifies and dispels the clouds that shut out a recognition of the eternal verities.

An incident recently came under our personal observation that strikingly illustrates this thought. A friend, a lady of culture and refinement, who is a prominent Christian Scientist in Boston, recently received a call from a poor woman in sore distress. Her home, she explained, was a veritable hell. The bright dreams of the golden honeymoon days had vanished. She and her husband had long been in bitter antagonism. It was the old, old story. One thing had led to another. Year by year the rift had broadened until it had become a chasm,—a bridgeless chasm, the woman believed. Even the children had come under the infection, and a pitiable condition of hate, inharmony and

bitterness pervaded the home. The wife and husband had not spoken civilly and kindly for over a year, and now the wife had decided on a divorce. She wished the sympathy of her friend. But the lady in question insisted that there was a better way. Love, she declared, was the great solvent that could and would dissolve hate. "You have seen a bank of snow shrouding a one-time green plot. The sun comes up and shines upon the snow; it melts. If the snow has become ice from long standing and partial meltings followed by freezings, it will take much longer to dissolve; but day by day the sun's rays melt the ice, until where the shroud of death had lain we behold the joyous upspringing grass. Now," continued the friend to the heart-broken wife, "reflect love and nothing but love in your home, and in time it will melt the hate, and love will again return to you." On several occasions the wife returned to her friend, greatly depressed. It seemed that there was no response, or rather, that the husband appeared worse than ever. The children, however, soon evinced a great change and became devoted to their mother, striving in every way to help lighten her burdens. And finally the ice of hate in the husband's heart melted, and a full and whole-hearted reconciliation ensued. The home to-day is one of the happiest in New England.

Now it was the faith in the power of love and the unshakable faith in the fact that "deep love lieth under" all the dark "pictures of time"; that love is at the center, "heart-heaving away," or, in other words, that the Soul of the Universe is the supreme manifestation of love instead of being a dualism or two eternally opposing entities, that wrought this transformation.

At the time when Emerson declared the unity of love and its supremacy, he made a bold departure from the conventional or Miltonic theology of his day. In substance these verses may be said to teach that the dark "pictures of time," the pitiable condition of man, who was ever in fear of offending an angry and jealous God on the one hand, and on the other of being ensnared by the Fiend of the Pit who was ever harrying his steps, were illusory in character and destined to fade away as love more and more lighted the soul of man, or as his understanding grew of his real nature and his true heritage as a son of God, perfect in character, the

embodiment of love, truth and harmony.

The "fiend" which harries man is not the mythological Devil of darkness, striving to drag his soul to hell, but "the love of the Best" implanted in his heart; the "flying Perfect" that lures him ever onward and upward; the ideal, which Hugo so aptly describes as "the stable type of ever-moving progress."

"The pit of the Dragon" represents the lower conditions in which since the beginning man or the masses have wandered, sometimes grovelling and always ignorant or but dimly conscious of the better conditions above, till the light of those better estates shine down into the Pit, revealing a new splendor and also showing the golden ladder by which man may rise. Even in the earth record of man, how true this is. At one time man lived as the beasts, in forests and mountain recesses. Then slowly some men gained a higher altitude and united in communities, established homes and enjoyed conditions which were at one time undreamed of. Still the animal or physical wants and desires were the master objects. Later some men rose higher. Language was followed by hieroglyphics and written words. The intellect was cultivated, and the joy that comes with knowledge and mental unfoldment revealed to the masses the Pit in which as yet the multitude remained. Then the spiritual Alps were scaled and again the light from the heights above, the new home of the blest, streamed into the "Pit of the Dragon."

Here man is tranced by the things of sense perception. His spiritual or intellectual vision becomes dulled and often blinded by the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh or the allurements of the sensuous life. He not only forgets what happened before his advent into this section of the spiral stair, but he fails to see the true majesty of his being, fails to realize that he is the child of eternity and not of time; that the Perfect which he dimly discerns can be imaged in his soul, and that when imaged, all the black pictures will vanish. This, it seems, is the meaning of

"The Lethe of Nature
Can't trance him again,"

after he has beheld with his soul's eye or interior vision the Perfect which is veiled from the eye of sense.

The "fiend" or angel that harries man, on

the "flying Perfect" that floats before him, lures him "to visions profounder." Through the ages he is destined to rise from heaven to heaven. Even the soul who under the "Lethe of Nature" or the seductions of egoism and sense perception defies the "love of the Best" and turns away, only to find that the transient and unreal he has embraced have dimmed or blinded his vision and left him in a desert waste, also beholds placed at his hand the bitter herb that restores his spiritual sight. It will be remembered that Bulwer, in his profoundly thoughtful long poem, "King Arthur," represents the King, who surrenders himself to the joys of love when the fate of his people was depending on the success of his mission, as finding that he could go no further until he tasted the bitter herb that grew on the grave of his love. Then, lo! his eyes were opened and the mystical Lady of the Lake was beheld at hand ready to row him to the cave from whence he secured the magic sword of the Diamond Glaive. So shame for arrogance and wrong done, and remorse that is heart-felt, clear the vision and we again find the path.

The lines,

"Have I a lover
Who is noble and free?—
I would he were nobler
Than to love me."

have often perplexed readers. Yet the meaning is not difficult if we remember how lovers idealize the loved ones. They see and love to dwell only upon the nobler and finer things they behold in their natures. On one occasion Emerson says:

"The lover has lost the wildest charm of his maiden in her acceptance of him. She was heaven whilst he pursued her as a star. She cannot be heaven if she stoop to such a one as I."

This shows the true meaning of the above. The maiden, conscious of her own many imperfections and seeing only the best in her beloved, and noting that he is not only noble but also free to choose where so e'er he will, in her heart of hearts feels he ought to have chosen some one more worthy of him.

In spite of all the seeming dark pictures, in spite of recurrent pain after pleasure, while man, lethe-tranced, walks dream-like through earth, love is all the time working at the center, "heart-heaving away."

Next the Poet, or the imagination and spiritual sense, who has just demonstrated

its superior insight over the function of reason, unilluminated by the inner vision, rather makes light of the Sphinx that for generations has confused the things of time and the illusions of sense with the eternal verities of life.

"Dull Sphinx, Jove keep thy five wits;
Thy sight is growing blear;
Rue myrrh and cummin for the Sphinx
Her muddy eyes to clear!"

The Sphinx, however, has received new light in the words of the Poet, and she resents his levity, declaring her oneness with the Poet:

"I am thy spirit yoke-fellow,
Of thine eye I am eyebeam,"

she declares. After thus asserting the essential oneness of the Poet and the Sphinx, of the imagination and inner vision and the reasoning power, the Sphinx declares:

"Thou art the unanswered question;
Couldst see thy proper eye,
Alway it asketh, asketh;
And each answer is a lie."

Not only are the imagination and spiritual perception and the intellect one, each complementing the other, but the resultant, the soul, is the supreme sphinx about which the eternal question is propounded. That which seeks to describe in terms comprehensible to man on the sense plane of existence the spirit, the soul or real ego, is "the unanswered question"—something which the soul itself would realize if it could turn its interior vision or "proper eye" on itself. This man has largely been prevented from apprehending, owing to the spell cast by the "Lethe of Nature," which leads him to regard the physical vision as the true eye.

The lines,

"Alway it asketh, asketh;
And each answer is a lie."

are rich in suggestive truth. Man thinks in terms of time and in terms limited by physical concepts. He thus constantly confuses the transient with the enduring, the false with the true, the dream with the reality. The dark "pictures of time" are treated as if they were as real in character as the eternal spiritual verities. The moment that which is eternal is considered in the limiting terms of time and sense perception; when the spiritual and physical, the transient and enduring, that which appears but is not abiding or per-

sistent, and that which is eternal, are placed on the same footing and discussed as realities, the answer born of thought in which the false and true values are thus confused cannot be true. It would be quite as easy for a six-year-old child to think the thoughts and express them in the terms of Plato, as for man, who confuses the false and true, the limited with the limitless, to consider, describe and define the eternal idea of God, here described as the "man-child." Futile also are his attempts to describe in physical terms

"The fate of the man-child,
The meaning of man,"

and the problems that to the physical senses are so inexplicable, or, in a word, to give the true answer to the most profound questions of the Sphinx. To explain these things, Egypt created Ra, Osiris, Isis and their attendant divinities; Chaldea and Assyria peopled the empyrean with other gods and goddesses who warred for their favored children; Greece called into being the Olympian race; and the fair-haired children of the North-land enthroned Wotan and his companions in Valhalla. Zarathustra conceived the gods of Light and Darkness; and coming down to modern times we find Milton circumstantially answering the question of the Sphinx. And so in all times and ages great peoples have had their answers, which have become their religious faith, but each answer has been more or less superficial; each answer was marked by a confusion of the real and the unreal, the temporal and the eternal; each answer the awakened Sphinx, whose vision has been clarified by the Poet's illuminating discourse, now discerns as a lie.

Even our concepts relative to life are based usually on the material or physical man rather than the real ego or the eternal idea of Infinite Life. We talk of the ego as a child, as a youth, as an old man; and yet if the Poet's concept is true, that he is an eternal entity on a stair, being drawn upward by "love of the Best," an eternal entity swept from vision to vision profounder through countless ages, then how pitiful, how essentially false, are the puny concepts that regard man in the terms of childhood, youth and age. A hint of what the Poet strove to impress is found, we think, in the couplet,

"Ask on, thou clothed eternity;
Time is the false reply."

"Clothed eternity" "contemplates man as

a living soul, that will live forever." Here, we take it, the sage has condensed into outline or briefly hinted at great concepts he believed to lie at the very heart of religious truth, and which he might have luminously elaborated had he not seen from the storm of opposition that his earlier utterances had aroused, how hopeless and unwise would be the attempt to convince the society in which he lived of the deeper truths of which he was cognizant, and that therefore it was the part of wisdom to veil his meaning in parable or metaphor.

"Uprose the merry Sphinx,
And crouched no more in stone;
She melted into purple cloud,
She silvered in the moon;
She spired into a yellow flame;
She flowered in blossoms red;
She flowed into a foaming wave;
She stood Monadnoc's head."

These beautiful and highly poetic lines, so rich in pictures and vivid imagery, are also profoundly suggestive. The Poet is the great revealer and emancipator. He not only answers the question of the Sphinx, but he emancipates or unbinds the Sphinx itself. The age-long thought of the world had been bound as in stone, through fear. Man had not dared to revel in the beauty and wonder and glory of tree and flower, of sky, mountain and sea, lest his thought should be presumptuous and offend a jealous God, or lest he should become the victim of the Evil One. Hence the mysteries and the wonders on every

page of Nature's work were hidden from man until the Sphinx was unbound or melted.

Not only did the Poet or revealer answer the Sphinx, but he removed the film from the eye of the Great Mother and dispelled her anxiety and indignation in regard to "the fate of the man-child." The Sphinx had shown that all nature proclaimed the unity of Deity. All things below man were

"By one music enchanted,
One deity stirred."

The Poet showed that man also was the high-born child of the same Deity and that His name was love. Thus the message of

"Sea, earth, air, sound, silence,
Plant, quadruped, bird,"

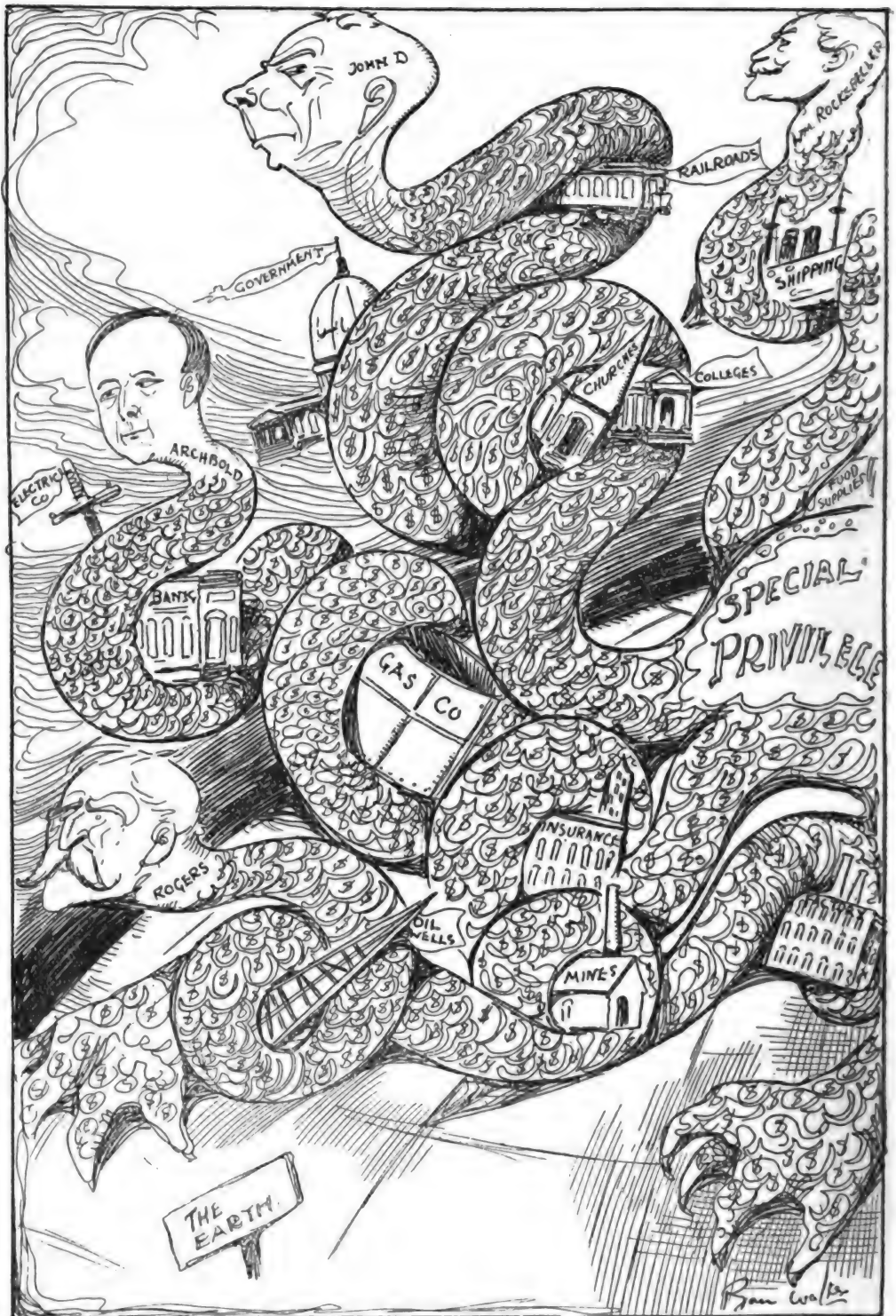
was that instead of two warring deities there was one Life and that Life was good, and that message was affirmed equally clearly in regard to man.

"Through a thousand voices
Spoke the universal dame:
'Who telleth one of my meanings,
Is master of all I am.'"

Emerson, like Hugo in France, Wagner in Germany, Browning in England, was one of the great poet-revelators of the nineteenth century, though his message appealed more directly to the philosophical than to the imaginative and emotional sides of life.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.



Drawn expressly for THE ARENA, by Ryan Walker.

THE MODERN HYDRA:—IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE IN SIGHT.

(See "Popular Rule or Standard Oil Supremacy: Which shall it be?" in "The Mirror of the Present.")

POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.



Carpenter, in Denver News.

WEDDED TO HIS IDOL.



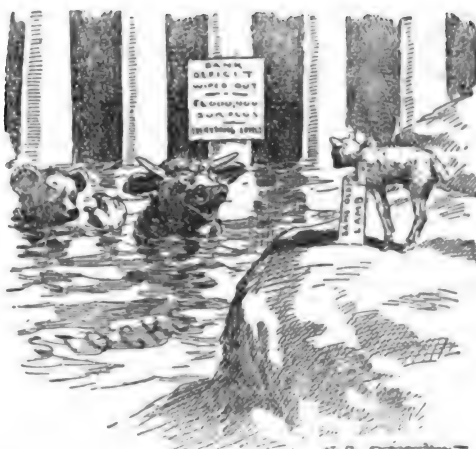
Carpenter, in Denver News.

SHALL THE GOVERNMENT OR THE BANKERS MAKE OUR MONEY.



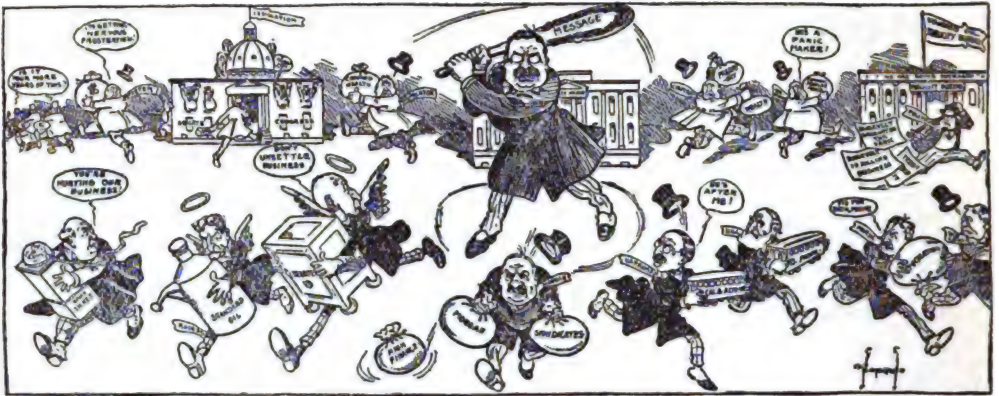
May, in the Detroit Journal.

AN AFFAIR OF THE HEART.



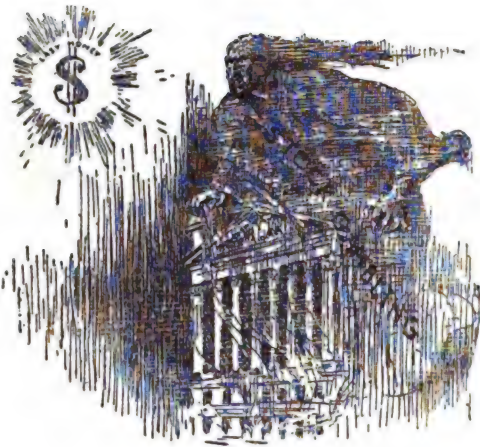
Macauley, in the New York World.

COME ON IN, THE WATER IS FINE.



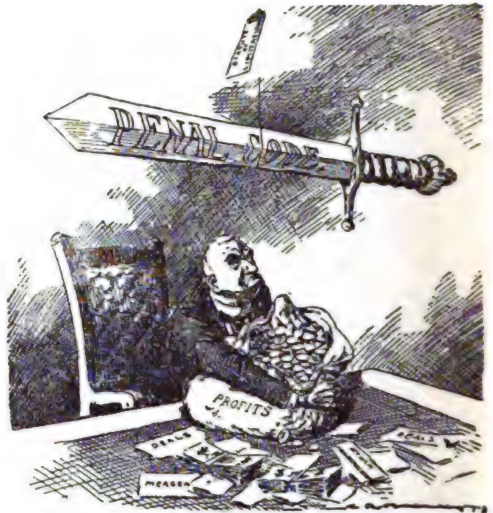
Norman, in Boston Post.

WITH CHARITY FOR ALL.



Macauley, in the New York World.

THE SPIRIT OF THE STREET.



Macauley, in New York World.

THE SWORD OF DAMOCLES.



McCutcheon, in the Chicago Tribune.

HOW MANY FASHIONABLE FIFTH AVENUE CHURCHES WOULD WELCOME.



E. McCutcheon, in the Chicago Tribune.

THE CONGREGATION OF THE COFFEE
WAGON CHURCH.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

POPULAR RULE OR STANDARD OIL SUPREMACY: WHICH SHALL IT BE?

A Choice Involving The Soul-Life of The Republic.

THE NATION is face to face with a moral responsibility which it cannot evade without a self-inflicted wound far more terrible in consequences than would be a war for her very existence against an aggressive invading power. Indeed, with all the facts and evidence that are to-day in the possession of our people if the Republic shrinks from her whole duty it will be at the expense of her soul life or spiritual existence. So long as the people were ignorant of the now clearly-established facts relating to the systematic practices of the Standard Oil Company and its co-partners in long-continued defiance of law; so long as the voters were innocent of the fact that in their midst there had grown up a great business or commercial oligarchy which, largely through persistent law-breaking, moral criminality, indirection and secret control of the well-springs of government and the arteries of trade, was drawing into the hands of a small group of unscrupulous law-breakers untold millions which under honest and just business practices would to-day be blessing the masses of America; so long as the electorate did not know that they were harboring a band of systematic law-breakers whose actions dwarfed into insignificance the occasional law-defiance of the hunted anarchists, the soul of the people was not contaminated by this moral leprosy, further than by the indirect spiritual deterioration that always attends the subtle poisoning of the sources of political, social, educational and business life, and the further evil influence arising from the corruption and defilement of those of their number who became from time to time the tools or instruments of this sinister power. But when the cancer feeding on the moral life of the nation and corrupting the varied springs of collective activity, was laid bare; when the evidence of long-continued, brazen and cynical defiance of the laws of the land was proven in court by overwhelming and irrefut-

able evidence, the nation could no longer plead ignorance, and every man was brought face to face with the gravest responsibility that has confronted the free men of America for fifty years,—a responsibility quite as great and momentous in its significance as that which faced our fathers when they signed the Declaration of Independence, because on the result of the present battle between the criminal rich, of whose guilt there is no question, and the Republic, hangs the fate of free institutions. Popular rule or a democratic republic cannot live if the corrupting Standard Oil system is longer to maintain its morally debasing supremacy.

And just here is a solemn and inescapable fact which should be driven home to the consciousness of every citizen. In a republic every voter becomes morally responsible for civic morality and national honor to the limit of his individual power, both in vote and influence. So surely as a moral order obtains in the universe, no man can escape this inexorable obligation and remain guiltless. Nothing is more precious or sacred than the soul of a nation, and history bears eloquent testimony to the truth of the saying of the inspired seer: "Where there is no vision, the people perish." Anything that tends to undermine the moral ideals of a people or to confuse the popular mind in regard to the fundamental ethical verities of justice, honor, integrity and the spirit of fraternity expressed in the Golden Rule, strikes at the spiritual life of a nation; and in a republic this spiritual life is entrusted to the voters. Therefore upon each citizen devolves an inescapable responsibility. He who shirks this duty, no matter in what sophistical excuse he may seek to take refuge, is a partaker in the moral criminality that is poisoning the national life. If, on the other hand, he faithfully performs his duty with that spirit of unselfish devotion to the ideal of pure and free government that marked the action of the fathers, he maintains his own spiritual integrity and is quit of moral responsibility

for the evil that he has unselfishly striven to destroy.

Under present social and political conditions, due largely to the fact that the materialism of the market has, tare-like, choked the wheat of spiritual ideals in church, state and business life, we are frequently brought face to face with lawlessness, moral criminality, oppression and dishonesty triumphantly enthroned, aggressive, insolent and defiant, the most conspicuous example being found in the criminal combination we are about to consider and its commercial ramifications, which constitute the gambling paradise—Wall Street.

Often, indeed, to all superficial appearances it seems that "the wicked flourish as the green bay tree"; but so surely as Creation obeys Law, and the master Law of the universe is spiritual, the closing words of the inspired poet's declaration are none the less profoundly true than his introductory observation: "The end thereof is death."

Shakespeare condenses into a few words something which in its essence, as it relates to the soul, must be true if we live in a moral universe or a universe under the dominance of spiritual law, when he puts these words into the mouth of the remorse-stricken royal murderer of Denmark:

"In the corrupted currents of this world,
Offence's gilded hand may shove by Justice,
And oft 'tis seen, the wicked prize itself
Buys out the Law; but 'tis not so above.
There is no shuffling, there the action lies
In its true nature, and we ourselves compelled,
Even to the teeth and forehead of our faults,
To give in evidence."

Whatever may be our thought as to the soul of man and a future state, if we believe in an over-ruling Intelligence that is sane and moral, Deity that expresses justice as well as law, we cannot escape the conclusion that not only will the spirit of real self of man reap what it has sown, but that no man who in the presence of the most subtle and deadly peril that can confront his fatherland remains indifferent or does not do all in his power to awaken others to a realization of the deadly danger, can escape soul-blight from moral recreancy. Our fathers gave fortune and life for the establishment of free, just and pure government. An oligarchy of criminal rich has to-day placed this priceless heritage in extreme jeopardy. Only by united action of the conscience element of our people can

the Republic be preserved from the most corrupt and degrading form of despotism. This is the grave and inescapable truth that confronts every patriot in America to-day.

The Commercial Loper and The Contagion he Has Spread Throughout Business and Political Life.

The history of the Standard Oil Company constitutes one of the most astounding and, ethically considered, perhaps the blackest page in the commercial history of any nation of modern times. This corporation was the pioneer in many of the black arts that have been the means of destroying the old moral idealism that marked business conditions half a century ago,—arts that have also transformed the government from the watchdog of the people's interest to that of a faithful collie for corporate power whose rapid acquisition of wealth has been largely due to the plunder of the people and various indirect practices only possible because of the corruption of government and the securing of positions of vantage in every department of public life for their trusted servants, who have thus secretly secured immunity for law-breakers through guilty betrayal of their sacred trust and connivance with the corporation anarchists. The Standard Oil Company also was the great parent of those soulless combinations that have been operated by men, often professing to be Christians and claiming to be moral, yet who under the mask of impersonal corporate organization have resorted to cruelly unjust and secret practices which could not result other than in the destruction of the life-long labor of their antagonists; not by fair fight in open field, but by methods that can only be compared to the cowardly assassin's practice of stabbing in the dark. When its ends required defiance of law, it never scrupled to evade or defy the legislation it had been unable to prevent. Thus through a criminal career of half a century it was able subtly to destroy all effective opposition, to levy upon the millions of America taxes and tributes that in all probability the government could not have levied directly without rebellion from taxpayers.

As this great corporation advanced in power, its poisonous virus rapidly extended through the business channels of the nation, and simultaneous with the spread of business ideals innocent of all ethics or considerations of justice, we find the master spirits of the

trust extending their hold upon almost all the sources and centers of the nation's material wealth on the one hand, and the sources of government power and of public opinion on the other.

This corporation has afforded probably the most perfect exhibition of the menace of intellectual power divorced from moral ideals or conscience that is known to history. Its master minds have been adroit, daring and masterful, and they were early wise enough to complement their intellectual astuteness with the services of an army of lawyers to act as retainers,—lawyers as brilliant intellectually as they were wanting in lofty morality; men willing to prostitute their God-given power to ignoble service for gold; men who were ready to hire out their brains to devise ways and means that would enable the master moral criminals to plunder a nation and subvert the ends of justice for the benefit of the few. The army of hired legal prostitutes was, however, but one strong arm. To succeed, the master spirits early understood that they must attach to themselves by community of interest the master spirits who control the arteries of trade,—the great national sources of material wealth, and gain a strong hold on the banking interests. While their hold on government has been from the early days a chief consideration, they later have devoted much attention to gaining a strangle-hold on church, college and school. The Methodist and Baptist churches used to represent the most aggressive conscience force in America in the presence of social, economic and political evils. Do they to-day? Mr. Archbold's millions, given to the great Methodist Syracuse University, have not been spent in vain. Should the reader harbor such a delusion, let him read that amazing recent special plea for the Standard Oil called *A Raid on Prosperity*, written by Chancellor Day of the Syracuse University. Chancellor Day has well been called the Standard Oil's man Friday. How many Methodist and Baptist religious papers are holding up the hands of the President or sustaining the incorruptible Chicago judge for seeking merely to enforce the law against the great law-breakers, which every one of these great criminals, even, would insist should be rigorously enforced against small offenders who no less clearly violated it?

But the menace of the Standard Oil system

is found not merely in its powerful hold and demoralizing influence over public opinion-forming agencies throughout the nation, such as church, press and college, nor yet in its arrogant and insolent attitude toward the nation, seen in its disposition to hold the threat of a panic and business disaster as a club over the government, if the Republic should insist on punishing their criminal acts: its supreme menace is found in its power through its ramifications.

The Supreme Menace of The Standard Oil Interests.

The Standard Oil system has extended its tentacles around the great arteries of trade and travel. Not only have the master spirits of this great trust acquired large interests in the various railway lines, but they have also acquired large interests in various local transportation companies, in electric lighting and gas companies, navigation corporations, coal and copper mines, and a number of the great banks and trust companies. Nor have they stopped here. Tobacco, pulp and paper corporations, fiber companies, glucose works, clock corporations, engine companies, the Steel Trust, the Western Union Telegraph Company, insurance companies and other great interests, are to-day represented, on their governing boards or boards of directors, by master spirits in this great trust. More than fifty public utility corporations have directors in the Standard Oil corporation, or brothers or sons of the master directors represented on their boards of directors. While, besides the great National City Bank of New York, known as the Standard Oil Bank, the Standard Oil interests are represented on the boards of directors of various other great banks, trust companies and insurance companies. Thus, for example, according to *Who's Who* for 1907, William Rockefeller is represented on the board of directors of six banks as well as one trust company.

And through this reaching out, the Standard Oil system has been able to draw its support, or rather to cement into one great community of interests, a mighty oligarchy of privileged wealth that assumes the attitude toward the people and the government of supreme insolence and defiance; a community of lawless wealth that in substance says to the President and the Nation: Punish our great law-breakers or seek to restrict our lawless raids on the people's earnings, and we will

precipitate panics and spread want and ruin on every hand.

Few people dream of the extent or sinister import of the Standard Oil's ramifications. When they do, we believe that they will be quick to demand that the corruption, lawlessness, injustice and oppression that have placed republican institutions in deadly peril be once and forever destroyed. Because of the paramount character of this great issue; because the real question at stake in the present revolt of the people against lawlessness or the anarchal corporations is popular sovereignty or Standard Oil supremacy, no patriot can be indifferent to the issue.

Amazing Revelations Showing Ramifications of The Standard Oil Interests.

The January issue of *Government* contains a striking paper evincing much careful research and of great value and interest to thoughtful Americans. It is entitled "Reply to Archbold's Plea for Mercy." In the opening paragraph the author, who signs himself Theodore W. Lincoln, notices Mr. Archbold's special plea for the Standard Oil Company, made in *The Saturday Evening Post*. It is one of several briefs which have recently appeared by those who represent the interests of this great criminal corporation, most of which make the absurd pretence that any attempt to treat the law-breakers like other malefactors is persecution; that is to say in effect that the great wealth and the long persisted in course of the great corporations and the master spirits that are responsible for their management, ought to insure immunity for the criminals. Most of these briefs also contain veiled threats intimating that if any attempt is made on the part of the government to treat the great criminals as smaller criminals are treated, the great law-breakers will retaliate by wrecking the legitimate business interests of the country, through gamblers' panics such as the country has recently been a victim of.

In the first place, let us notice for a moment this plea of persecution. There is not in the civilized world a people so jealous for fair play or quick to resent any act that savors of persecution or the taking of an unfair advantage, as the citizens of the United States; and it is doubtless the knowledge of this fact that has led the master spirits among the criminal rich and their hirelings and special pleaders to raise the cry of persecution

whenever any attempt is made to treat the millionaire law-breakers of the criminal oligarchy in precisely the same manner that these same essential anarchists would demand that a poor man who systematically defied the law should be treated. There has never been any desire or disposition on the part of the people, the President or the judiciary to persecute the Standard Oil or other criminal and law-defying corporations. The most any one has demanded is that the courts should treat all conscious law-breakers with equal impartiality; should, for example, see that the multi-millionaire criminal who is in no wise under the stress of want or necessity should be no more immune in his law-breaking than the poor man who after vainly seeking work steals in order to save himself and family from starvation.

Now we submit: Is this demand unfair or does it in any way savor of persecution? Mr. Archbold in his paper naturally enough does not dwell on the justice or merit of the government's contention that the great criminals no less than the little offenders shall be punished; but he seeks to convey the idea that the effort to secure justice for the law-breakers would be disastrous for the nation. He says: "To disintegrate its various arteries of trade, reared and developed at home and abroad with such indefatigable enterprise and industry, would be a national calamity."

To which the writer in *Government* pertinently replies by asking Mr. Archbold a series of questions, the gist of which is as follows: "What kind of a calamity will it be if it is found that the unlawful practices of the Standard Oil Company cannot be controlled by the Government of the United States? . . . Do you consider it a presumption on the part of the courts of the United States to put your coterie and its company on trial on charges that nearly every inhabitant of this country (and, to our shame, of every other country) knows are true? Do you mean to imply that if the United States courts do not discontinue their attempt to bring the Standard Oil Company to justice, 'your company promise or imply that the sovereignty, stability and the solvency of our country are threatened by you and your company? Is not this coming pretty close to treason, to say nothing of contempt of court?'"

Government's contributor shows how the

recent Wall Street panic was precipitated by the community of criminal wealth, whose master spirits are the Standard Oil. He shows that the veiled threat of Archbold would be a subject "for mirth but for the serious consequences likely to result from the threat of the Standard Oil Company to loot the country if restrained from its violation of the law. The present financial situation is pointed to as a warning that the prosecution of this case by the Government must stop. The Government is warned that the taking of further testimony will result in drawing the lines more tightly around bank deposits."

Two Sovereigns Cannot Exist Under One Flag.

This thoughtful contributor to *Government* next examines Mr. Archbold's brazen declaration that the Standard Oil Company is not a monopoly. On this point his observations are so timely that we quote them at length:

"In no other business have the profits been so vast that with them all other business connected therewith has been owned by it. It builds the tank cars used for carrying its product; it makes its tin cans; it builds its own pipe line on private property taken for public use; it builds its engines, pumps, vast machinery, and manufactures the chemicals used; it owns its ships in sufficient number to be 'floating on every sea.' Left without competition it makes its own price. The profits were, and are now, enormous. It hardly knows what to do with them. Having obtained the oil business, it turned to other fields. It was found that gas for illuminating and heating purposes could be made from oil. With its profits it either bought out the gas plants in our eastern cities or destroyed them by competing plants, and then made its own price and had the State pass a law denying the others the right to go into the same business. Instances of this are noted when the Standard Oil Company entered the Boston and New York gas fields, drove out all competition and secured its present complete monopoly.

"When inventions for the use of electricity became valuable there was a great demand for copper. The Standard Oil Company, with its profits, entered that field and now controls the production and price. Not content with controlling these necessities, it goes into the stock market and enters into

the game of depressing securities; and when they have reached a sufficiently low point, buys them, and by the use of well-written articles and the great metropolitan journals induces the public to buy, marks up the price, and when they have reached as high a point as it dares to put them, sells them out to the public. Then begins a period of depression and the same thing is worked over. It has even gone further and promoted stock of companies absolutely worthless, and if it had been the ordinary promoter would have landed in jail. One instance in particular can be referred to, that of the Arcadian Copper Company. William Rockefeller and Henry H. Rogers were on the board of directors of this company. It put the stock out at a low figure, advanced it to ninety-two dollars per share, then dropped it back, doubled the capitalization, put it up to ninety dollars and induced the public to buy it because the Standard Oil Company was behind it. It then turned out that there was no copper, and that all the property that the company had was a second-handed mill, located on leased land, that had been mortgaged to Albert C. Burridge, one of its directors. All the money the public had lost had gone into Standard Oil.

"These are a few of the things that will be, looked up and considered by that great jury, the American people, in the near future, in passing on the question whether the Government shall control the Standard Oil Company or the Standard Oil Company shall control the Government. One of two things must happen, either the Government *must* control the Standard Oil Company and make it obey the law, or the Standard Oil Company *will* control the Government. These two sovereignties cannot exist in this country at the same time. It must be all slave or all free."

An Important Table Showing Some of The Ramifications of The Standard Oil System.

Interesting and suggestive as are the above observations, Mr. Lincoln's revelations concerning the extent and the sinister power of the oil trust are far more important. They will serve to explain why the puppets of high finance or the Standard Oil system with one accord denounce every incorruptible patriot who seeks to break up the riot of criminality and lawlessness that marks the trail of the Standard Oil interests. Striking and import-

ant as this table is, however, it is by no means complete. We have already alluded to the fact that Mr. William Rockefeller is reported in *Who's Who* for 1907 as director in six banks and one trust company, though in the table which we are about to reproduce he is only represented as being a director in two banks. The table, however, is sufficiently full to compel the attention of thoughtful people. No patriotic citizen after reading it can, we think, fail to be impressed with the peril that confronts the nation, if he is fully cognizant of the moral depravity and lawlessness that mark the Wall Street gamblers of high finance and the law-breaking corporations:

Mr. Archbold stated that he intended to take the people into his confidence, but he neglected to tell us that the Standard Oil Company's directors are found on the boards of directors of nearly all the great railroad systems of the country; on the directorate of the great banks of New York and other metropolitan cities; on the directorate of the great copper-producing and selling companies, and, when not so directly represented, indirectly control those identical interests in the great cities of the country, and weave such a network of power that when all are brought together and used for one purpose they make a combination that would be irresistible were it not for the fact that the majority of the citizens, like President Roosevelt, stand for honesty and the Square Deal.

To clearly understand the situation, we must start with the officers and directors of the Standard Oil Company, the Trust, so called, incorporated under the laws of the State of New Jersey, and then follow these same men into the great transportation companies, the banks, trust companies and other industrial organizations throughout the United States. The officers and directors of this Standard Oil Company follow:

John D. Rockefeller, President; John D. Archbold, vice-President; H. M. Flagler, Vice-President; William Rockefeller, Vice-President; H. H. Rogers, Vice-President; C. M. Pratt, Secretary; W. H. Tilford, Treasurer.

Directors: John D. Archbold, Frank Q. Barstow, A. C. Bedford, E. T. Bedford, H. M. Flagler, C. W. Harkness, Walter Jennings, J. A. Moffett, O. H. Payne, C. M. Pratt, J. D. Rockefeller, Jr., J. D. Rockefeller, William Rockefeller, Henry H. Rogers, W. H. Tilford.

Now follow these men into the boards of directors of which they are members and we have the following:

John D. Rockefeller is not, so far as known, an officer or director of any corporation except the Standard Oil Company, but his son, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is an officer or director of the following corporations:

American Linseed Co., Delaware, Lackawanna & Western R. R. Co., United States Steel Corporation, University of Chicago.

John D. Archbold: National Fuel Gas Co., National Transit Co., New York Transit Co., Ohio Co. of Associates.

H. M. Flagler: The Cuba Co., Florida East Coast Railway, Jacksonville Terminal Co., Morton Trust Co., National Fuel Gas Co., National Transit Co., New York Transit Co., Peninsular & Occidental Steamship Co., Western Union Telegraph Co.

His brother, John H. Flagler, is an officer or director in the following: American Farm Product Co., American La France Fire Engine Co., Bank of Washington Heights, Credit Clearing House, Flint & Co., Hegeman & Co., Home Insurance Co., National Bank of North America.

William Rockefeller: Amalgamated Copper Co., Aneconda Mining Co., Brooklyn Union Gas Co., Central New England Railroad Co., Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad Co., Consolidated Gas Co. of New York, Delaware, Lackawanna & Western R. R. Co., East River Gas Company of Long Island City, Hanover National Bank, Harlem River & Portchester R. R. Co., Hartford & Connecticut Western R. R. Co., Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railway, Michigan Central R. R. Co., Mohawk & Malone R. R. Co., National City Bank of New York, National Transit Co., New England Navigation Co., New York & Harlem R. R. Co., New York & Ottawa Railway, New York Central & Hudson River R. R. Co., New York, Chicago & St. Louis R. R. Co., New York Mutual Gas Light Co., New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R. Co., New York, Ontario & Western Railway Co., New York State Realty & Terminal Co., Pittsburgh & Lake Erie R. R. Co., Poughkeepsie Bridge R. R. Co., Rutland R. R. Co., St. Lawrence & Adirondack Railway Co., United Metals Selling Co., United States Trust Co., West Shore R. R.

And his son, William G. Rockefeller, is an officer or director of the following corporations: Amalgamated Copper Co., Atlantic Coast Electric Railway Co., Atlas Tack Co.,

New Jersey & Staten Island Ferry Co., Richmond Light & R. R. Co., Southfield Beach R. R. Co., Staten Island Midland Railway Co.

Henry H. Rogers: Amalgamated Copper Co., Anaconda Copper Mining Co., Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co., Atlantic Coast Electric Railway, Atlas Tack Co., Brooklyn Union Gas Co., Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co., Farmers' Loan & Trust Co., Guaranty Trust Co., Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New York, National Bank of Fairhaven, National Fuel Gas Co., National Transit Co., New Jersey & Staten Island Ferry Co., New York Transit Co., Richmond Light & R. R. Co., Staten Island Ferry Co., Staten Island Midland Railway Co., Tennessee Copper Co., Union Pacific R. R. Co., United Metals Selling Co., United States Steel Corporation.

And his son, Henry H. Rogers, Jr., the following: Brooklyn Union Gas Co., Columbia Bank, Lincoln National Bank of the City of New York, National Fuel Gas Co., New York Transit Co., Union Pacific R. R. Co.

Charles M. Pratt: American Express Co., Boston & Maine R. R., Brooklyn Academy of Music, Brooklyn City R. R. Co., Brooklyn Trust Co., Chelsea Fibre Mills, Long Island R. R. Co., Mechanics' National Bank, Metropolitan Trust Co., New York Glucose Co., Pratt & Lambert, Pratt Institute, Self Winding Clock Co., Union Mortgage & Realty Co.

Wesley H. Tilford: Treasurer of the Standard Oil Company.

Frank Q. Barstow: Corn Products Refining Co., New York Glucose Co., Railway Steel Spring Co., Thompson-Starrett Co.

Alfred C. Bedford: Morris Building Co., American La France Fire Engine Co., Portland General Electric Co., Portland Railway Light & Power Co., Pratt & Lambert, Self-Winding Clock Co., Western Power Co.

Edward T. Bedford: New York Glucose Co., Atlantic Refining Co., Bedford Petroleum Co., Bush Terminal Co., Colonial Oil Co. of New Jersey, Corn Products Mfg. Co., Corn Products Refining Co., Long Island Safe Deposit Co., Self-Winding Clock Co., Southport Trust Co., Thompson-Starrett Co., Title Guarantee & Trust Co.

Charles E. Bedford, whose business address is 26 Broadway, and who is a near relative of the above, is vice-president and director of American Ice Securities Company, The Ice Trust.

Charles W. Harkness: Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co., Morningside Realty Co., New York Trust Co., Tilden Iron Mining Co.

Walter Jennings: The New York Trust Co.
James A. Moffett: Chesebrough Mfg. Co., New York Glucose Co.

Oliver H. Payne: American Tobacco Co., Chase National Bank, Chihauhua & Pacific R. R., Chihauhua Mining Co., Coal Creek Mining Co., Croesus Gold Mining & Mfg. Co., Great Northern Paper Co., Havana Tobacco Co., Interlake Pulp & Paper Co., International Cigar Machinery Co., International Railway Co., International Traction Co., Manhattan Trust Co., New York Loan & Improvement Co., Standard Oilcloth Co., Virginia & Southeastern Railway Co.

The list above printed is a most important one. It ought to be known and committed to memory by every person who will vote next November. It is the greatest aggregation of capital and interests that was ever brought under one control: Transportation companies, railroads extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico; the great steel corporation, which now controls the output of iron and steel of the country; copper companies that control the production and fix the price of all our copper; companies that control the production and price of tobacco and its products.

More than this, it controls the deposits of the great national banks and trust companies and has taken from the savings banks, particularly those of New England, the savings of the people and has put into the banks, in place of those savings, pieces of paper called certificates of stock of these corporations. But greatest factor of all in the contest is the control it has over the weapons that must be used, the Western Union Telegraph Company and the associated press. With these it can instantly place before the people its falsehoods and slanders and keep repeating them with little or no opportunity for the other side to be heard and the facts known.

The above is only a small portion of the important data and facts in this notable paper. Especially valuable are the author's revelations concerning the relation of a series of oppressive and extortionate trusts to the Standard Oil Company and his exposure of the shameless manner in which many of them are robbing the people. What he says of the

tobacco, ice and steel trusts is of special interest, while his closing paragraph, in which he examines Major Henry L. Higginson's plea for mercy for the criminals, is richly worth the consideration of thinking men and women. The continued robbery of the people and their oppression by the Standard Oil system and its feeders affords amply sufficient reason for the people to demand that there shall be no cessation in the aggressive campaign for the just punishment of the great criminals, no compromise, and no failure on the part of the nation. But the relation of the issue to the supremacy of popular rule, and the moral factors involved, carrying as they do the fate of free government in the United States and the very spiritual life of the people, lift this issue to the plane of a paramount question,—a contest about which no lover of free institutions or friend of civilization can be indifferent or neutral.

The President's Brave Stand on The Standard Oil Corruption.

On January 31, after the above editorial was typewritten, the President sent to Congress one of the bravest and most notable messages of recent years. It is a noble plea for simple honesty and fairdealing. The following passages are so excellent and timely that they deserve the widest possible circulation. They voice the sentiments of the aroused American electorate—the sentiments of every honest and justice-loving citizen of the Republic:

"The methods by which the Standard Oil people and those engaged in the other combinations of which I have spoken above have achieved great fortunes can only be justified by the advocacy of a system of morality which would also justify every form of criminality on the part of a labor union, and every form of violence, corruption and fraud, from murder to bribery and ballot-box stuffing in politics.

"We are trying to secure equality of opportunity for all; and the struggle for honesty is the same whether it is made on behalf of one set of men or of another.

"Our effort is simply to enforce the principles of common honesty and common sense. It would indeed be ill for the country should there be any halt in our work.

"We have just passed through two months of acute financial stress. At any such time it is a sad fact that entirely innocent people

suffer from no fault of their own, and everyone must feel the keenest sympathy for the large body of honest business men, of honest investors, of honest wage-workers, who suffer because involved in a crash for which they are in no way responsible. At such a time there is a natural tendency on the part of many men to feel gloomy and frightened at the outlook; but there is no justification for this feeling.

"The wrongs that exist are to be corrected; but they in no way justify doubt as to the final outcome, doubt as to the great material prosperity of the future, or of the lofty spiritual life which is to be built upon that prosperity as a foundation. No misdeeds done in the present must be permitted to shroud from our eyes the glorious future of the nation; but because of this very fact it behooves us never to swerve from our resolute purpose to cut out wrongdoing and uphold what is right.

"I do not for a moment believe that the actions of this administration have brought on business distress; so far as this is due to local and not world-wide causes, and to the actions of any particular individuals, it is due to the speculative folly and flagrant dishonesty of a few men of great wealth, who seek to shield themselves from the effects of their own wrongdoing by ascribing its results to the actions of those who have sought to put a stop to the wrongdoing.

"But if it were true that to cut out rottenness from the body politic meant a monetary check to an unhealthy seeming prosperity, I should not for one moment hesitate to put the knife to the corruption. On behalf of all our people, on behalf no less of the honest man of means than of the honest man who earns each day's livelihood by that day's sweat of his brow, it is necessary to insist upon honesty in business and politics alike, in all walks of life, in big things and in little things; upon just and fair dealings as between man and man. Those who demand this are striving for the right in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln when he said:

"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsmen's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three

thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in."

"In the work we of this generation are in there is, thanks be to the Almighty, no danger of bloodshed and no use for the sword; but

there is grave need of those stern qualities shown alike by the men of the North and the men of the South in the dark days when each valiantly battled for the light as it was given each to see the light.

"Their spirit should be our spirit, as we strive to bring nearer the day when greed and trickery and cunning shall be trampled under feet by those who fight for the righteousness that exalteth a nation."

A FURTHER WORD CONCERNING THE PRESIDENT.

Since Mr. Rees's paper in this issue has gone to press, President Roosevelt has issued a circumstantial denial of the charges made in the various press dispatches cited by our author which indicated that the President had used Federal patronage to further Mr. Taft's candidacy. We do not take it that there is any question raised as to the truth of the news facts given, but in justice to the President we give his words embodying his denial that any of these appointments were made for the purpose of furthering Mr. Taft's candidacy. The following is the specific utterance of the President:

"Not an appointment has been made that would not have been made if there had been no Presidential contest impending, and in no case has there been a deviation from the course that I would have pursued had none of those who actually are candidates for the nomination been candidates, nor has a single office-holder been removed or threatened with removal or coerced in any way to secure his support for any Presidential candidate. In fact, the only coercion that I have attempted to exercise was to forbid the office-holders from pushing my own renomination."

In this connection it affords us pleasure to note that a number of clergymen have recently come out, strongly supporting the President's message of January 31st. In Cincinnati, at a meeting of Methodist clergymen, a strong resolution endorsing the President's recent statesmanlike stand, was

passed with only one dissenting vote, the dissenter being a colored man. On February 9th Rabbi Fleischer of Boston thus referred to the recent courageous utterance of the President:

"I hail President Roosevelt's latest message as that of an American Isaiah; its moral fervor is worthy of a Jewish prophet. If Lincoln were alive, I believe he would speak with similar accents."

On the same day that Rabbi Fleischer uttered the above words, the Rev. Stephen H. Roblin, a prominent Universalist clergyman of Boston and a most pronounced Republican, uttered the following words relating to the President and Mr. Bryan:

"William J. Bryan is a moral man, and if elected to the Presidency of the United States we would find the same spirit that we to-day find in the White House.

"What this country needs to-day is more men with the spirit of Lincoln," he said. "The man that is serving in the White House now has many of the ideas that Lincoln carried to his grave. When under fire he fires back and is lauded by many millions of people."

It is most encouraging to see this sign of an awakening on the part of the clergy to a realization of the importance of standing by those statesmen who are bravely fighting to destroy the corruption in high places that is demoralizing our political and business life and degrading the nation's ideals.

MR. BRYAN AND THE WOULD-BE WRECKERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

An Englishman's Criticism of Our Republic.

SOME time since we were in conversation with a prominent Englishman who is one of the closest students of world politics. In the course of his remarks he said: "Mr. Flower, your country presents to me the most amazing and, if you will pardon my frankness, the most inexcusably disgraceful spectacle of any government that pretends to enjoy even partial benefits from popular rule. Your people for more than two decades have been complaining with increasing bitterness against the oppression and extortion of public-service corporations and other great monopolies; yet no relief is given them. Indeed, the tyranny of the modern Assyrian steadily becomes more and more irksome, while the exposures of flagrant corruption in the conduct of great business and trust concerns, made in official investigations, have amazed the world. Your people are to-day the victims of a double tax: one a reasonable levy for the conduct of your municipal, state and national governments; the other a colossal tax levied by numerous bands of irresponsible and unscrupulous men whose avarice knows no bounds.

"Here, for example, you have a coal trust annually diverting millions upon millions of dollars, above all reasonable profits for invested capital, into the pockets of a few men whose moral sense is as blunted as their greed is insatiable. Again, you have a steel trust that is so patriotic and concerned for the prosperity of you Americans, that it gives England the benefit of low prices while it levies a tax on your people of from six to eleven dollars a ton more for its products than it charges us for the identical articles delivered in London. From coal and iron, two of the prime material necessities of advancing civilization, turn to oil. You have an oil trust which is the acme of incorporated avarice guided by craft and innocent of all sentiments of justice or morality. This trust has throttled and destroyed competition by black-hand methods. It has engaged with the public carriers in deliberate and

long-continued defiance of the laws of the land, and its debauching influence in government is admitted on every hand; and this trust has by its extra-moral and criminal practices been able to divert into the pockets of a score or less of men hundreds of millions of dollars which under honest and fair dealing would to-day be the property of the millions of your Republic. And this vast wealth has in turn been used to acquire control of the great natural monopolies and privileged interests, such as railways, street-car lines, gas and electric lighting, banks and other monopolies and corporations bulwarked by special privileges, all of which are essential to the life of modern business and the comfort, prosperity and happiness of the people; and all these new acquisitions are in turn made to draw steady streams of money from the wealth-creating and consuming millions above a fair and honest profit for capital invested, while through Wall-Street gambling manipulations these men, who always play with loaded dice, are further enabled to acquire untold millions, almost at will, while they are getting things so completely in their hands that unless they are curbed they will soon be able to hold the threat of a panic over the head of the government at all times.

"And what is true of the coal, steel and oil industries is also true of meat and other products that the people depend upon for food, clothing or shelter. Thus we find a condition the existence of which is no longer denied, that has its parallel in no civilized country in the world,—a new and amazing tax-levying power, distinct from the government and as merciless in its extortions as the ancient Roman provincial rulers and tax-gatherers were oppressive in their exactions from the unhappy dependencies; an irresponsible commercial oligarchy that at will levies on the people taxes which if levied by a government would instantly lead to the overthrow of the administration or to a forcible revolution.

"The thing that is so astounding to me," continued the Englishman, "is the fact that in a government where the people have the

power to peaceably and legally destroy all abuses, they permit oppression and extortion to be levied which I think it is safe to say would not be tolerated by any government of Europe west of Russia. It is not as if your people were ignorant or unacquainted with the facts, for they are conceded on all sides. Yet no popular clamor moves your officials to more than pretended but confessedly ineffective remedies. Is not this state of affairs a proof that popular rule is impracticable? Does it not show that the most insidious and absolute despotism can obtain under a seemingly free and popular form of government? In a word, does it not indicate that democracy is a failure?"

We replied somewhat as follows:

How The Nation Fell Into The Hands of The Spoilers.

No. The present conditions emphasize the truth of the old adage that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Nations, like individuals, have periods of mental and moral depression—sleeping times, if you will, when the popular mind is diverted or off guard, and at such times abuses almost invariably creep into government and fasten themselves upon the people.

Some years ago, in a Western state, a wealthy man and his family, residing near a small city, were sleeping. A band of daring thieves broke into the home. They chloroformed the inmates, bound them, and then compelled the father to give them the combination to the safe and to tell them where certain valuable property was to be found. This calamity to the household resulted in the first place from the farmer being asleep, and secondly from the fact that the family were bound and unable to free themselves. In like condition, our people, after the exhaustion, the terrible woes and destruction of the Civil War, fell asleep, and while they slumbered there arose a new power, impersonal in character yet guided by the most cunning and daring moral perverts known to history. This power has been well called incorporated avarice. The corporation had no soul or conscience and knew no death, and in the hands of its masters it became a mighty power for oppression. But how? Only by destroying free government or rather by silently replacing it by another form of government which defeated popular rule without

apparently interfering with democratic institutions.

De Tocqueville in the thirties of the last century wrote that the cure for the evils of democracy, was more democracy, and no utterance was ever truer. Every failure of popular rule in America and every great abuse that has arisen up among us is due to interference by class or privileged interests with popular rule; while in America as in Switzerland, New Zealand and elsewhere, every step taken to make government more truly democratic or representative of the desires, wishes and interests of all the people has resulted in the rise of civic efficiency, good government and the prosperity of all the people.

The Right and Left Arm of The Oligarchy of Privileged Wealth.

The secret of the success of the feudalism of privileged wealth in defeating the demands of the people for real and effective remedies for the tyranny of corporations and the corruption of government in the interests of privileged wealth and Wall Street high financiers, is found in the fact that the corporations or those representing privileged wealth or privilege-seeking wealth years ago succeeded in making alliances, defensive and offensive, with political bosses or masters of the political organizations, and by liberal contributions of money to control elections the privilege-seeking corporations became at last the supreme masters of political machines in many cities and states. Later, their hold extended to national politics, and we have the spectacle of the money-controlled political machine directed absolutely by the political boss, who in turn recognized the suzerainty of those who furnished the money, or the corporations whose desire it was to plunder the people. Thus machine-rule or government by corporations and bosses, through party machines, supplanted government "of the people, by the people and for the people."

"I can understand," said the Englishman, "how one party might have abandoned itself to privileged interests, like the Tory party with us; but surely one of your parties must be liberal or progressive."

The Secret of The Political Supremacy of Corporate Wealth and Monopoly Power.

The rank and file of the nation, we ventured, are not only passionately devoted to free

institutions, but are honest and thoroughly sound at heart. But as in its early years and until after the assassination of President Lincoln the Republican party was distinctly the progressive party, so in recent years the Democratic party has been the party of progressive social and economic ideals, the party most loyally attached to the fundamental principles which differentiate a popular government from class-rule.

But the shrewd and clever masters of the oligarchy of privileged wealth have been at great pains to render innocuous the influence of the Democratic party since they gained complete mastery of the Republican machine, by keeping a band of wreckers busily at work in the Democratic party to promote discord, awaken distrust in the heart of the voters and to try to capture the organization, not for the success of the party, but for rendering its success impossible and insuring the continued rule of the corporations and high financiers.

The Republican party machine, since Mark Hanna was able to draw to it great multi-millionaire campaign contributors of both parties, who represent special privilege and high finance and who desire immunity from the laws of the land, has been as completely the slave of the plutocracy as were the conquered kings who graced the triumph of the Roman Emperors, though for obvious reasons its slavery is not flaunted, for the success of the plutocracy depends on deceiving the people. The Republican party is the strong right arm of the feudalism of privileged wealth. Its machine is manned in almost every state by such astute and cunning politicians as the great Massachusetts bosses, Lodge, Crane and Powers, all as jealous for the interests of privileged class and great public-service corporations as they are industrious in defeating any fundamental remedy looking toward popular supremacy and relief from the tyranny and extortion of lawless wealth.

Now such machines afford ideal instruments for the plutocracy. It asks for nothing better than the continued reign of the Lodges, Cranes, Penroses, Platts, Depews, Aldriches, Knoxes, Elkins, Roots, Cannons and Fairbanks. But that continued rule cannot be assured unless the Democratic party can be weakened, demoralized and discredited.

Hence the value to the plutocracy of the wreckers in the Democratic party. This

small division of the feudalism of privileged wealth is the left arm of the plutocracy. But for it, the people would long ere this have righted the wrongs and purged the temple of government of the traitors who as pretended friends of the people systematically betray the electorate and do the bidding of the lawless oppressors of the millions.

The Plutocracy in Politics For Control of The Government.

The feudalism of privileged wealth has no political convictions and knows no party. Its members are patriots for revenue only. Their political creed was concisely expressed by Jay Gould, when years ago the great railway wrecker and pioneer high financier was being investigated by a committee of the New York legislature who were looking into the affairs of the Erie Railroad. When it was shown that Mr. Gould had contributed liberally to the election of Republicans in some districts and of Democrats in others, he was asked what were his political convictions. And he replied: "In a Republican district I am a Republican; in a Democratic district I am a Democrat; in a doubtful district I am doubtful, but I am an Erie man all the time."

And later Mr. Havermeyer, one of the master spirits of the sugar trust, before an United States Senate investigating committee, admitted that his trust contributed chiefly to the Republican campaign committees in Republican states, Democratic committees in Democratic states, and to both parties in doubtful states.

These confessions aptly illustrate the political convictions or lack of convictions of the money-mad masters of the feudalism of corporate wealth; and thus those who had made a careful study of political conditions and of Wall Street methods were in no wise surprised when at the insurance investigation Mr. McCall, who had loudly professed to be a Democrat, confessed that he had put his hands into the treasury of the New York Life Insurance Company and had taken out fifty thousand dollars of the policyholders' money and presented to Mark Hanna's campaign fund, to aid the money-controlled Republican machine to defeat the nominee of the national Democratic party. Nor were we surprised to hear that last year Mr. Thomas F. Ryan, another pretended

Democratic and one of the most odious of the modern reckless masters of high finance, had contributed a princely sum to the Republican machine in the Empire State, to aid in electing Governor Hughes and thus defeat the nominee of the Democratic party; for no fact is more clearly proven than that the plutocracy is in politics for the control or the mastership of the people's government.

The Would-be Wreckers of The Democratic Party.

Ever since 1896, no fact has been more patent to close observers than the pernicious, determined and insidious activity of the plutocratic contingent, which claims to be Democratic, in playing the rôle of wrecker of the party. Men like Ryan, Belmont, H. M. Whitney and other master spirits of the plutocracy, who claim to be Democrats, and political bosses and handy-men of the trusts, such as McCarren and Murphy in New York, Gaston and Fitzgerald in Massachusetts, Bailey in Texas, and the great newspapers that are either strongly reactionary or plutocratic,—all alike have worked unceasingly and very effectively during the past twelve years in wrecking the Democratic party and discrediting it before the conscience element of the nation. The one master object of this coterie of wreckers is to prevent the democracy from nominating or electing a man who would embody the aspirations, ideals, desires and interests of America's millions to-day and who could not be seduced from the high interests of the millions of the nation by appeals for party regularity, by the lure of gold, or appeals to personal ambition and the temptations of office or station.

When Mr. Bryan ran for the Presidency in 1896 and 1900, the plutocracy's left arm did all in its power to defeat him. Some frankly fought the election of the man selected by an overwhelming vote in the national conventions, and thus clearly the choice of the party. Some pretended to support him, but stabbed him in the back on all possible occasions; while others, less open in their methods, allowed their support to lack all enthusiasm and to convey constantly the idea that they believed the fight was hopeless, even at times, as in the autumn of 1896, when the Republican leaders were alarmed for fear of Democratic success.

The Significant Result of The Parker Campaign With The New York World as The Journalistic Moses.

In 1904 the plutocracy became alarmed lest the people should triumph. They were not afraid of Mr. Roosevelt, because they knew they were masters of the Republican machine, but they were terrified over the possibility of a truly Democratic leader being elected, with a progressive and determined party behind him. So they set about to destroy the Democratic party by securing the nomination of a man who would discredit it in the eyes of the industrial millions. Belmont and Ryan rushed to the front. In Thomas Taggart, the odious master of a well-known gambling resort, they found an ideal handy-man. The wealth and power of the plutocracy were exerted to seduce the party. The *New York World*, no less than the frankly reactionary mouthpiece of corporate interests, the *Times*, led the newspaper procession. The *World*, by reason of its supposed large circulation, exerted great influence on the opinion of delegates, and it assumed the position of a modern journalistic Moses. It proposed to lead the party to victory by displacing a democratic Democrat by a "safe and sane" man acceptable to Wall Street interests. In Alton B. Parker the plutocratic Democrats found the ideal candidate. The *World*, as well as other reactionary papers that voiced the desires of corporate wealth, clamored for the nomination of such a candidate, and they succeeded in securing the nomination of their man.

But as the platform was not wholly to the liking of the *World*, it made an hysterical appeal to the candidate to declare his position on the money question in such a way as to satisfy the Wall Street interests; and this gentleman, who has since been the handy-man of the Ryan-Belmont interests, promptly obeyed the *World's* demand in his famous "gold telegram."

The great Democratic masses took his action as clear evidence that if elected President he would be wholly acceptable to Wall Street corporate interests, and they wisely determined to let the *World*, *Times*, *Brooklyn Eagle*, *Louisville Courier-Journal*, and other reactionary papers that had promised or predicted triumphant victory if such a "safe and sane" man should be nominated, see how pitifully insignificant was their influence

over a party whose rank and file were dominated by moral idealism.

The plutocracy, however, had achieved its ends. It had prevented the possibility of a progressive and incorruptible Democrat being elected with a progressive organization and party behind him. Mr. Cortelyou found no difficulty in convincing the great campaign contributors that their interests would be conserved by giving the lion's share of their contributions to the party whose machinery had proved to be so thoroughly responsive to their wishes, even though that party had a candidate who might be less amenable to their wishes than was his predecessor; because no fact was more clearly in evidence than that the great machine of the Democratic party, in spite of the success of the plutocrats led by the Ryans, Belmonts, McCarrens, Taggarts and Sullivans, was frankly progressive and determined to achieve progressive and fundamental reforms that would destroy the dominant power in politics of lawless corporate wealth. So the wreckers succeeded as they had hoped to succeed, and the *World* led the party, at a time when its prospects were far brighter than they had been before, to an overwhelming and hopeless defeat.

Mr. Bryan in 1900 had little chance for victory, because the nation had just closed a victorious war under Republican auspices. Its candidate for the Presidency had the united support of the great financial interests of the country. The country has enjoyed four years of wonderfully good crops, with the prosperity that they gave the people, and the stimulation of business due to the great war purchasing supplies added also materially to the activity of business energies everywhere. Yet with all these obstacles in the path to success, Mr. Bryan, without the aid of any of the tainted wealth of the plutocracy to further his campaign, polled 1,280,162 more votes than were cast for the *World's* plutocracy-viséed candidate, Alton B. Parker; and Mr. Bryan also won fifteen more electoral votes than the *World's* candidate was able to secure, with all the plutocratic-Democratic wealth and the influence of such papers as the *New York Times*, *Brooklyn Eagle*, *Courier-Journal* and other reactionary sheets.

The *World* and its companions in arms proved themselves to be the greatest wreckers of the Democratic party since the reactionary

course of President Cleveland, which reached its climax in the secret bond deal in the early nineties, led to the overwhelming defeat of the Democratic party.

Again The Wreckers are at Work.

Nothing for many months has been more evident than that if the Republican party nominates Taft, Hughes, Fairbanks, Knox, Cannon or Cortelyou, and the Democratic party selects a candidate in whom the progressive element of the electorate has perfect confidence and who has been tried and found faithful, as, for instance, have Mr. Bryan, Mayor Tom L. Johnson, Governor Folk and Chief Justice Walter Clark, such a candidate would be elected. Hence the plutocracy is again busy with its wreckers. A desperate attempt was recently made by the Ryan-Belmont faction to have a large reactionary conference held in New York, to discredit Mr. Bryan's candidacy; but it was a significant fact that in spite of the great effort made in this direction, the much-heralded attempt was a dismal failure.

The World's Campaign Against Mr. Bryan.

The *New York World* seems to have forgotten that it is entitled to an ill-famed pre-eminence as a wrecker of the Democratic party. It seems to imagine that the people have entirely forgotten the result of the work of it and its friends in securing the nomination of Parker, which led to such an overwhelming demoralization and defeat of the party it pretends to represent, and it again is assuming the rôle of a journalistic Moses.

At present it is centering its attack against Mr. Bryan, and it is significant that in this vicious campaign against the strongest Democratic leader of the nation the *World* is seconded by a number of the most frankly reactionary papers of the land. It is difficult to conceive of any reason for this persistent attack on Mr. Bryan, unless it be that the plutocratic leaders feel that no man in the Democratic party has such a large and enthusiastic following as the great Nebraskan. The *World* has ridiculed almost all of Mr. Bryan's recommendations, in spite of the fact that most of these recommendations are insistently demanded by the people and are only being fought by the criminal rich and their handy-men and paid servants.

But its most disgraceful action has been its attempt to make it appear that Mr. Bryan

is the wrecker of the Democratic party. The position of the *World* is precisely analogous to that of the Standard Oil Company and its henchmen in regard to the recent gamblers' panic. With one accord these panic-makers strove to lay the responsibility for the panic on Mr. Roosevelt, and precisely so the *World* has published time and again a map of the United States showing the Democratic states when Mr. Bryan ran, but it carefully fails to show the condition when it was the Moses and its man Parker ran, but four years ago, though, as we have shown, the *World's* candidate polled 1,280,162 less votes and secured fifteen less electoral votes than Mr. Bryan received under far less favorable auspices four years previous.

Does the *World* want another Parker Waterloo for the Democratic party? If so, it will surely realize its desire, unless some statesman who is a radical and fundamental Democrat, like Mr. Bryan, Governor Folk, Mayor Johnson or Judge Clark, is nominated. With any one of these men, we believe the Democratic party would be overwhelmingly successful, provided any one of the above-named Republicans should be nominated; for each of these Democrats embodies the ideals, aspirations and desires of the millions of America's wealth-creators. All have been tried and found faithful. All have made unyielding war on political corruption and criminal wealth.

Governor John Johnson Championed by *Harper's Weekly* and Other Reactionary Journals.

How about Governor Johnson of Minnesota? some may ask. The *World* advocates Johnson. This is extremely unfortunate for his candidacy, and when the fact is known that *Harper's Weekly*, probably the most reactionary journal in America—*Harper's Weekly*, under the editorial management of J. Pierpont Morgan's handy-man, George

B. Harvey, is enthusiastically advocating Governor Johnson's nomination, little more need be said. It would seem that a candidate wholly satisfactory to *Harper's Weekly*, the New York *World* and the *Courier-Journal*, would be just about as satisfactory to the masses of the Democratic party as was Alton B. Parker. But we do not imagine for a moment that *Harper's Weekly*, the *World* and other reactionary papers are sincere in their advocacy of Governor Johnson. They would doubtless prefer him to Mr. Bryan, but is it not probable that their prime object has been to divide the forces supposed to be favorable to progressive democracy, and then bargain with the champions of the different candidates for a compromise that would secure the nomination of some eastern reactionary Democrat?

It is difficult to conceive that any one acquainted with the political temper of the American people to-day would imagine that Governor Johnson would poll anything like the vote that would be given to any one of the progressive Democrats named above, who have been identified boldly and in an outspoken manner with the great reform measures that are dearest to the hearts of the American people and whose mental grasp, education and courage alike meet the grave demands of the present situation.

To our mind there is little doubt but what the game now being played by the left arm of the plutocracy is precisely that which the reactionary upholders of the feudalism of privileged wealth have played for the past twelve years. They are bent on wrecking the Democratic party. The battle to-day is essentially the same that was being fought previous to the convention four years ago. It is an attempt of the plutocracy to capture the party, that they may wreck the hopes of the people for further relief from the masters and spoilers of the feudalism of lawless corporate wealth.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S MESSAGE OF JANUARY THIRTY-FIRST.

WE HAVE on several occasions severely criticized President Roosevelt's course. In every instance we were impelled to do so simply because we believed the cause of good government and the fundamental principles of free institutions demanded that we speak, however much we personally desired to refrain from criticism. It now affords us great pleasure to speak in strong commendation of President Roosevelt.

His message of January 31st is one of the bravest, strongest and most timely and truly statesmanlike documents that a President has dared to send to Congress in a critical period of history. As was to be expected, all the influences at the command of the law-breakers who have been arraigned by President Roosevelt before the bar of public opinion unite in denouncing the message as intemperate and lacking in judicial tone. This has ever been the case when firmly entrenched wrongs and injustice that have long been winked at by conventional forces are assailed. Every attempt that has ever been made to arouse the conscience of the people to the enormity of some great evil working wide spread injustice or threatening the moral fabric of society, has been opposed, by a large section of society, in which, not infrequently, the churches, educational institutions and business organizations have joined on the grounds that the prophets who uncover the iniquity are rude disturbers of the peace; that they are intemperate; that they are dangerous. The prophets of olden times were stoned. The early apostles were cast out of Ephesus, because, forsooth, they preached a gospel that threatened the revenue of one class,—the image-makers. In precisely the same way the President is now being criticized on all sides on the ground that his arraignment of the great criminals is intemperate. The criticism is for the most part dishonest. The master spirits who are behind most of those who are attacking him on this ground are those who view with alarm the President's attempt to so arouse the American conscience that it will abolish the great Monte Carlo of this country, America's master

gambling hell—Wall Street, or at least make it no longer chiefly notable as a gambling resort and the throne of high finance.

In commending the President's strong and brave stand, we do not wish to be understood as agreeing with him in all his recommendations, but we are heartily in accord with him in his splendid stand against entrenched corruption. There is nothing in the message of January 31st that any honest, honorable or patriotic citizen ought to be afraid to say touching the importance of remedial legislation to take the place of the enacted laws to protect labor and which the Supreme Court has recently declared to be unconstitutional.

In the second place, President Roosevelt's demand for some means of curbing the outrageous abuses of the judiciary in regard to injunctions ought to meet with the approval of every right-minded citizen. In editorially commenting on this, the *Rocky Mountain Daily News* calls attention to the fact that the demand of the President is democratic and necessary. "From being a means of protection," says the editor of the *News*, "against private tyranny, the injunction has grown to an instrument of the most exasperating governmental tyranny. It is the favorite method of breaking up strikes and dissolving labor unions; but its evils are by no means confined to this field. A dog that will fetch will carry; and a judge who will disgrace the ermine in warring on labor will not hesitate to turn the same weapons against capital, if the proper inducements are offered him.

"A striking illustration of this fact is afforded by recent Colorado history. Judge Dixon of Pueblo issued an injunction against the members of a labor organization which was the most perfect specimen of the blanket prohibition we have ever seen. He prohibited the members of that union from striking, from meeting to discuss a strike, from gathering in groups to talk over the situation, from persuading or endeavoring to persuade workmen to quit work, and from pretty nearly everything else that peaceable workmen, dissatisfied with their condition, would naturally think of doing. It was an act of the grossest

injustice, and was naturally hailed as an attack on labor. But within a very short time the same unworthy judge issued an injunction directed, not against labor, but against capital, which was quite as unjust and sweeping. In this injunction, directed against the ticket brokers of the state, Judge Dixon absolutely prohibited traffic in tickets, and in a breath wiped out about \$60,000 worth of property."

But the part of the President's message which most offends the great law-breaker who occupy the seats of the mighty and their servants in the United States Senate and elsewhere in government, is that part devoted to the necessity of the government proceeding against powerful criminals, when their criminal acts have been clearly established. It seems amazing that a demand on the part of the President of the United States that law-defiers should be prosecuted, should be treated as an offence against the nation's business interests, or that any person could be found who would dare to assail Mr. Roosevelt's position in regard to the importance of proceeding against the multi-millionaire criminals, save those criminals themselves and their hired attorneys. And yet so strongly ramified are the law-breakers that from the Atlantic to the Pacific their mouth-pieces in the press, in government and elsewhere are doing everything possible to place the President in a false light.

Of course, to us who have long demanded equal and exact justice for every citizen and equality of opportunities and of rights for all, there is nothing surprising in this. We have pointed out for years the fact that no matter who the statesman, publicist or other might be, if he fearlessly insists that business and political corruption that is debauching American ideals and threatening free government be destroyed, he is certain to be immediately assailed as an enemy of government and business interests.

In the nature of the case the President cannot expect to be immune. His stand is especially to be praised because he is flying in the face of the machine of his own party and the master spirits in that organization.

Mr. Bryan evinced the spirit of the lofty patriot and true statesman when he urged the Democrats in Congress to uphold the President's hands in his magnificent war against the great criminals and despoilers of the people.

Will the President persistently carry for-

ward the battle against the "interests"? That is the question which naturally disturbs sincere reformers. In the past the President has so frequently disappointed us by allowing his interest to be diverted into various channels, instead of concentrating it on vital measures he has championed, or has yielded to the imperious demand of the organization or allowed personal considerations to intervene, that we confess to serious misgivings lest there may be a weakening on his part at the time when moral courage, persistency and determination are most demanded. On two or three occasions we wrote strong editorials endorsing the President's course, as, for example, in the case of the rate bill, where we pointed out how he had risen above mere partisanship and made the interests of the country the supreme consideration, thus evincing true statesmanship. Before our article went to print, however, the President, after victory was within his grasp, through the union of his friends in the Senate with certain Democratic Senators, who had pledged him support, deliberately compromised with Knox and the railway coterie. And this is a typical instance showing the failure of the President where organization pressure is brought to bear upon him. He has also disappointed numbers of his friends time and again by allowing personal friendships to weigh against public policy, as in the case of Paul Morton, for example. While in the third place, there probably has never been a President whose attention has been so shrewdly but unconsciously to himself diverted by pretended friends from vital issues, when it was most important that those issues receive his powerful aid.

For these reasons we confess that we fear that the hopes aroused in the breasts of thousands of patriots may again be destined to disappointment. Yet it would seem from the splendid courage and daring evinced that at last Mr. Roosevelt had burned the bridges behind him and elected to cast his lot from now on unreservedly on the side of the people in their battle against corporate corruption and machine-rule.

Space prevents our making extended quotations from this message. There are, however, a few paragraphs in addition to those which we have cited in our editorial on "Popular Rule or Standard Oil Supremacy: Which Shall it Be?" which seem to us so important that we quote them below.

On the subject of stock gambling the President says:

"I do not know whether it is possible, but if possible, it is certainly desirable, that in connection with measures to restrain stock watering and over-capitalization there should be measures taken to prevent at least the grosser forms of gambling in securities and commodities, such as making large sales of what men do not possess and 'cornering' the market. Legitimate purchases of commodities and of stocks and securities for investment have no connection whatever with purchases of stocks or other securities or commodities on a margin for speculative and gambling purposes. There is no moral difference between gambling at cards or lotteries or on the race-track and gambling in the stock market. One method is just as pernicious to the body politic as the other in kind, and in degree the evil worked is far greater.

"We should study both the successes and the failures of foreign legislators who, notably in Germany, have worked along this line, so as not to do anything harmful. Moreover, there is a special difficulty in dealing with this matter by the federal government in a federal republic like ours. But if it is possible to devise a way to deal with it the effort should be made, even if only in a cautious and tentative way. It would seem that the federal government could at least act by forbidding the use of the mails, telegraph and telephone wires for mere gambling in stocks and futures, just as it does in lottery transactions."

On the debasing influence of corporation corruption his words are worthy of special notice:

"The same outcry is made against the department of justice for prosecuting the heads of colossal corporations that has been made against the men who in San Francisco have prosecuted with impartial severity the wrongdoers among business men, public officials and labor leaders alike. The prin-

ciple is the same in the two cases. Just as the blackmailer and bribe-giver stand on the same evil eminence of infamy, so the man who makes an enormous fortune by corrupting legislatures and municipalities and fleecing his stockholders and the public, stands on the same moral level with the creature who fattens on the blood money of the gambling house and the saloon. Moreover, in the last analysis, both kinds of corruption are far more intimately connected than would at first sight appear; the wrongdoing is at bottom the same. Corrupt business and corrupt politics act and react with ever increasing debasement, one on the other; the corrupt head of a corporation and a corrupt labor leader are both in the same degree the enemies of honest corporations and honest labor unions; the rebate-taker, the franchise trafficker, the manipulator of securities, the purveyor and protector of vice, the black-mailing ward boss, the ballot-box stuffer, the demagogue, the mob leader, the hired bully, the man-killer—all alike work at the same web of corruption, and all alike should be abhorred by honest men.

"The 'business' which is hurt by the movement for honesty is the kind of business which, in the long run, it pays the country to have hurt. It is the kind of business which has tended to make the very name 'high finance' a term of scandal to which all honest American men of business should join in putting an end. The special pleaders for business dishonesty in denouncing the present administration for enforcing the law against the huge and corrupt corporations which have defied the law, also denounce it for endeavoring to secure sadly needed labor legislation, such as a far-reaching law making employers liable for injuries to their employes. It is meet and fit that the apologists for corrupt wealth should oppose every effort to relieve the weak and helpless people from crushing misfortune brought upon them by injury in the business from which they gain a bare livelihood. The burden should be distributed."

CHANCELLOR DAY'S LATEST ATTACK ON
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

THE ARENA has for years pointed out the menace of the systematic bribery of great educational institutions, churches and missionary societies practiced by the heads of the Standard Oil trust and other representatives of predatory wealth acquired largely by law defiance and moral criminality. We have shown how inevitably educational institutions, churches and religious societies which receive millions of dollars from certain sources and hope for more, are tongue-tied in the presence of the criminality of those whose money they have sought and received. In not a few instances, unhappily for the honor of the Republic, the beneficiaries of tainted wealth have put on the colored glasses of the lawless ones and have forthwith refused to see any criminality or moral recreancy in systematic law defiance of the corporations which have been the machines for the acquisition of tainted wealth. These men have not only become the champions of the law-breakers, but have viciously assailed all who seek to bring the great criminals to justice. The acceptance of princely donations from corporations or the master spirits in the corporations which are known to have long and systematically defied the laws, cannot be other than morally demoralizing on the educational institutions which receive of this unholy wealth, and especially on the heads of those institutions which profit from gold that has been largely guiltily acquired.

If any one doubts that the gift of tainted money binds the beneficiaries to the car of the givers, let him view Chancellor Day, head of the Syracuse University, an institution that has received enormous donations from one of the master spirits of the Standard Oil Company. Chancellor Day has written a book which if penned by the Standard Oil's hired handy-men could not have been

much more satisfactory to the master spirits of No. 26 Broadway. After the President sent to Congress his noble, brave and statesmanlike message of January 31st, Chancellor Day delivered one of the most intemperate utterances that has come from the head of any American educational institution in years. He declared, according to the press dispatches published in the Boston papers on February 1st, in speaking of Mr. Roosevelt's message, that "much of it read like the ravings of a disordered mind." Then after indicating that the chief magistrate of the United States is insane, this pious educator denounced the message as an appeal to class prejudice, and he further thinks it indicates "the cunning of a shrewd but reckless demagogue."

We submit that no unprejudiced man can find any warrant in that message for the charge of containing any appeal to class prejudice. That very much overworked plea of the apologists for the criminal rich cannot be honestly urged against the President's message of January 31st, unless we divide the people into two classes: the honest and the dishonest. If we do this, then Chancellor Day is right, but not otherwise. The President did appeal to the honest and upright citizens of America to insist that all criminals, great and small, should be treated alike and that dishonesty and corruption should be punished wherever the evidence established the fact that they existed. The Chancellor who is at the head of a great Methodist university wishes the American people to believe that the President of the Republic is insane and a reckless demagogue, simply because President Roosevelt demands that all law-breakers be treated alike and that the business of the nation shall not be turned over to the criminal rich or high financiers of Wall Street.

IS PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT A REACTIONIST?

IN THIS issue of *THE ARENA* one of our contributors surveys the past of President Roosevelt's administration and gives in a very circumstantial way a record that seems clearly to indicate that the President is a reactionist. The fact that Mr. Roosevelt compromised with the reactionary railroad interests on the rate bill, when he had the necessary support pledged to his own measure from his friends in the party and prominent Democratic members of the Senate, and the further fact that in other instances he likewise yielded at crucial periods to interests hostile to the people, at the instance of the organization's demands or those of the bosses of the party machine, have forced thousands of people against their will to feel that the President was a reactionist, and this conviction has been greatly strengthened by the company which he has voluntarily kept.

What President has ever surrounded himself with more reactionary characters than President Roosevelt, with Root, Cortelyou, Taft, Bacon, Shaw, Metcalf, Morton and Knox as members of his official family and their assistants? While it has been a deplorable fact that his counsellors and intimate friends in politics have largely been men of pronounced reactionary tendencies or men who have been long regarded as the special servants of the "interests" in the battle of predatory wealth against popular interests.

The Republican party of Wisconsin has long been represented by two leaders: one being one of the most reactionary champion of the railroads and public-service corporations in the United States Senate and the master of the money-controlled machine of Wisconsin; the other a strong, brilliant, forceful and incorruptible statesman who enjoyed the confidence of the overwhelming majority of the people of his commonwealth and who succeeded in spite of the desperate efforts of the Spooner money-controlled corporation machine. After Mr. La Follette entered the United States Senate chamber friends of honest government and popular rights in the Republican party naturally looked for the President to show him the favor which his splendid fight for the people's interests entitled him to receive; but instead

of that, the favors were extended to the great reactionary Senator Spooner. So also Lodge, Knox and Penrose, three of the most faithful and efficient workers for corporate wealth and machine domination in American politics, have been shown marked favors by the President.

We think that at heart President Roosevelt is not a reactionist, though he is unfortunately largely biased by the baleful political ideals of that distruster of popular rule, Alexander Hamilton. But the bosses and machine influence in his party have been able to appeal effectively to him in the name of "party regularity" or "the good of the organization" during the past to such a degree that he has failed to rise to great heights time and again when otherwise he might have displayed a degree of moral courage and true statesmanship that would have ranked him with Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln.

Doubtless the President would have achieved far more and would have left to his successors a glorious heritage in victories actually won, had he surrounded himself with fearless and uncompromising champions of the people's interests in the great conflict of privileged wealth *versus* popular rights. If instead of Root, Cortelyou, Taft and other reactionaries, he had chosen men of the type of Senator LaFollette and Judge Landis, we believe his course would in crucial moments have been far different. But nothing is more certain than that no man can serve two masters, unless it be that the machine of the Republican party has been in indisputable control of the great campaign-contributing corporations since the days of Mark Hanna.

It was this certain knowledge that alone explained the fact that Chairman Cortelyou was able to fill the treasury of the Republican campaign committee to overflowing from the tills of great Wall Street high financiers and corporation magnates for the election of the candidate popularly supposed to be a radical, while the chairman for the confessed "safe and sane" conservative, Alton B. Parker, was able to secure very little money from these sources. The great predatory chiefs who are beneficiaries of special privileges and immunities knew that the machinery

of the Republican party was completely in the hands of the bosses and their handy-men, while they also knew that behind Alton B. Parker was the great Democratic party, thoroughly radical and progressive at heart. Hence they felt far safer with Mr. Roosevelt, backed by a machine that they felt to be their own than with Mr. Parker, the reactionary nominee of a progressive party that was determined to carry out the positive program that Mr. Roosevelt has in such large part but for the most part so futilely urged on his own party in Congress. *No man can be loyal to the organisation or the money-controlled machine of the Republican party and be other than reactionary.* President Roosevelt's active work in trying to further the political interests of Secretary Taft has further convinced many thousands of people that he is at heart a reactionary; for Taft, though an adept in making pleasing promises and though almost as clever in the use of ear-tickling platitudes as was Grover Cleveland, like the latter has a record behind him *altogether satisfactory to the great corporate interests.*

On the other hand, President Roosevelt's message of January 31st cannot be pleasing to the money-controlled machine. It is a bold, brave and noble plea for law and order through justice, instead of the abandoning of justice and popular rights to law-defiers and prosperity-wreckers. It would seem from the present outlook that the President is at the parting of the ways. Either he must cease to defer to the money-controlled machine and place himself squarely and unmistakably on the side of America's millions, or he must again compromise with his friends who are masters of the money-controlled machine. It is difficult to imagine Mr. Roosevelt taking the position he has taken, if he is not willing again to run for the Presidency; for no amount of promising could convince the American people that Secretary Taft would carry forward the work which President Roosevelt insists upon. Indeed, the nomination of Mr. Taft, after this message, would, we believe, ensure the election of Mr. Bryan, Governor Folk, Mayor Tom L. Johnson, or Justice Clark, if either of these men should be nominated.

THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES AND THE FEUDALISM OF PRIVILEGED WEALTH.

UNLESS President Roosevelt should be renominated by the Republican Convention, there is not a single candidate, with the exception of United States Senator Robert M. La Follette, that is prominently before the people who would not be thoroughly satisfactory to the high financiers and predatory rich that have so long exploited the people and defied the laws of the land. Paul Thieman in a recent signed editorial in the *New York American* makes a brief but most accurate characterization of the facts as they appear to the denizens in the nation's Capital.

"Slowly but surely," he observes, "it is dawning on the Republican politicians—and it will soon dawn on the country—that no one of the Republican candidates for President represent the Roosevelt policies. Secretary Taft is a very adroit man. In his rôle as the candidate backed by the Administration he has performed the quite wonderful feat of reiterating the Roosevelt policies

in public speeches, but, at the same time, making it quite clear to the leaders that his present attitude is guided by immediate necessity.

"If elected President, he will be a reactionary. Secretary Taft, though defending so-called Rooseveltian policies in his speeches, represents the idea that, under the political rose, his election will mean an administration of the character Mark Hanna would have given the country if he had lived and succeeded McKinley.

"Vice-President Fairbanks's campaign is based entirely on the so-called "safe and sane" proposition. He bears the same relation to the Republican party that Alton B. Parker bore to the Democratic party.

"Speaker Cannon's character as a Presidential candidate is perfectly clear. He is the last of the old-time Republicans of the era preceding Roosevelt. He is frankly reactionary.

"Governor Hughes, of New York, differs from the others in that respect, and claims to be sincere in carrying water on both shoulders. He excites attention by not spilling a drop. Governor Hughes is regarded by the politicians as the acme of political slickness. He applies the principles of a corporation lawyer to politics. He offends nobody. Whatever lies he makes are not visible to the public eye. His utterances are models of balancing both sides of any public matter affecting capital and the people. The ultimacy of the Hughes system is delay, with everybody growing weary and willing to compromise.

"Cortelyou is a candidate only in the sense that in case of a deadlock he expects to be satisfactory to the banking and business interests.

"The character of the Knox candidacy hardly needs discussion. He is the opposite of Roosevelt.

"Foraker is avowedly Roosevelt's enemy.

"It is too plain to be denied that all the Republican candidates are reactionary, so far as the so-called Roosevelt policies are concerned.

On January 31st the New York *World* made a most astounding *exposé* of Governor Hughes' flagrant dereliction of duty in regard to the three great insurance companies a report of whose brazen defiance of law and illegal practices had been brought to the attention of the Governor some time before.

But strange to say, this man who drew the statute making it a crime for these practices to obtain, became silent when it was shown that Ryan's company, the Equitable, with Paul Morton as the figure-head; Harriman's Mutual Life of New York, with his man Peabody in charge; and the New York Life, with Perkins' influence as pernicious and baleful as in old times, representing J. Pierpont Morgan, had all been guilty of loaning millions upon millions of dollars on the securities of Ryan's, Harriman's and Morgan's companies, though the law had explicitly forbidden the acts which had been committed. It will be remembered that Ryan had so much faith in Mr. Hughes that though pretending to be a Democrat, he became a liberal contributor to Hughes' campaign; and recently, out of the obscurity into which an indignant public had driven him, Boss Odell has emerged as the special champion of Hughes.

It is highly probable that the New York *World's* *exposé* and Matthew C. Fleming's sweeping report substantiating the *World's* charges of August 13th, will compel the Governor to act. But his tardiness in this respect is certainly significant and may explain, in a degree at least, the fact that has puzzled many sincere reformers and friends of honest government,—that so many of the notoriously reactionary champions of and apologists for criminal and lawless wealth are advocating the nomination of Governor Hughes

A JUDICIAL BLOW AT THE TYRANNICAL MEDICAL MONOPOLY.

A VERY important decision was recently rendered by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York, reversing the finding of the Court of Special Sessions in the case of the New York Medical Society *versus* Eugene Christian. The facts in this important case are briefly as follows:

About two years ago the New York Medical Society, the machine through which the medical trust operates in the metropolis, caused the arrest of Eugene Christian, New York's well-known food scientist, charging him with "practicing medicine without a license." His arrest was due to a plot laid

by the doctors and carried out by detectives. These detectives by falsehood and deceit induced Mr. Christian to prescribe a food diet for alleged cases of stomach trouble, and upon their testimony the accused man was convicted in the Court of Special Sessions, as is every one whom the doctors have arrested.

Mr. Christian appealed the case to the Supreme Court and on December 20th an unanimous decision was handed down, reversing the decision of the lower court and completely exonerating the accused. The decision, which was very sweeping, was summarized by the Court in the following words:

"As from the whole case we find that no crime was committed and that the defendant was improperly convicted, the judgment appealed from should be reversed."

It will be observed that Mr. Christian, who has made the subject of food a special study for many years, prescribed no medicine whatever, but that he told persons complaining of stomach troubles what foods he had found efficacious, based on the result of personal experience and the beneficent effect which others had derived from a special diet.

We are personally acquainted with a prominent New York journalist and magazine editorial writer who was a physical wreck until he commenced a course of diet under the direction of Mr. Christian. He wrote to us some months afterward stating that he had gained twenty-one pounds and was in

perfect health. His wife also had derived great benefit from the diet. Yet for simply advising these detectives, who by deceit and falsehood claimed to be suffering as others had suffered with stomach trouble, the odious medical trust prosecuted an honorable, intelligent and conscientious citizen and secured his conviction, although he had been guilty of no wrong-doing whatsoever. Had he been poor he would have had to pay his fine or go to prison, although, as the Supreme Court points out, he was entirely innocent of any crime or wrong-doing. Being a public-spirited and patriotic citizen, he chose to go to great expense and appeal the case to the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth, with the result that the avaricious and odious trust has received a severe setback. Every liberty-loving American citizen should rejoice in this important decision.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

BY ROBERT TYSON,

Secretary of the Proportional Representation League

An Oregon Quartette.

THE PROPOSED Proportional-Representation amendment to the Constitution of Oregon has already appeared in this department. I extracted the amendment from a printed pamphlet of the People's Power League. This is such an interesting and suggestive document that a more extended review of it is now in order. I begin with the title page:

Introductory Statements and Drafts of Suggested Amendments to the Constitution of Oregon.

Bill for Law instructing Ratification of People's Selection of U. S. Senator, and

Huntly Bill for Law to Prevent Corrupt Practices and Limit Candidates Election Expenses.

Offered by Members of People's Power League.

The contents comprise two constitutional amendments and two bills. The titles of the two latter, as already given, indicate their scope. The two former are, (1) an amendment providing for the Recall, and (2) an amendment to permit of Proportional Representation and of an Absolute Majority method of electing single officers.

Therefore the Proportional Representation amendment is not to be launched alone, but in very good company. The opening paragraph of the pamphlet contains this general summary:

"We believe all citizens agree that every political party should be represented in the government in proportion to the number of its supporters among the people; that no political party should ever have a greater majority of the officers of government than it has of the votes of the people; that the people should be able to express their disapproval of any officer's acts by recalling him from office; that the people should select and choose their United States Senators; that character, and not the possession of wealth, or the secret or public support of great corporations, or wealthy citizens, should be of advantage to any man aspiring to public office. The measures herein offered by members of the People's Power League of Oregon are expected to aid in obtaining these results."

The next three pages deal with the proposed Recall amendment; first, an argument for

it, then the text of the amendment. Pages 5 and 6 contain a statement and argument "concerning the bill to instruct members of the legislative assembly to elect the people's choice for United States Senator from Oregon"; and page 7 contains the bill itself, which consists of one section only, so brief that I quote it in full:

"Be it enacted by the people of the State of Oregon:

"Section 1. That we, the people of the State of Oregon, hereby instruct our representatives and senators in our legislative assembly, as such officers, to vote for and elect the candidates for United States Senator from this state who receive the highest number of votes at our general election."

Then comes the statement and argument "concerning Proportional Representation of all the voters and majority elections," commencing as follows:

"It is to be remembered always that the proposed amendment to the constitution does not itself make any change, except one vote for each office for each voter. If the amendment is approved by the people, bills will be introduced in the next legislature under which every party and organization of voters will be able to elect its fair share of members of the legislative assembly, in just proportion to the number of its voters.

"Oregon's house of representatives is now composed of 59 Republicans and 1 Democrat; but if every organized political party was represented in proportion to the number of its voters in the state at the last election, there would be about 33 Republican, 20 Democrat, 4 socialist and 3 prohibition members. Since 1893 the Republicans have always had from 44 to 59 of the 60 representatives, though in 1894 and 1896 the vote of that party in the state was less than one-half of all the votes cast.

"Oregon's present plan of election was condemned by congress and abandoned for congressional elections sixty-five years ago, and the present congressional plan of single-member districts was adopted; but the result is no better, and gerrymandering is as bad as under our system. In the congress of 1890 the Democrats had a majority of 138 over all others; but if all political parties had been represented in proportion to their votes at the polls, the Democratic majority would have been only 2. In 1892, instead of a Democratic majority of 79 in congress,

there should have been, proportionally to the vote, a Democratic minority of 10. In 1894 one Democrat in eleven voted the Republican ticket and thereby changed a Democratic majority of 79 to a Republican majority of 134; but this would have been a Republican minority of 7 if all had been fairly represented.

"The very small number of voters who hold the balance of power under present plurality systems is one of the principal causes that produce the political machine and the party boss. A change of from two to ten per cent. of the voters from one of the great parties to the other is nearly always sufficient to make a "sweeping victory" for one and a 'crushing defeat' for the other, but the great mass of voters change their opinions and vote slowly and only after thoughtful consideration."

This striking illustration follows:

"War is the natural result of such injustice to minorities. The commission appointed by the United States Senate in 1869 on methods of representation reported that there probably would have been no war between the states if the minorities in the 'solid North' and the minorities in the 'solid South' had been represented in congress in proportion to the number of their votes."

From "The Results to be Expected" we extract the following:

"Every voter may vote for one person for each office and no more, on the theory that every voter will know one candidate for each office well enough to vote intelligently. But it is beyond all reason to expect any voter to have such knowledge and acquaintance that he can vote intelligently for thirteen representatives, as he is expected to do now in Multnomah county. It is expected also that laws will be made requiring an actual majority for the nominations and election of candidates for governor and other single officers. Under the laws which may be passed if this amendment is adopted, one vote will never count for more than its proportionate value and influence. The so-called 'balance of power' held by a small group of voters will be a thing of the past, and with its passing will go most of the inducement for the corrupt use of money in elections in Oregon. An actual majority of all the voters in the state will be necessary to elect a majority of the members of the legislature. There will be no excuse for fusion or compromise of

principles at elections. Neither will there be any danger that the small corrupt and purchasable element among the voters can combine and elect their candidates.

"If 14,000 Republicans had voted the Democratic ticket in Oregon in 1906 they would have completely overthrown the Republican party; but under the proposed plan, while the change of that number of Republican votes would change many single offices, it could at the utmost only elect eight Democratic representatives instead of eight Republicans.

"If this amendment is adopted the voting and counting of ballots will be much easier and quicker than under the present plan, because the elector votes only for one person for each office."

The proposed amendment is headed, "Proposed Amendment to the Constitution of Oregon to Permit the Enactment of Laws for Proportional Representation, and Majority Nominations and Elections"; and it reads thus:

"Section 16 of Article II. of the constitution of the state of Oregon shall be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"Article II., Section 16. In all elections authorized by this constitution until otherwise provided by law, the person or persons receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected, but provision may be made by law for election by equal Proportional Representation of all the voters for every office which is filled by the election of two or more persons whose official duties, rights and powers are equal and concurrent. Every qualified elector resident in his precinct and registered as may be required by law, may vote for one person under the title for each office. Provision may be made by law for the voter's direct or indirect expression of his first, second or additional choices among the candidates for any office. For an office which is filled by the election of one person it may be required by law that the person elected shall be the final choice of a majority of the electors voting for candidates for that office. These principles may be applied by law to nominations by political parties and organizations."

The remainder of the pamphlet is occupied by a brief argument for the Huntley bill and by the bill itself, which is necessarily long and detailed. It contains some unique

provisions, and I think a brief summary of it will be of interest here:

This bill allows any candidate to spend in his campaign from one hundred dollars to not more than one-fifth of one year's salary of the office he seeks, which is expected to place the poor man on a footing of equality with his wealthy rival or the corporation servant in the race for office, so far as money is concerned. The names of all persons furnished money for campaigns, with the amounts, must be published.

Corporations are not allowed to contribute to candidate's or party expenses. Promises of any appointment, employment or position, public or private, to induce any person to support any candidate or political party, are prohibited. Penalties for violation of the law range from fines to loss of office and a term in the penitentiary.

The state insures every candidate a fair and equal hearing before the voters by printing in pamphlet form and mailing a copy to every voter, information concerning candidates and also arguments for political party success. The information is to be furnished by the candidates and by their friends and opponents; severe punishment is provided for false charges or accusations. Political parties are allowed not to exceed twenty pages each. A candidate may have five pages and his opponents may have the same space at the price he pays. The expense of printing and mailing is to be paid partly by the candidates and political parties and partly by the state. This is practically the only untried or new feature of the bill.

Any person may do as much writing, speaking, publishing or other work, and spend as much time as he wishes, without pay, for any candidate or political party. Hired workers at the polls are prohibited except as challengers and to watch the count. It is made unlawful for any alleged public benefit schemes, charitable, religious or otherwise, to beg from candidates or public officers. Candidates and their friends may electioneer without limit before election day, but on that day the voter shall be absolutely free from solicitation, question or argument for votes, either for men, measures or parties. This, of course, does not prevent any persons from giving information to a voter on election day when he asks for it, but it must not be offered or volunteered. No charges may

be published against a candidate's character until ten days after a copy has been served personally upon him.

These, then, are the four electoral reforms which the voters of Oregon are to be asked to enact into a law—(1) the Recall, (2) Proportional Representation and Absolute Majority, (3) Direct Vote for United States Senators, and (4) the Huntley bill. There is, of course, a separate Initiative petition form for each measure, but the fact that these four kindred reforms are grouped and presented together will add strength to each. The progress of the petitions will be watched with deep interest.

The Second Ballot.

Mr. John H. Humphreys, the English Proportional-Representation secretary, makes some admirable points in a letter to the editor of *The Nation*, dated December 4, dealing with the West Hull election—an election which has emphasized the fact that the next British general election will be contested by at least three organized political parties. Mr. Humphreys proceeds thus:

"Two reforms have been suggested—the second ballot and Proportional Representation. Each of these suggestions has been tested by experience, and whilst the second ballot is falling into disfavor in those countries in which it is in use, Proportional Representation has given satisfaction to all parties, and its story is one of steady and increasing progress.

"The object of our electoral system is to return to a house of commons which shall be representative of the national will, but the results of the Austrian and German general elections demonstrated unmistakably that the second ballot only emphasizes the defects inherent in a system of single-member constituencies. In Germany the social Demo-

crats, who won a third of the votes, obtained one-ninth of the seats; in Austria the Christian socialists polled half as many votes as the social democrats, and yet obtained more seats than the latter.

"In the report issued this year to the chamber of deputies by the Commission du Suffrage Universel it is stated that 'the abolition of the second ballot, with the bargainings to which they give rise, will not be the least of the advantages of the new system (Proportional Representation).' M. Yves Guyot states that 'the second ballot results in detestable bargainings, which obliterate all political sense in the electors. It fosters in the chamber of deputies incoherence, both in policy and vote, the greater part of the deputies being preoccupied in giving satisfaction both to the electors they represent truly and to the minorities which have been indispensable to their success, but which have only accepted them as their representatives for want of better.' The report presented to the Belgian senate in 1899 relative to the government's proposals for Proportional Representation, condemned in unmitigated terms the working of the second ballot, and it was in large measure due to this unanimous condemnation by all parties that the second ballot was abandoned for a more rational electoral system."

Mr. Humphreys goes on to contrast this record of failure with the astonishing progress of Proportional Representation during 1907, and concludes thus:

"This steady growth of Proportional Representation is due to the fact that it is based on the simple principle that parties should be represented in proportion to their strength. The second ballot, on the other hand, fails to give satisfaction because it does not yield a representative chamber which is a true expression of the national will."

ROBERT TYSON.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the National Federation for People's Rule.

A PROPOSITION to adopt the Des Moines charter in the city of Davenport is being opposed by all the corporation interests of that city. The objection to the recall on constitutional grounds is the familiar old saw which they are working overtime in this obstructive campaign. But there are a great many people in Davenport who prefer popular government to corporation government, and this in the long run is what is bound to win out, constitution or no constitution.

THE Oklahoma legislature has been widely criticised for attaching the emergency clause to all the bills passed so far in order to protect the bills from the possibility of referendum. It is by no means clear that the legislature has not acted wisely in this matter because as a matter of fact the legislation is emergency legislation. The legislature is confronted with extraordinary conditions not merely because its government had to be created and all the local county, town and city governmental problems dealt with, but also because of the financial conditions prevailing throughout the country at the time when this legislature had to meet its greatest problems. The people of Oklahoma are amply protected against unwise legislation by the initiative clause of their constitution, and if the emergency clause should be used unfairly, there is a remedy. It cannot be admitted, however, that the Oklahoma legislature has used the emergency clause unwisely.

GREAT care is being taken in the selection of the first mayor for Des Moines under its new charter. A committee of three hundred, consisting of prominent and public-spirited men of the city, has taken a referendum vote upon ten candidates. The five men receiving the highest number in this vote were accepted as the candidates to be pushed by this committee for mayor and aldermen, constituting the governing commission of the city.

A PROPOSAL to revise the city charter of St. Louis has aroused great interest on the part of the labor people, and the Central Trades and Labor Union has declared that no revision or new charter will be acceptable to labor that does not contain the initiative and referendum.

A COMMITTEE of nine has recently reported its recommendations on charter revision for Hyattsville, Maryland. Prominent among the recommendations made are the initiative and referendum. There seems every prospect of the recommendations being adopted and when they are, Hyattsville will be the first city in Maryland to enjoy these rights.

THE Referendum League of Buffalo, New York, has petitioned to have the following question placed upon the ballot at the next election: "Shall the city of Buffalo request the legislature of the state of New York to enact a charter for the city of Buffalo in substance similar to the charter of the city of Des Moines, Iowa?"

THE PEOPLE of San Francisco are demanding an ordinance with the referendum requiring all electric wires to be put underground.

STATE SENATOR A. B. ROBERTS of Pennsylvania has added his name to the rapidly-growing list of Republicans who have endorsed the Flynn Referendum bill, which is a part of the general program to overthrow the rule of the corporation machine of the state headed by Boise Penrose.

THE BOROUGHs of Plainfield and North Plainfield, New Jersey, are to take a referendum vote on consolidation.

VERMONTERS are getting themselves badly worked up over the mild suggestion that a referendum be taken on the liquor law.

DURING the debate in the Michigan Constitutional Convention, the constitutionality of the initiative and referendum were frequently challenged as usual, and in reply, Delegate A. L. Deuel read a letter from Attorney-General Bonaparte dated December 17th as follows:

"I am in receipt of your letter of the 14th instant in reference to the initiative and referendum clause in the constitution of Oklahoma. The question of whether the Oklahoma constitution was in accordance with the provisions of the Enabling Act was very carefully considered by the Department of Justice, but all communications on the subject were made verbally by the Attorney-General to the President. Under these circumstances, it is, of course, inappropriate for me to attempt to advise you as to the view taken of any specific provision so that I can only refer you to the fact, now a matter of common knowledge, that in accordance with the provisions of the Enabling Act the admission of the state into the Union was proclaimed."

THE Toledo city council has passed the following resolution:

"Resolved: That the Council of the city of Toledo recommend that an amendment of the Municipal Code be adopted to provide for the initiative and referendum to municipal as well as state legislation. That the clerk be and he is hereby instructed to transmit copies of this resolution to the president of the senate and chairman of the House of Representatives of the legislature of Ohio and to the senator and representatives of Lucas County in said legislature."

THE SPEECH delivered by Senator Lodge before the Central Labor Union of Boston last summer against the so-called Public Opinion bill of Massachusetts has been printed by the Washington government as a public document at the suggestion of Senator Hale of Maine, and is thus made available for free circulation in practically unlimited quantities at public expense. This speech has been editorially noticed in previous numbers of *THE ARENA*. It represents the most reactionary and undemocratic sentiment that has found voice in this country since the Civil War. That Senator Hale is using this at the expense of the federal government to turn the sentiment of the people of Maine against the constitutional amendment which they are to vote upon next

November is a burning shame and illustrates one of the worst phases of senatorial graft.

CONSIDERABLE favorable comment comes from Southern papers upon the bill of Representative Fulton of Oklahoma for an advisory referendum upon national affairs. The idea of the popular vote being taken before instead of after legislative acts seems to appeal strongly to many who are otherwise suspicious of referendum procedure.

THE Central Labor Union of Boston has declared emphatically against any new charter for that city or any revision of its old charter which does not include a provision for the initiative and referendum.

TEMPERANCE people of Chicago have filed a petition signed by 85,000 people, calling for a referendum vote in the spring election on the local option question. The purpose of the measure is to extend the principle of local option to the different sections of the city, and it is being fought strenuously by the saloon interests.

THE Superior Court of Delaware has handed down an opinion which overrules the effect of a law on the bonding of city assessors passed by the initiative in Wilmington last fall.

THE EDITOR of the *Detroit Times* asked the governor of North Dakota his opinion of the initiative and referendum, and received the following reply:

To the editor of the *Times*:

In answer to yours inquiring about the working of the Initiative and Referendum in this state, I will say that the last legislative assembly passed a resolution for an amendment to the constitution for the Initiative and referendum, or direct legislation. If this resolution passes the next legislative assembly, then two years later it will be submitted to the people of the state at the polls, and if it is carried, we will then have the Initiative and Referendum in this state. So you will see that as yet we have not tried it in this state, and I cannot give you any information as to the practical working of the law.

However, I am satisfied that it is practical and there ought to be no objection to such a law in a country that boasts of being a government of the people.

The Initiative and Referendum simply puts the power of legislating in the hands of the people, where it belongs, in a government of the people.

It is a great reserve power that the people will seldom have to use.

The members of the legislature will support legislation in favor of the interests of the people, because they will know that if they should fail, then the people can have the law which they desire submitted to them directly at the polls, and for this reason the legislative assembly will be disposed to comply with the demands of the people.

The legislature will be careful about passing laws against the interests of the people, because its members will know that if they do the people can have such law submitted to them directly at the polls and there reject it.

It ought to free our legislative halls of the lobbyists, because it will be useless for the corporations and special interests to keep their lobbyists in the capitol during the session, knowing of this great reserve power in the hands of the people by which they can undo all that the legislature, the lobbyist and corporation have done.

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN BURKE,
Governor of North Dakota.

News comes from Oregon that it is likely the initiative measure proposed by the State Grange to prevent the legislature from repealing or modifying any act or law enacted by the people may not get before the voters at the coming June election because of failure to obtain the necessary number of signatures. The signers could be procured without difficulty, say the dispatches, were it not for the fact that the state grange has its hands more than full in fighting the suit of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company to nullify the constitutional amendment.

SINGULARLY enough Secretary Taft, who so roundly condemned the referendum in the Oklahoma constitution, is pleading for an Ohio referendum on the issue between himself and Senator Foraker because in this instance he is unable to control the Republican state machine for his personal purposes, and he knows that if the people were called upon to choose between tweedledum and tweedledee he might be the winner.

THE California State Federation of Labor in convention at Vallejo January 9 adopted a resolution calling on the legislature to submit to the voters an amendment to the constitution providing for the initiative and referendum in that State.

A NOVEL referendum was taken recently among the commuters and patrons of the Pawtuxet Valley branch of the New Haven road on a question of which train they preferred to have taken off the schedule between Hope and Providence.

THE CITIES of Lawrence and Haverhill (Massachusetts) are both seeking new charters containing initiative and referendum powers.

THE Church Federation of Los Angeles is circulating initiative petitions on three questions affecting the saloons and liquor business. If the number of signatures obtained shall represent more than 5 per cent. and less than 15 per cent. of the voters, the Council must submit the question to the voters at the next municipal election. If 15 per cent. or more sign, then the Council has the option of passing the measures itself or submitting them.

THE Michigan Constitutional Convention spent the best of its time in a heated debate over the initiative and referendum. Although a majority of the members went into the convention pledged by the people to pass these measures and notwithstanding the fact that 150,000 of the people sent in petitions urging their passage, quite a number of the pledged senators were won over by the corporation lobby and refused when it came to a vote to live up to the pledges upon which they were elected. A very active and powerful lobby was maintained at Lansing particularly to fight these measures, by the brewers and the public-service corporations. Specific charges of corruption were made in open debate, but up to the time of this writing the people's forces still have a bare majority on the measure. Several compromises were offered and several attempts made to put through a bill which because of an unreasonably large per cent. requirements or other crippling conditions would have rendered the act practically null. The Hemans compromise which was adopted by

49 to 38, provides for the proposing of constitutional amendments by an initiative petition of 25 per cent. of the people. This is known as the Constitutional Initiative, and a stubborn fight will be made in the final action on it which will have taken place by the time this number of *THE ARENA* reaches our readers. One of the interesting incidents of the fight was the circulation of petitions opposing the initiative and referendum by bankers and the Business Men's Association of Detroit from the offices of the Michigan Investor which claims to represent the financial interests of the state. A feature of the Hemans Bill which received favorable action was the provision for petitions to be signed at the regular polling places and on election days only.

THOSE astute politicians than whom none are more astute, Senators Foraker and Dick of Ohio, have both of them, under the pressure of the labor union and grange and Referendum League campaigns of education carried on in that state, declared themselves as not opposed to the initiative and referendum amendment being submitted to the people. When the original bill was reported out by the committee, it was mutilated beyond recognition. As the senate had passed a resolution nullifying all actions of the previous session which did not become law, the initiative and referendum measure to be enacted this year must be passed by both houses. Several bills have been introduced. A bill has been accepted by the direct-legislation people which is more conservative than the original proposition and provides for legislative action on initiative petitions, but is otherwise substantially the same. An active lobby is maintained at Columbus by the corporation and brewery interests and every possible method is being resorted to to vitiate and impair the effectiveness of the measure when it reaches its final form. Some of the bills introduced provide for direct legislation in cities, and it is probable that one of these will pass.

JOHN C. WHITE's work in Missouri has drawn a sharp line between those who stand for the people's rule and those who stand with the corporations in opposing the constitutional amendment. The referendum was taken as the subject for the interstate collegiate debate held at the State University between the states of Missouri, Illinois, Kansas, Texas and Colorado.

A PROPOSITION is abroad to hold a convention of all the radical and reform forces in the country at St. Louis, April 2nd, to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President, the avowed objects being to confine the issue of money to the government to secure direct legislation and the authorization of municipal ownership. Those behind this proposition are said to be the National Provisional Committee and the Federated People's Party clubs.

THE Pacific Coast papers declare that the new Washington direct-primary law is a stumbling block. It is—to the purposes and methods of the Republican and Democratic citizens of Seattle who find themselves utterly unable to dictate the result of the forthcoming municipal election.

IN HIS message to the state committee of the Independent League of Indiana, Mr. W. R. Hearst declares for the referendum and the recall. His amplification of subject, however, indicates an interest in it only to the extent of a control which it affords over the granting of public franchises.

A BILL has been introduced into the Massachusetts legislature upon the initiative of the Boston *Traveller* giving the people of the state an advisory referendum vote on the question of tariff revision. The bill provides for the question to be submitted in the following words:

"Is it desirable that the present rates of the tariff duty should be materially reduced, and that food, fuel and the important raw materials of manufacture should be put upon the free list and that the senators and representatives from Massachusetts in Congress should be instructed and requested to favor the passage of a bill for this purpose?"

THE INITIATIVE, referendum and recall were adopted as amendments to the charter of Santa Barbara, California, on December 3rd by a vote of practically three to one. One paper fought the amendment and one paper helped. The clergy were on the people's side and the local organization of citizens under the leadership of Frank E. Kellogg did splendid work in the creation of a favorable public sentiment.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP NEWS.

BY BRUNO BECKHARD,
Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

The Voice From The Tombs.

THE *Municipal Journal and Engineer* has sent to the superintendents of the various municipal gas and electric-lighting plants recently widely reported by the press of the country as failures, asking for their replies to the charge that they were unsuccessful. The following reports were received:

Norwich, Connecticut.

THE REPORT of the electric-lighting department showed an income of \$63,365, this including \$19,136 for street lighting and \$1,121 for lighting public buildings; for which sums light was furnished by 216 arc lights and 365 incandescents. The cost of electricity, including boilers, insurance, water, etc., was \$18,065; to which was added for depreciation \$7,481, and for interest \$13,333, which with certain other items, brings the total cost up to \$51,000. Depreciation was estimated at 5 per cent. of the cost of the plant, which was valued at \$19,650. This leaves a profit of \$12,000, or, allowing \$5,000 additional depreciation, \$7,000.

Madison, New Jersey.

ONE OF the failures of gas plants reported was that in Madison, New Jersey. Madison, according to the report of its clerk, never owned a gas plant, and has no intention of owning one.

Greenwood, South Carolina.

THE FINANCES of the lighting plant in Greenwood are not kept separate from those of the water works, so no definite information can be obtained. The plant is apparently only a distributing plant. Receipts from lights in the last annual report were \$7,355.

Ashtabula, Ohio.

THE ELECTRIC-LIGHTING plant of Ashtabula furnishes 180 arc lights for street lighting, and a number of incandescents free of charge, as well as about \$2,000 worth of electricity for

lighting the city buildings. Commercial lighting is furnished at from five to ten cents per kilowatt, and power at from four to ten cents, with a minimum charge of fifty cents. The commercial lighting supports the plant and shows a balance over the gross maintenance expenses. During the last fiscal year these expenses, including \$1,505 interest, amounted to \$24,376.74. The earnings from commercial business were \$32,609.94; showing a difference of \$8,233.20. The cost of the plant has been about \$96,000; so that the balance plus the interest paid is about ten per cent. on the cost of construction. It would appear from this that the plant would need to be credited with but \$25 per arc lamp furnished to the city to enable it to realize 15 per cent. on the cost of the plant to cover depreciation and interest. The plant now has to its credit in the bank the sum of \$20,000.

Logansport, Indiana.

THE Logansport plant was not particularly successful until it passed into the control of the Board of Public Works under the Cities and Towns Act in April, 1905. The last annual report shows the receipts of the department to have been \$61,996, and the disbursements to have been \$56,053, showing a cash balance of \$5,943. The item for disbursements probably does not cover any of the general expenses such as depreciation and interest. On the other hand the receipts include nothing for the light furnished to the city (195 street lights and lighting of city buildings).

Richmond, Indiana.

IN 1906 a special committee employed an accounting expert and an engineering expert to make a careful examination of the condition of the municipal lighting plant of Richmond. They reported that in the four years of its existence the plant had already proved itself a success and a good investment for the city. The original cost was \$158,582, \$144,000 worth of 4 per cent. bonds being used to pay

the larger part of this. Annual depreciation was estimated at 8 per cent., and the worth of the plant on April 1, 1906, as \$179,642, the total cost to the city up to that time having been \$229,342. At the rate of gain shown by the accounts the gross deficit, then \$15,488, would be entirely wiped out in two years, despite the active competition of the Richmond Light, Heat and Power Company. The plant now has about 1,900 customers in addition to the city, which pays \$75 per light. The city formerly paid the company \$90 per light. It is now earning about 7 per cent. of the total cost of the plant.

Springfield, Illinois.

MUNICIPAL ownership of the lighting plant in Springfield was reported last May as being a failure, but as the city did not acquire its plant until the previous October the short time between is hardly long enough to determine anything concerning the operation of the plant.

Fairfield, Iowa.

THE SUPERINTENDMENT of the Fairfield lighting plant thinks that Fairfield's attitude toward the success of the plant is plain from the fact that the city about a year ago replaced the plant it had been operating for more than twenty years by a new and up-to-date one. The city pays \$50 per light, whereas the lowest bid received from a private company was \$72.

Grand Rapids, Michigan.

IT WAS reported that Grand Rapids had been advised by the manager of the Board of Public Works to abandon its electric-lighting plant. His recommendations were, however, that the city continue to furnish its own lights, but that instead of generating its current with the steam plant, buy it from a nearby company which made its current with water power.

Bay City, Michigan.

THE PLANT in Bay City has undoubtedly failed to make the improvements generally considered necessary for the best results. The adverse report was made by a competing syndicate and charged 15 per cent., depreciation and interest against a plant established in 1886. The city pays \$55 a year for arc lights. Commercial lighting last year brought in \$20,000, making the total receipts \$41,772, while the maintenance cost was \$27,594, leaving \$14,178 to cover interest, depreciation

and profits. The value of the plant is estimated at \$69,440 so that even with 10 per cent. depreciation and 5 per cent. interest deducted there is shown a net earning for the year of over \$7,000.

Lansing, Michigan.

Total earned receipts.....	\$62,688.26
Total receipts from all sources.....	66,154.86
Total expense account, including everything..	38,002.86
Yearly price to city, per light.....	48.00
To credit, in city treasury.....	35,000.00

Tecumseh, Nebraska.

THE LIGHTING plant of Tecumseh reports the mayor, "has become too small for the city and for profitable operation, but it has done good service for nearly twenty years." In August the city sold \$16,000 worth of 5 per cent. bonds at 100.25

Riverside, California.

RECEIPTS for the year were \$66,396. Figuring off interest and depreciation at 15 per cent leaves \$36,400. Adding the renewals and extensions made during the year gives \$54,670, which is about \$26,600 less than the expenses for the year. The extensions were very large for one year to bear, and the report gives no idea as to what service is rendered to the city, so it is impossible to tell whether or not the plant has been profitable.

Carthage, Missouri.

THE ANSWER from the city clerk of Carthage states that everybody is pleased with the plant, and gives the following table for eight years of operation:

Results:	
Plant.....	\$50,000.00
Lighting.....	40,000.00
Cash on hand.....	7,265.50
Total.....	\$97,265.50
Cost:	
Taxes.....	\$52,977.65
Bonds Unpaid.....	15,000.00
Profit.....	29,287.85
Total.....	\$97,265.50

The Mirror Without a Back.

SIR CLIFTON ROBINSON, for many years Managing Director of the London United Electric Tramways Company, was recently credited by many of the New York newspapers with saying: "Municipal ownership is a good thing if the transportation systems, while owned by the city are operated by private concerns. If the operation of the system is left in the hands of the city, then you have the danger of political influence and social

pull. I have no feud against municipal ownership, which is ideal if properly carried out. It is the facility with which municipalities can get money and their utter lack of responsibility in spending it that causes them to carry passengers in England at one-cent fares without regard to whether the year's work results in a loss or a profit." He goes on to say that if American car lines could be operated without responsibility to make the road pay, they could quickly adopt measures to prevent strap-hanging, overcrowding, and other street-car discomforts. The London roads are limited to a certain number of passengers per car. Increased traffic, therefore, means more cars and quicker reloading. The loop is the ideal terminal, for the passengers step off while the car is moving slowly. "The London public would never stand for the crowding and swinging on straps as New Yorkers do. If there is no room they wait for the next car, that's all."

Comparisons between New York and London street-car systems are very numerous, and this one, like nearly all others, disregards certain fundamental differences in the problems facing the two cities. Apart from the totally different geographical problems these differences lie chiefly in public habits. In New York the number of people who do not ride in street cars is remarkably small, in London the number is remarkably great. There is a positive social prejudice against riding on a tram in London, consequently nobody who can get any other form of transportation considers the tram lines at all. Secondly, London surface transportation is practically limited to the outlying sections of the city, and only in slight degree is called upon to carry the business men to and from their offices. In addition, there are many other sources of transportation—bus lines, cabs, motor cabs and motor buses; and for the majority of the riding public these are far more convenient than the tram lines. The buses operate under a regulated schedule of fares, and these fares are made to apply to the tram lines without consideration for the additional maintenance of way and other expense accounts.

The unwillingness of the British public to enter a crowded car is open to question. If they are not allowed to board a full car, the choice hardly seems to rest with them. In Berlin, Hamburg and other cities where the

limit to the number of passengers is no longer so strictly enforced, the public seems quite willing to stand in a car if all the seats are taken. "The Briton is in no hurry," is the usual comment on the statement that the English are willing to wait for the next car—and it is a poor guess. In transportation the Briton is less of a problem than the American. Here we are constantly complaining that conductors do not give us time enough to get on and off the cars. The Briton, on the other hand, leaves his car, cab, bus, or whatever without the slightest expectation that it will do more than slow up. You never see a woman with a child in one arm and a bundle in the other board a moving car in New York. You can see it many times a day in London. These car-habits become second nature, and are easily overlooked, but they make great differences in transportation problems and they prevent rather common comparisons. They take the argument out of the field of economics into that of comparative pathology, and they give it, notwithstanding the New York newspapers, not the least significance as to municipal ownership. Why did the New York newspapers print these articles? Because either they did not know, or they did know that,

(1). The company of which Sir Clifton is managing director operates in London proper, about four miles of track; while,

(2). The London County Council operates over two hundred miles of track, and

(3). The trams operated by the London County Council have netted the city \$5,000,000 in profits.

Gotham Eclipsed by The Hub.

THE OPPONENTS of municipal ownership have been forced to yield a point. The disclosure of New York traction affairs was an argument they could not meet. "The Acceleration Fund," they groaned. "After that— Oh, Lord!" But we will be magnanimous; we will not take that Acceleration Fund into account. Instead we will show them how the Acceleration Fund should have been worked. There are ways of doing things.

In a little New England town called Boston a sedate and polite traction company has shown the way. Year after year in the reports of that company occurs the statement: "The company has maintained its

liberal policy toward its employees in respect to wages, as well as in other matters." That statement never smells of camphor. Between times the newspapers keep it aired, now in one connection, now another. Once in a while, however, it needs a little brushing up. Enter the Acceleration Fund. In the report for 1903 the statement was retired in favor of: "During the year a revision of wages has been made." The daily compensation of all the carmen was raised, by a schedule based on length of service with the company, and various "inducements for meritorious service" were offered. "This revision," continues the report, "is estimated to increase the payroll during the first year, beginning January 24, 1903, by about \$200,000."

The report closed September 30. The salaries and wages account on the balance sheet compared very favorably with that of the previous year. It showed a *decrease* of \$1,564.18. In other words the Acceleration Fund of \$200,000 not only was not spent but actually brought in eight per cent. on the investment.

Four years elapse and the old statement sparkles in the bright New England air. In January, 1907, comes some more "acceleration." The company is to make another advance in the daily wage of the carmen. This time it is estimated the change will cost the company \$60,000. Everybody talks about it—acceleration's working fine—everybody smiles—only the carmen don't seem as happy about it as you would expect.

Another report, and again we can compare:

	1906	1907
Salaries and Wages.....	\$160,917.27	\$160,358.41

a difference of \$558.86, or nine per cent. on the investment. No, we Hub corporations don't want your New York Acceleration Fund, brother. We've got a better one.

Prof. Parson's Tour.

"THE FIRST of a series of lectures and debates on economic subjects, to be given by the Pittsburg Board of Trade, will be a debate upon "Municipal Ownership," by Professor Frank Parsons, of Boston, president of the National Public Ownership League, for the affirmative, and Mr. Arthur Hastings Grant, editor of *Concerning Municipal Ownership*, for the negative. Professor Parsons is a member of the law faculty of Boston University, and served as a member of the Civic

Federation committee which recently investigated public ownership in this country and in Europe. Mr. Grant is one of the most important leaders of the opposition to municipal ownership. The lecture will be given on the evening of November 22nd, at the board's hall, 205 Shady Avenue."

The above announcement, which appeared in the Pittsburgh papers on November 16th is practically the only mention by the press of an extended tour made by Professor Parsons and Mr. Grant through the cities of the East and the Middle West. The silence is due in large measure, no doubt, to the fact that in almost every instance Professor Parsons' facts spoiled the flavor of Mr. Grant's fancies, and Mr. Grant is the head of the news bureau in New York which supplies the press with anti-municipal ownership items,—at somebody's expense. The tour was, nevertheless, extremely instructive to the thousands that heard this joint debate—and to Mr. Grant.

Jackson, Mississippi.

THE State Revenue Agent has filed a suit against the Light, Heat and Water Company of Jackson, which sold out to the city and passed the deeds to the Mayor, for back taxes for twenty-five years. The company has been assessed all these years at \$30,000, and sells out for \$216,000. The Revenue Agent wants the tax on the difference for the State, county and town, which will amount to many thousand dollars.

Richmond, Indiana.

THE Richmond City Council voted unanimously to reject the offer of the Light, Heat and Power Company to buy the city lighting plant.

Fort Worth, Texas

A MUNICIPAL paving plant, claimed to be the only one in the Southwest, has just been completed at Fort Worth, Texas. The plant is primarily designed, not for repair work, but for laying of the new pavements.

Springfield, Massachusetts.

THE total cash receipts of the Water Department during 1907 from all sources show an increase over 1906 of \$30,547.23, and amount to \$317,337.77. The total cash expenses, including interest on the bonded debt of Ludlow and Little River, and all new

construction, amounted to \$283,910.38, which leaves a net surplus of \$33,427.39. In addition, the city received approximately \$54,000 worth of water for use in public buildings, street sprinkling, etc., free of charge.

New York Ferries.

THE RECEIPTS of the municipal ferries in New York have increased thirty per cent. in the last two years. The prospects are for an even greater increase in the future, but even at the present rate the undertaking will in a few years be on a good paying basis. In competing with private companies the city is handicapped by the law which limits city employees to an eight-hour day, for the city must employ three shifts while the private companies have only two. One item not considered in the accounts of the ferry department but which makes a great difference in the city accounts is generally overlooked. The municipal fer-

ries have increased the value of the territory they communicate with, noticeably in Staten Island, and have consequently brought an increased revenue to the city through the increased valuation of property.

Nassau, Bahama Islands.

NASSAU, the chief city of the Bahama Islands, is erecting an electric-lighting plant to be owned and operated by the city.

Pasadena, California.

THE State Supreme Court of California has handed down a decision which will allow Pasadena to proceed with the plan of establishing a municipal water works. Bonds for this purpose were voted over two years ago, but the question of the legality of the city's buying out the private water companies arose and has just been settled.

BRUNO BECKHARD.

NEWS OF INDUSTRIAL COÖPERATION.

BY HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

N. O. Nelson Makes Good.

MR. N. O. NELSON, the well-known coöperative manufacturer of St. Louis, Missouri, has sent the following letter to all of the employés of his company:

To Employés and Customers of the N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Company: We have closed the most successful year in our history of thirty-six years. Each of our factories at Leclaire, Bessemer and St. Louis made more goods and more net profit than ever before.

The St. Louis store and the branches at Pueblo, Los Angeles and Oakland each did a largely increased business. The aggregate increase over 1906 is 32 per cent., and 60 per cent over 1905. After paying cash dividends on the stock you own, writing off the public fund, depreciating machinery and adding largely to our surplus there remains \$200,000 to distribute among you, of which the employée receive two-fifths (80 per cent. on their wages and salaries), and the customer three-fifths (\$120,000) in proportion to the gross profit on each one's purchases.

You will now own more than half the stock of the company.

Counting on increased coöperation from the customers, we feel confident that 1908 will not fall behind 1907.

There has been no appreciable change in our business or payrolls since the flurry set in. We have not distressed any customer nor skipped any payroll, nor let any bill go past due. Our coöperative plan has made good in every regard and continues in force for 1908 and the future.

Yours very truly,

(Signed.) N. O. NELSON.

A Co-operative Millinery Company.

ONE OF the largest wholesale milliners and manufacturers of New York City, the James G. Johnson Company, has inaugurated a coöperative ownership of the plant, and is incorporated under its present title. Twelve of the employés—heads of departments, buyers and salesmen, have received blocks of stock and will participate in the profits, in

addition to their regular salaries. Minor apportionments of shares have been made to others of the older employés, and from time to time, as they prove their value to the business, others will be admitted to interests. Thomas Johnson, vice-president of the board of directors, said in regard to the change: "We believe that those men who have been of such great assistance in building up the business should be admitted to shares in the profits they help create. It is an undoubted tendency of the times, and, believing thoroughly in it, we want to put the theory into practice. By such coöperation we believe that the house will accomplish far greater things, while at the same time proper recognition will be given to those whose efforts make toward this end."

E. R. L. Annual Meeting.

THE ANNUAL meeting of the Right Relationship League was held at Minneapolis, Minnesota, on the 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th of January. The conference was well-attended, delegates having been sent from each of the forty-seven League stores. An interesting program was given. Honorable S. M. Owen, editor of *Farm, Stock and Home*, and regent of the University of Minnesota, spoke on the "Necessity of Coöperation Between Farmers and Consumers"; Mr. N. O. Nelson on "Industrial and Distributive Coöperation in Actual Practice"; Mr. J. M. Moore, manager of the Rochdale Wholesale Company of Oakland, California, gave an address on "Coöperative Wholesaling," and Mr. L. L. Plummer and Mr. E. J. Schneider, managers of the Polk and Pepin County Coöperatives, in each of which are eleven stores, gave a brief *résumé* of the work their stores have accomplished. A banquet was served on the 14th which was largely attended.

During the last month four new county companies have been formed in the counties of Wright, Martin, Goodhue and Blue Earth, Minnesota.

Farmers' Union on Finance.

THE Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union in session at Memphis, Tennessee, passed the following resolutions to Congress pertaining to the present financial stringency:

"Whereas, the history of our country shows that panics are frequent and are considered by the best financiers to be due at regular

intervals, greatly to the detriment of the debtor class,

"Therefore, be it resolved, that we ask Congress to pass a law by which all money shall be issued by and under the control of the government, and that all citizens with land collateral shall at all times have the privilege of borrowing at not to exceed five per cent. per annum.

"Be it further resolved, that we favor the immediate issuance of not less than \$500,000,000 of legal tender treasury notes and the lending of the same, together with any surplus that may be in the United States Treasury, direct to the people to aid them in marketing the present cotton crop.

"Be it further resolved, that we favor the passage of a law by Congress prohibiting the buying and selling of cotton futures and all other farm products, or gambling in agricultural products in any manner.

"Be it further resolved that we denounce the so-called money panic as a conspiracy on the part of the money power and speculators for the purpose of serving notice on the farmer that he must be contented to allow others to price his products."

La Prosperidad Colony Association.

A NEW colony venture has been started in California. It is known as La Prosperidad Colony Association. Its headquarters are in Los Angeles, and Byron Hall is the president. A large tract of 500,000 acres of fertile soil has been secured from the Mexican government, in the peninsula of Lower California, Mexico. The land selected was chosen as the most adaptable for the purposes of the colony and most promising in fertility and resourcefulness. A surveyor has begun the work of surveying the colony site, and the pioneers of the colony are expected to go to the land about April 1, 1908, to dig the wells and irrigating ditches, and start the coöperative city which is to be erected in the center of the tract.

The colony does not appeal to any particular sect or creed, but is a simple plan for giving to the people an opportunity of living on the land and becoming industrially self-supporting.

A large number of people have already subscribed for stock and success is predicted for the colony. They will engage in agriculture, horticulture, manufacturing, mining, fishing, bee-raising, silk culture and

commerce. Among the first industries will be the growing of eucalyptus trees for piling, ties and telegraph poles, the henequin plant for fiber, and the guayule shrub for rubber, on a large scale. The thornless cactus is also to be cultivated, and cotton, tobacco, sugar-cane, fruits and vegetables of all kinds. The colony has an excellent harbor and has already secured steamship facilities. The Mexican government is said to be aiding the colony and will make concessions for every manufacturing plant established.

Co-operative Guild of Washington.

IN A LETTER dated December 7, 1907, E. W. Collamore, one of the directors of the Departmental Coöperative Guild of Washington, D. C., writes: "The Guild began business on one of the best corners of the city on Monday, November 11th, with 678 members, and at present the membership is over 1,000. The business has been far beyond our expectations. The departments now in operation are, groceries, provisions, meats, candies and cigars, and the opening of another department on the second floor of the building occupied is in contemplation. Enthusiasm among the government employes is growing."

The store started with seven employes and two delivery wagons. This force, it was believed, would be able to care for all the business that would come to them, but before the end of the first week the working force was increased to ten, and they now have four delivery wagons for city service and one for suburban service.

A Co-operative Foundry.

THE MANAGEMENT of the Moline Pump Company, of Moline, Illinois, recently gave notice that it would discontinue the operation of its foundry, and when the molders were given this information they formed a coöperative company among themselves, which will continue the work of the foundry. It is to be known as the Moline Pump Company Foundry Association.

One Oklahoma County.

THE Logan County Coöperative Farmers' Union Association of Oklahoma is getting control of a number of industries in that county. Recently the Board of Directors bought the roller flour mill, at Mulhall, paying \$6,000 for it. The association is now

erecting a \$100,000 cotton-oil mill in Guthrie, and has gins located over the county at the following places: Guthrie, Mulhall, Crescent, Seward, Meridian, Lovell and Camp Russell.

Farmers Union Cotton Agency.

THE New Orleans Farmers' Union Agency, which is composed of cotton producers from Louisiana, Mississippi and Arkansas, capitalized at \$250,000, began January 1st to sell direct to the spinners. L. M. Holmes of Bernice, former president of the Louisiana Farmers' Union, is managing the new company. A temporary warehouse has been secured for this season, when it is expected to handle 100,000 bales from the three states, and by next year the agency will have completed its own storage buildings.

Farmers Union Bank.

A COÖPERATIVE bank and trust company has been organized in Oklahoma, with a capital of \$500,000, promoted by the Farmers' Union and labor organizations, in which no stock will be sold to any but union men.

Hopgrowers Organize.

AN ORGANIZATION known as the Hop-Growers' Protective Association, was organized in Sacramento, California, the first week in December. It is the intention to organize the growers of California, Washington and Oregon. The majority of the people interested are ranchers who grow hops on an extensive scale.

To Utilize Product.

PETITIONS from the Farmers, Union and the Southern Cotton Association, signed by 100,000 farmers, have been presented to the Mississippi legislature, asking for an appropriation to establish a factory on one of the State's penal colonies for the making of heavy bags. This will utilize at least 25,000 bales of cotton, of an inferior grade, annually.

Coal Mine in Trouble.

THE West End Coöperative coal mine at Fairbury, Illinois, has been closed because of a dispute between the stockholders, who are business men and miners. Owing to a lack of sufficient miners the business men wished to employ some non-union miners, but the union miners refused to sanction the plan. The business men then requested

the union miners to remove their tools. They complied, and the engineer resigned in sympathy.

A New Rochdale.

THE CITIZENS of Maxwell, Colusa County, California, have organized a Rochdale store. They start with eighty-six members, the majority of whom have paid up their shares in full.

The Calgary Rochdale.

THE People's Coöperative Society of Calgary, Alberta, Canada, a member of the Rochdale Wholesale, of Oakland, California, shows in its semi-annual report the total amount of sales for the six months to be \$15,708.

Correctionville, Iowa.

THE FARMERS in the vicinity of Correctionville, Iowa, have organized a coöperative store, the capital of which is \$10,000, in shares of \$25 each, and the stock has been all subscribed. The business of the coöperative store is to be carried on by a board of directors, and the officers are a president, vice, secretary and treasurer.

Modesto, California.

THE Rochdale store at Modesto, California, has been organized about two years. They had 75 members at the beginning of their existence, and their first month's sales averaged about \$2,000. Now they have over 150 members in good standing and their monthly sales average about \$7,000. Moreover, they paid a trade dividend of 9 2-3 per cent. in addition to the 8 per cent. interest on shares of stock.

An Elevator That Paid.

THE PROFITS of the Pipestone, Minnesota, Farmers' Elevator Company for the past year were over 20 per cent. The stockholders voted a dividend of 10 per cent. paid to themselves, and to use the remainder of the profits in permanent improvements for the company's elevator.

Paulsboro, Washington.

THE LITTLE town of Paulsboro, Washington, has an active coöperative store. Their capital is \$5,000, and their first year's dividend was 90 per cent. of this capital.

They have 100 active and interested mem-

bers, most of whom are Scandinavians and Finns. In addition to the store they are building a telephone, and are joining the Poultry Producers' Union whose headquarters are at Seattle. They are also endeavoring to start a free public market and municipal coal yards.

Fruit Canning Companies.

THE Coöperative Canning Company, which is organizing under the direction of the Whatcom County, Washington, Fruit and Producers' Association, has branches established in Nooksack, Everson and Lynden, Washington. The Nooksack branch has just built a splendid fruit and vegetable cannery, two stories in height; the ground floor is 50x60 feet. The site, which faces on the Main street of the city and is closed in on the rear by the railroad, is 150x150 feet, and is most advantageous for the business. The plants at Lynden and Everson are very similar to the one at Nooksack. All are doing a good business.

Tipton, California.

THE Rochdale Creamery which was organized at Tipton, California, last May began active work on the sixth of June with 42 members. By the first of September the membership had increased to 91, and the monthly volume of business from \$3,600 to \$6,000. Tipton has also one of the oldest and most successful Rochdale stores in the state, and it was chiefly owing to the activity and inspiring example of Mr. McMilan, manager of the store, that the creamery was started.

Chico Rochdale.

THE Chico Rochdale, Chico, California, made a splendid report on the first half-year's sales of 1907. The sales showed a steady increase from \$1,324 in January to \$4,876 in June, and a profit of \$683 for the six months. The membership was increased from 54 to 100.

Sonoma Poultry Association.

THE ANNUAL report of the secretary of the Sonoma County Poultry Association shows that more than 1,000,000 dozen eggs were marketed by the members of the Association during the year ending July 31st. The coöperative association has members in the vicinity of Santa Rosa, and through their

combination they have secured better prices than were ever before paid for eggs in California. The association members have received uniformly one cent a dozen more for eggs than other sellers in California markets have been able to demand.

Stockton Co-operative Dairy.

THE HOTEL and restaurant men of Stockton, California, have started a coöperative dairy. They claim that present prices are exorbitant, and that they can save quite a sum each year by opening a dairy, which will supply them with milk and butter all the time.

Selma, Rochdale.

THE Selma Rochdale Company of Selma, California, reports that they have a total membership of 153. They get from one to five new members a month with soliciting them, and at a recent board meeting eleven new members joined. Their sales average \$250 per day, about \$7,000 a month.

Pop-Corn Elevator.

A CO-OPERATIVE elevator company was organized in October at Arthur, Iowa. The company purchased an elevator already in operation in the town and also a pop-corn elevator. The little town is the center of the greatest pop-corn district in the United States, and pop-corn by the train-load is shipped from there every fall. Many of the new breakfast foods are made almost entirely of pop-corn, and the larger corn concerns have their agents touring this section all the season buying pop-corn on contract.

Corning, California

THE Rochdale company at Corning, California, sends in a very satisfactory report

for the past six months. The company started with a small organization, and even the most hopeful doubted its ability to continue, but as their report shows they had 233 members, and the sales for the previous six months were \$41,252.

Grain and Coal.

THE Farmers' Grain and Coal Company of Mason City, Illinois, is making extensive improvements in its successful and prosperous elevator. A new boiler is being installed and a sixty horse-power engine. By far the greatest improvement is the building of a large grain-drying room, where the grains are to be dried by the latest improved hot-air process.

California Wholesale.

THE Rochdale Wholesale Company at their annual meeting held in Oakland in September reported a net gain of \$1,600 for the preceding six months.

Sprague, Washington.

THE FIRST year of active work has been completed by the Rochdale Store of Sprague, Washington, the sales for the year amounting to \$52,000. They intend purchasing the large brick store which they now occupy.

Poultry Producers.

THE Poultry Producers' Union has been organized in Seattle, Washington, for the purpose of bringing their products direct from the producer to the consumer. The union handles poultry, eggs, poultry feed and supplies. They began with about 200 members, and this is increasing so rapidly that they have at present about 1,000.

Hazel Hammond Albertson.

"CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL ORDER."*

A BOOK STUDY.

By B. O. FLOWER.

I.

ONE OF the most inspiring and promising facts to students of social and political reforms, as it is also one of the very significant signs of the present, is the evident awakening on the part of certain great religious leaders to the imperative duty of the church in the presence of social and economic questions pressing for solution. Among the very notable recently published volumes from representative and scholarly religious leaders two works are exceptionally valuable: *Christianity and the Social Order*, by the brilliant pastor of the City Temple of London, and *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, by Walter Rauschenbusch, professor of Church History in Rochester Theological Seminary. Both of these works are bold, searching, radical and fundamental in character. Mr. Campbell's is in many respects the most notable contribution by a popular clergyman on social, economic and political problems that has been made in years.

In the opening chapter he gives a frank and startling picture of the decadence in the hold of the church over the popular mind. The facts given are in perfect accord with the amazing revelations made by Mr. George Allan England in his paper on "The Ebb of Ecclesiasticism" in the February ARENA. In giving a brief statement of facts as they relate to the present status of the Christian church in Europe, our author says:

"We are to-day confronted by the startling fact that in practically every part of Christendom the overwhelming majority of the population is alienated from Christianity as represented by the churches. In our own country nearly seventy-five per cent. of the adult population remains permanently out of touch with organized religion. Broadly speaking, it is true that only a section of the middle class ever attends church at all; the workers, as a body, absent themselves; the

professional and upper classes do the same. Not so very long ago, attendance at church was held to be a social necessity, a sort of hall-mark of respectability; it is not so now. A professional or business man can be just as sure of success without church-going as he can with it; no stigma attaches to abstention. The artisan class not only remains aloof from, but even contemptuous of, churches and preachers; no appeal ever produces so much as a ripple on the surface of their indifference. As soon as the children in our Sunday-schools reach adolescence they become lost to religious influences, or, at any rate, the male portion of them drifts away. In any ordinary church service women form the overwhelming majority of the worshippers. There are several ways of accounting for this, chief among which is the fact that for the most part women have not yet come to feel, as men must feel, the dissonance between pulpit Christianity and prevailing economic conditions in the modern world. But women are coming to take their place in business and in the professions; and the more this tendency develops, the more certain is it that women will stay away from church as men are doing. Of course it is obvious that, even already, the women who compose the congregations in most places of worship are but a small minority of their sex.

"On the Continent this falling away of the people from the churches is more marked than in this country. Educated Germans frequently express their astonishment on coming to England at the fact that so many people go to church. This is a phenomenon to which they are quite unaccustomed at home, and the reason for the difference is fairly simple. In this country the social life of the lower classes centers to a considerable extent around the church. The church is the club or public-house, the place to which people must go in order to meet one another and enjoy one another's company. In Germany this is not so; the ordinary center of social life is of quite a different kind, with

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the consequence that people do not feel any need for the church as a meeting-place. Once let the same set of conditions be established here, and we shall have just the same result; the middle class will do what other classes have already done, they will stay away from church. At present, in many districts the division of classes is plainly marked by the fact that the artisans meet at the alehouse while those a little higher up the social scale meet at church. The vicar of the parish is the head of one social set, and the non-conformist minister of another, but neither of them touches the masses; the workers prefer another kind of club."

But side by side with this amazing decline in the church is seen the gathering together and onward march of a world-wide movement under the rallying cry of a union of all for the well-being of each.

"In every quarter of the civilized world," says our author, "a new spirit is evident amongst the masses of the people. A movement is rising and gathering strength in every nation, a movement of which rulers and legislatures are having to take cognizance. It is the same movement everywhere, and most observers of the signs of the times are now agreed that it is a force which is destined to change the face of the world; I refer, of course, to the movement designated by the broad, general term of Socialism. Many people who are afraid of the name are already, to a great extent, in sympathy with its aims. It has developed an international consciousness, the nucleus of that better understanding of mutual interests which will in time make war impossible. It has not yet realized itself sufficiently to become one vast organization. Even in this country it is represented by groups, acting more or less in mutual accord, but severally distinct. Thus we have the Fabian Society, the Social Democratic Federation, and the Independent Labor Party. But the striking and significant thing about the movement thus exemplified is that it has given rise to a sense of comradeship between the industrial workers of the world which overleaps ordinary national boundaries; the workman of Chicago feels in closer sympathy with the workman of Berlin and London than he does with the Trust magnate in the next block—I mean the workman who is conscious of the existence of the international movement to which

I refer. Here we have, then, the birth of a genuine international consciousness which seems destined to grow with considerable rapidity, and to do by direct pressure of public opinion what all the arts of diplomacy have hitherto failed to do in securing the peace of the world. This was strikingly evidenced a little while ago when the Tyne-side workers drew upon their funds for the assistance of the strikers in the North German coal dispute. The International Socialist Congress, which met recently at Stuttgart, marks a long step in the same direction. The impressive thing to be noted about such gatherings is that at the very moment when international jealousy is so pronounced between England and France on the one hand, and Germany on the other, the leaders of the socialist parties in the legislatures of these same countries should meet on common ground with the apparently perfect realization that they are one and the same party united for the attainment of a common object. . . . Here, for the first time in the history of the world, is a party, or, rather, a movement, political, economic and moral, which deliberately takes world politics into its purview, and aims at nothing less than international brotherhood. If ever this movement should become one vast, compact, world-wide organization, it will revolutionize statecraft as we have hitherto understood it.

"But, after all, this is only a small part of what may be looked for from the advent of such a movement. The most hopeful thing about it is that it marks the awakening of the social consciousness in every nation, and comes as a message of hope to the oppressed and unprivileged everywhere. It has taken the movement a long while to do this, and it has made many mistakes in its experimental stages. I do not propose to write a history of Socialism, but it is worth while pointing out that it has outlived the era of crude and partial experiments, and has come to be reckoned with as the most serious and portentous of all the forces at work in the modern world. The time has gone when Socialists were laughed at or dreaded as mere faddists and revolutionaries, disturbers of the political equilibrium, but not otherwise important. Perhaps even now they may be thought of in some minds as belonging to the same order as anarchist bomb-throwers, and associated with secret

societies and barricades. Statesmen like Herr Bebel in Germany, and M. Jaurès in France, have done much to dispel that kind of illusion. In this country few would be disposed to connect Mr. Bernard Shaw and Mr. Keir Hardie with assassination and incendiarism. It is no longer possible for serious-minded people to misunderstand the quality and temper of the leaders of the Socialist movement, although they might dread the advent of the day when their ideals should prevail so far as to place the government of this or any other country in their hands.

"So far, then, we have taken note of two outstanding features of the life of to-day, the decline of the churches and the rise of Socialism. . . . What appears to me to be going on in this decline of one set of institutions, and the rise of another, is simply the revival of Christianity in the form best suited to the modern mind. I am aware that few have yet seen this to be the case, but before long every thoughtful mind will be compelled to see it.

"Socialism is really a swing back to that gospel of the Kingdom of God which was the only gospel the first Christians had to preach; the traditional theology of the churches is a departure from it. I do not mean, of course, to make the foolish statement that primitive Christianity was identical with the Socialism of to-day; it was not, but it was far nearer to the Socialism of to-day than to the official Christianity of to-day. Indeed, we may say that its aim and purpose were so nearly akin to those of present-day Socialism, that the latter may, without the least exaggeration, be described as the inheritor of the true Christianity. This is a comprehensive statement but I hope to make it good."

The attempt to demonstrate the truth of "this comprehensive statement" is the purpose of the rest of the volume, which embraces two general divisions: the first being a study of the life and times of Jesus and the early Christians, including a historical survey of Jewish conditions and thought prior to and during the life of the Nazarene, especially as it related to the popular concept of the kingdom of God. The general aim and purpose of the Great Nazarene is then taken up and considered in a very scholarly and comprehensive manner, after which the ideals of a church in its infancy receive special attention; while the latter part of the volume

is devoted to present-day conditions in church and society, with a forecast of the social, economic and political sweep of events and how certain world-wide changes will probably be brought about.

II.

Before taking up the consideration of Jesus' mission and the early church, Mr. Campbell devotes a chapter to a consideration of the kingdom of God as it was conceived by the Jews, and especially the important concept that became a national passion during the generations that immediately preceded the advent of the Great Nazarene. The Jews had been so long and so cruelly oppressed that they hailed with enthusiasm the prophet that preached the coming of a Messiah or leader who should overthrow the hosts of the oppressors as did Gideon in the olden days, and establish a great and powerful kingdom in which again the throne of David should become the seat of power, righteousness and justice,—a kingdom under the direct and powerful watch-care of God. Into this expectant world Jesus was born and reared. His cousin John early aroused marvelous enthusiasm by his wonderful preaching. At first the Nazarene seemed to have believed that the Jews would gladly follow Him and that by the moral might and idealism of His message He would draw to Him the children of God, who would turn from evil, injustice, oppression, greed and avarice and fly to his standard of love, peace, justice, and supreme faith in the power of God to accomplish the seemingly impossible, where there were faith and singleness of heart and purpose.

In the chapters on "The Kingdom of God in Primitive Christianity" Mr. Campbell shows the bitter disappointment of Jesus at the indifference and hostility of the Jews, and especially the leaders of conventional religion. The corruption, worldliness, injustice, avarice and essential infidelity aroused His amazement and at times His intense indignation. The teachings of Jesus differed radically from those of all the respectable leaders of His time.

"His faith in the God of righteousness," says Mr. Campbell, "has become the dynamic of most of the great achievements that have been effected for the emancipation of the human race from the bondage of iniquity during the past fifteen hundred years. Take

Jesus out of western history, and what would be left? I deny that Jesus belongs or ever has belonged to the ecclesiastical order and the forces of conservatism in Church and State. He belongs to the democracy, and the democracy has never quite lost sight of the fact.

"The one outstanding fact upon which there cannot be two opinions is the fact that Jesus preached an ideal social order on earth when He preached the Kingdom of God, and that He was driven to do so by His clear perception of the ills under which His countrymen suffered in a time when justice for the oppressed was seldom to be had.

"He wished His hearers to understand that the Kingdom would be one of social and individual righteousness, peace and brotherhood, 'on earth as it is in heaven.' . . . 'The meek should inherit the earth.' Membership in the new Kingdom would be the prerogative of those who were humble in spirit and poor in substance; He considered that there was small prospect of any rich man being able to qualify for it. He fell foul of the religious leaders of the time on account of their formalism, hypocrisy and covetousness, which permitted them to call themselves righteous without being just and neighborly in their dealings with the oppressed and unprivileged. . . . But the one undeniable and all-important fact about the preaching of this greatest of the sons of men is that it was inspired by a profound belief in the coming of a better day and an ideal human society on earth. He never says a word about going to heaven, for the plain and simple reason that all His hopes were bound up with the realization of heaven here."

Finally Christ began to see the hopelessness of the struggle without the aid of angel cohorts; and the idea that He must come again, not as a child in the second instance, but on the clouds of heaven with an invincible angelic army, more and more took possession of His imagination, but He firmly believed that that coming would take place before that generation passed.

The temporary hopelessness that settled over the followers of the Nazarene after the Crucifixion gave place to a new and great hope when the wonderful stories of His appearance were told from one to another. These gave the disciples new hope and cour-

age, and more and more they came to believe that Jesus Christ had ascended only to reappear in the clouds of the heavens, as He had promised, accompanied by an angel army, to execute judgment and reward the faithful.

Then came the organization of the Jewish group into a little society or church, the conversion of St. Paul and the extension of the new evangel to the Gentiles. Yet for a long time the primitive Christians confidently expected the early advent of Jesus as the masterful Messiah, and it was only after the long, slow years had wearily passed, and one by one the early disciples died that the popular concept changed.

Another important new element entered the religious teachings with the embracing of Christianity by the masterful philosophical and metaphysical thinker, Paul. The letters attributed to him, Mr. Campbell holds, "furnish most illuminating evidence as to the way in which the new evangel began to be modified in its Græco-Roman environment. We now begin to find the purely moral and social bearing of the original message mixed up with a somewhat elaborate theology, partly derived from Jewish rabbinism and partly from Greek philosophy. This was something quite new. . . . The theological conceptions afterwards associated with His person and work, especially in the Pauline epistles, were utterly foreign to His mind, and would probably have been quite incomprehensible to Him."

With the extension of Christianity and its appeal to broadly philosophical minds, it began to undergo a transformation in many ways, and perhaps the Alexandrian school, of which Philo was the master spirit, exerted the greatest of all outside influences on the new belief. But apart from its later transcendental, metaphysical, philosophical and dogmatic tenets, it was long preëminently a social message,—a message of liberation.

"Christianity came," says our author, "as a message of emancipation, and while its nascent enthusiasm lasted there was every prospect that Roman imperialism would have set its house in order. There is nothing more dangerous to privilege and tyranny than a social gospel allied to religious fervor. Had the world been really ready for the Christian ideal of the Kingdom of God the fall of imperialism would have been synchronous with the rise of a world state in which the dream of present-day Socialism

would have received fulfilment. But it was not to be. Christianity was conquered by becoming respectable. It did indeed mount the throne of the Cæsars, but only to replace secular by ecclesiastical tyranny. The present Church of Rome is but the shadow of the old Empire; it is the Empire perpetuated under ecclesiastical forms. It is one of the great contradictions of history that the religion which started as the promise of universal brotherhood should have come to be the chief bulwark of authority and the foe of liberty. The transition was perfectly simple. All that had to be done was to transfer the expectation of communal happiness from the world to the next, and the thing was done. Henceforth the advice to the poor and oppressed would be that they should remain passive under existing injustice, in order that they might receive compensation in heaven. A greater travesty of the original meaning and purpose of the religion of Jesus could not well be imagined.

"The all-important thing in primitive Christian preaching was its intense belief in the coming of an ideal social order in which men would no longer feel any desire to strive against or injure one another. . . . Other-worldism has gradually replaced the glad tidings of the Kingdom of God with which Jesus began His mission to the world."

III.

Turning from primitive Christianity, Mr. Campbell comes down to present-day church-anity. Here he finds that many of the chief things that Christ warred against are now entertained in His church and preached in His name. The cardinal idea with Jesus was brotherhood and mutual service,—a salvation by works, or the doing of the Father's work by aiding those who are under the wheel. His whole message was a protest against externalism,—the hollow, ghastly formalism and adherence to rites and ordinances instead of a passionate life of service. The indictment of the Pharisees contrasted most strikingly with the social spirit of mutualism in the philosophy of the Nazarene.

"Jesus," says our author, "contended that the whole Pharisaic system was thus radically wrong because it divorced righteousness from right doing as between man and man. He held that the true service of God was the service of man, and that the kind of

righteousness which left communal obligation out of count was no righteousness at all.

"The curse of modern religion, and especially of ordinary Protestantism, is this assumption that there is such a thing as an individualist salvation, whose principal benefits accrue in the next world, like an insurance policy with tontine profits. There cannot be such a thing as an individualist salvation any more than an individualist righteousness. No man is saved until he is willing to be lost in the service of his kind, and there is no salvation worth talking about which does not imply becoming a saviour. . . . The conventional religion of His day commanded the doing of formal deeds; the conventional religion of our day commands the acceptance of formal creeds; and at the basis of both is this vicious individualism which asserts a righteousness in the sight of God apart from all questions of one's value to the world. There could be nothing more dangerous or a greater hindrance to true religion than this. It was the thing above all others that Jesus loathed, and for opposing which he was murdered in the end. Like the Pharisees, many of us are taking for granted to-day that our duty to our fellow-men is a sort of addendum to the Gospel rather than the very pith and marrow of it."

Mr. Campbell's examination of present-day religion brings out in an almost startling manner the difference between the teachings of Jesus and the teachings most insistently emphasized by the present-day church.

Next he shows the unhappy results that are following this radical departure from the gospel of the Nazarene, whose enthusiasm for humanity was as conspicuous as is its absence in many present-day churches.

"Many a commercial magnate is able to curse himself in general terms on Sundays and in church for his abstract unworldliness in the presence of his Maker, but is not too particular as to the ways in which he obtains his dividends on the remaining six days of the week, or the lives he crushes in the process.

"Then, too, we all know quite well that we cannot, as a rule, distinguish in business between the Christian who has his theoretical sins forgiven for Jesus' sake, and the man of the world who, presumably, has not. In fact, it is conceivable that the latter may

be the kinder and better friend of the two. . . . No intelligible answer could ever be given to the question, What do you *mean* by God's holiness and man's sinfulness? other than to say, God's holiness is love, and nothing but love; human sinfulness is human selfishness, and nothing else. It is absolutely nonsensical to talk either about a righteousness or a blameworthiness in the sight of God which has a purely individual significance. Righteousness implies right relations with human society."

How much food there is for serious reflection in the following lines:

"It would cut at the root of all the misunderstanding which exists between the churches and the masses if the former could only revise their attitude on this one question, and in speaking of sins begin with man's duty to man instead of man's duty to God. This is not to deny man's duty to God, but to get at it in the right way. We have nothing to repent of except the evil we have actually wrought in the world by our selfish and short-sighted conduct. There is no mysterious process by which we can be white-washed in the sight of God if we are still going on doing cruel things, and showing a grasping, unscrupulous spirit in our relations with one another. The one great thing that we need to get rid of in present-day Christianity is this false notion that sin against God is something different from sin against man, or that we can be individually justified before God, and made safe at some future judgment, without taking into account what is owing from us to a needy world. Instead of paying missionaries to save 'perishing souls' by inducing them to believe something or other, our duty is to begin with perishing bodies, and rescue them from the cruel maw of a system under which the very money with which we pay the missionary has been squeezed out of their life-blood. Slowly but surely, the sluggish conscience of the churches is being awakened to the unreality of the ordinary assumptions about sin. There is a passage in the 'Biglow Papers' which exactly expresses the traditional view of this subject, and, by implication, exposes its hollowness—

"'I'm willing a man should go tolerable strong
Ain't wrong in the abstract; for that kind o' wrong
Is oillers unpopular, and never gets pitied,
Because it's a wrong no one ever committed;
But you mustn't be hard on particular sins,
'Cause then you get kickin' some people's own
shins.'"

From the comparison of Primitive Christianity with the conventional Christianity of to-day, the scholarly divine passes to a consideration of "The Common Objective of Christianity and Socialism." This is one of the most interesting and thought-stimulating chapters in the volume. Space compels us to confine our notice of it, however, to a few brief extracts and the observation that the author considers among other things: "The Essential Principle of Christianity," "Identical with Socialism," "Moral Ideal of Socialism," "Some Misapprehensions Concerning Socialism," "The Present Situation Outlined," "Where is the Remedy?" "The Pooling of Resources," and "Abolition of Unearned Increment and Organization of Labor."

From a moral point of view the author holds that Socialism may be defined thus:

"'All for each; each for all.' It means from the individual the utmost for the whole; from the community it means the best for the weakest. It is the denial of the ape and tiger qualities and an appeal to the higher motives of justice, compassion and public spirit. It is along this line that Socialism is making its most powerful appeal to-day and gaining the largest number of adherents. Will any one seriously affirm that this is something other than Christian, or, indeed, that it was not the very starting-point of the Christian appeal? 'It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish.' 'He that loveth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life shall find it.' 'Love is the fulfilling of the law.' This it is which is lending to Socialism the fervor of a new religion, and yet it is only the religion of Jesus making its appeal to modern needs with its original end in view. If it were concerned only with the meat that perisheth it would not arouse the enthusiasm it is proving itself able to do in the minds and hearts of the rising generation. Its power is due to the fact that it promises opportunity for the release of higher energies and nobler motives than can find free play amid the hampering conditions of modern industrialism. It sees clearly that before refinement and culture are possible, not to speak of nobleness of thought and aim, the foundations of physical efficiency must be laid strong and deep. . . . It is all very well for the Christian to be taught to show sympathy with those in sorrow, to wipe all tears away, and to bind

up the broken-hearted; but what is urgently needed is that he should learn to attack the root causes of sorrow and tears and broken hearts, which is precisely what the average Christian seldom thinks of doing.

"Few would quarrel with Socialism if it were understood to mean no more than that every man should be free to be and give his best to the community without hurting or impoverishing any one else. But this, many would say, is just what Socialism would render impossible, for it would mean the creation of a cast-iron economic system in which true individuality would be crushed. This is a curious argument to bring forward in face of the achievements of individualism in the past or even in the present, but it is quite honestly made by people who would become Socialists to-morrow if they could only be sure that their fears in this respect were groundless. It may seem a paradoxical thing to say that the most conspicuous fruit of unrestrained individualism has been the crushing of individuality and that the thing most to be hoped for from Socialism will be the development of individuality, but it is so."

Mr. Campbell says that more than one-half of all the lands of the United Kingdom are owned by 2,500 people, and more than one-third of the entire wealth of the land is enjoyed by less than one-thirtieth of the people.

"The classes on or below the poverty line of earnings not exceeding a guinea a week per family number 1,292,737, or 30.7 per cent. of the whole population. To these must be added 99,830 inmates of workhouses, hospitals, prisons, industrial schools, etc., making altogether nearly 1,400,000 persons in this one city alone whose condition even the most optimistic social student can hardly deem satisfactory."

Seldom has a stronger or clearer portrayal been given than is here presented of the grim and terrible struggle of the many that the few may enjoy unearned increment and vast sums which they do not earn and which frequently prove an irresistible "temptation to the various forms of excess which luxury encourages when the mind is not occupied by any serious purpose." And very earnest is his plea to men and women who think and feel:

"Let me beg my readers," he says, "to

ponder these facts carefully and endeavor to realize something of what they mean in bitter struggle, hopeless indifference, deadening of finer feelings and impulses, recklessness, ignorance, animalism and prodigal waste of life and energy. Is there any sane man who would not wish to see such a condition of things altered?"

He next proceeds to notice the failure of all palliative measures and the imperative necessity of some scientific and fundamentally just plan of procedure that shall abolish uninvited poverty, make the slum a thing of the past, and environ every son and daughter of the State with conditions that make for righteousness, prosperity, peace, happiness and development.

And this brings him to the consideration of "The Socializing of Natural Resources." This is perhaps the most important chapter in the book, for it deals with certain great and fundamental facts that represent the next step in democratic advance,—the taking over of the natural monopolies and the securing of the land for the benefit of all the children of the Common Father instead of permitting this great gift of God to be monopolized by the few so that the many become dependent. We could heartily wish that this chapter might be read by every young man and woman in America. But our author does not stop here. He does not believe in any sudden or revolutionary step taken in a violent manner. He would buy out the present holders of natural resources and public utilities, but he would move steadily forward with eyes fixed on the great goal of equal justice for all and special privileges for none, and the organization of society in such a manner that all men and women, and little children, could grow Godward under a normal, healthful and upward-impelling influence. The three last chapters of the volume deal in a deeply thoughtful way with "The Socializing of Industry" and "The Socialized State."

The volume is one of the most profoundly thoughtful popular treatises dealing with the world-wide struggle and irrepressible conflict for economic independence that has yet appeared from the pen of a moral idealist. The Rev. R. J. Campbell is a worthy successor to Canon Kingsley and Frederic D. Maurice.

B. O. FLOWER.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

Anarchism. By Dr. Paul Eltzbacher. Translated by Steven T. Byington. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 309. Price, \$1.50. New York: Benjamin R. Tucker.

ONE OF the most noble distinguishing marks of a broadly cultured and truly civilized man is his willingness to hear both sides of a controversy before sitting in judgment. Sometimes, however, all of us allow our prejudices and preconceived ideas to make us prejudge a belief or person against whom almost every hand is raised. But if we are wise and true to our better selves, we will always be ready to reverse our judgment if we find from further reading and investigation that we have judged unjustly.

There is no subject in civilization to-day about which there is so much ignorance and general misconception as philosophical anarchy, and of a thousand who indiscriminately denounce anarchism, perhaps not ten can give a clear idea of the teachings, ideals and aspirations of this school of philosophers. There are several reasons for this: (1) The comparatively small band of irresponsibles who have advocated and practiced "propaganda by the act of violence" have horrified the world, and few have taken the trouble to find out the facts which Mr. Alvan F. Sanborn in his magnificent work, *Paris and the Social Revolution*, has clearly pointed out in discussing French anarchists,—that is, that the men who have committed assassinations and like deeds of violence have in almost every instance been at the start gentle, loving peaceable and peace-loving individuals, who, however, have been driven to desperation and extremity by persecutions, privations and hardships born of injustice. (2) For years it has been the custom of the conventional press to charge various crimes to anarchists, though the latter may have been entirely innocent of the offences in question. (3) No great economic philosophy has been more systematically misrepresented than philosophical anarchy. (4) To most persons trained in the schools of modern

civilization, the teachings of the great anarchist philosophers seem as impossible of realization as the injunction of the Sermon on the Mount which related to turning the cheek and giving the cloak to the man had forcibly relieved one of his coat. (5) There have been few books that have clearly and ably set forth the anarchist philosophy as taught by its greatest apostles.

The work that is before us removes this last-named difficulty, as it gives the quintessence of anarchy as presented in the words of such great masters among the philosophical anarchists as Proudhon, Bakounine, Stirner, Kropotkin and Tolstoi, together with a remarkably clear, fair and concise discussion of the anarchistic tenets, by Dr. Paul Eltzbacher, a ripe scholar, not an anarchist himself, but who in his writings has opposed the philosophy and who in the closing pages of his work essays to refute the positions taken by the great anarchists.

It is a singular fact that two of the most popular and lucid presentations of anarchy and the ideals of the anarchists have come from the pen of scholars who were not themselves anarchists. We refer to this treatise by Dr. Eltzbacher and to the recently published work, *Paris and the Social Revolution*, by Alvan F. Sanborn.

Dr. Eltzbacher deserves great credit, not only for his own fair and luminous exposition of the philosophy of anarchy, but also for the manner in which he has presented the thoughts of the greatest anarchistic masters in their own words. In both these labors he has shown a degree of fairness and a desire to give his readers a true digest of the thoughts of the master philosophers that is exceptional in modern writing. Mr. Steven T. Byington in an excellent preface observes that:

"Eltzbacher recognizes his duty to present the strongest points of the Anarchist sides and does this so faithfully that one often wonders if the man can repeat these words without feeling their cogency. . . . Next to impartiality, if not even before it, we need intelligence in our compiler; and we have it. Few men, even inside the movement, would have been more successful than Eltz-

*Books intended for review in THE ARRENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARRENA, Boston, Mass.

bacher in picking out the important parts of the Anarchist doctrines, and the quotations that will show these important parts as they are. I do not mean that this accuracy has not exceptions—many exceptions, if you count such things as the failure to give due weight to some clause which might restrict or modify the application of the words used; a few serious exceptions, of which we reap the fruit in his final summary. But in admitting these errors I do not retract my statement that Eltzbacher has made his compilation as accurate as any man could be expected to. . . . The net result is that we have here, without doubt, the most complete and accurate presentation of Anarchism that has ever been given or ever will be given in so short a space. If any one wants a fuller and more trustworthy account, he will positively have to go direct to the writings of the Anarchists themselves; nowhere else can he find anything so good as Eltzbacher. . . . The collection of quotations, which form three-fourths of the book both in bulk and importance, is as much the best part as it is the biggest."

It is in the master thoughts of a master anarchist as given in this volume that most readers will find the chief interest, though the more thoughtful who desire to gain the best conception of anarchy, that a single moderate-sized volume can give will peruse the entire work, which consists of eleven chapters and might well be divided into two parts: one in which the author presents anarchism and his view in regard to it under the headings of "The Problem," "Law, the State, Property" "The Anarchistic Teachings," and "Anarchism and Its Species," the other devoted to the presentation of selections from the writings of the anarchist masters, including Godwin, Proudhon, Stirner, Bakounine, Kropotkin, Tucker and Tolstoi.

The work is beautifully gotten up and is a volume that should find a place in the libraries of all thinkers interested in political, social and economic philosophy, whether or not they have sympathy with its philosophic concepts.

Eagle Oak and Other Poems. By Captain Samuel H. Newberry. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 426. Price, \$1.50 net. Richmond, Virginia: The Everett Waddy Company.

THE AUTHOR of this volume is a sturdy,

noble-minded son of Virginia whose life has been spent in faithfully doing the duty he believed he owed to God, his native state and to humanity. During many years Captain Newberry penned from time to time little verses descriptive of scenes, emotions and impressions which haunted his mind. These verses are now gathered into a well-printed and illustrated volume of over four hundred pages, entitled *Eagle Oak and Other Poems*. While many of the lines are musical and pleasing, the compositions do not evince the imaginative power that characterizes true poetry, and in a time like the present, when unless verses be marked by great excellence people prefer prose, it is doubtful whether this work will appeal to the public, although to the author's large circle of friends it will doubtless be a much-prized volume. Below we give a few typical stanzas illustrative of the author's verse. These lines are from a little poem entitled "Life's Duty":

"Hearts that throb to human love
Are cups of earthly pleasure,
Which sparkle in the sun of life,
When filled with Heaven's treasure.

"Feet that hurry feet to meet
In life's low vale of sorrow,
Are messengers that fly between
To-day and each to-morrow.

"Eyes that give their love for light
Are eyes that shine the brightest;
Hearts that bleed for those that need
Are hearts that beat the lightest.

"The soul its energies must bend
To mount on wings still higher,
And reach that home above the stars
In love's chariot of fire."

The Broken Road. By A. E. W. Mason. Cloth, Pp. 420. Price, \$1.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

"THE BROKEN ROAD" is a story of English rule in India. It deals particularly with the complications arising when native princes are sent to England to be educated. In England they are treated as equals, flattered, petted and made much of. When they return to India they are obliged to settle down among their own people, subject to the orders of English petty officials. They have lost all taste for the native life, and they are looked down upon by the English residents. If perchance an East Indian so educated has the misfortune to fall in

love with a woman of the dominant race, the situation becomes still more serious. The effect produced by this condition of affairs depends largely upon the temperament of the particular individual in question.

This novel is a story of the friendship between a young English engineer and an Indian Prince who is the victim of precisely the above circumstances. Shere Ali's father was a great admirer of the English and determined that his son should be educated in such a manner as to enable him to carry out his policy of furthering in every way possible the British interests in India. The young man returns to his native province filled with enthusiasm which is quickly chilled as he becomes aware of his true position. While in England he has fallen in love with a vain, frivolous woman who has encouraged him merely because of the jewels which he has lavished upon her. When his people demand that he shall wed a woman of his own blood, he finds it impossible to accede to their wishes, believing that Violet Oliver is true to him. Gradually the fact of her perfidy is forced upon him, and henceforth he becomes a bitter enemy of the English, leading the natives in a revolt which can have but one outcome—defeat.

In contrast with the tragedy of Shere Ali's wrecked life the story of Dick Linforth and the road whose completion has come down to him as an inheritance from his

father seems somewhat colorless, although it gives the title to the volume.

From a literary point of view the novel is admirable. All the characters are well drawn and the interest never flags.

AMY C. RICH.

The Boy Geologist. By E. J. Houston, Ph.D. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 320. Price, \$1.00. Philadelphia: Henry Altamus Company.

THIS work possesses a double merit. It is a well-written and interesting story of boy life in a Pennsylvania school, full of incidents yet healthful in tone—just such a book as boys of from twelve to sixteen years of age would enjoy. But its special virtue is found in the vast fund of interesting scientific facts, especially relating to geology and chemistry, that are here given in such a way as to make a lasting impression on the mind of the young.

The author is a well-known scientist and a teacher of natural philosophy and physical geography.

The chapter dealing with earthquakes and their causes is of special interest and value, but almost every discussion contains popular instruction in geology and chemistry, presented in a most pleasing manner.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE RECENT PANIC AND THE PRESENT DEADLY PERIL TO AMERICAN PROSPERITY:

The special attention of our readers is called to Mr. Alfred O. Crozier's thoughtful and disquieting contribution which appears in this issue. Mr. Crozier is the author of the most important politico-economic novel of the year—*The Magnet*, a novel which gives the most graphic, accurate and amazing pen-picture of the criminal rich, the great master-gamblers and exploiters of Wall Street, that has yet been presented in essay or fiction. His paper in this issue of *THE ARENA* is as startling in its revelations as it is vital in character and should arouse every reader to an active effort to aid in preventing the consummation of one of the gravest dangers that has ever threatened not only the prosperity of the

people but the very life of free institutions—the plot to place the prosperity of the Republic in the hands of the money-mad Wall-Street gamblers.

The Life and Art of F. Edwin Elwell: Our illustrated feature this month constitutes the second paper in our series of sketches for the present year which are devoted to American men of art and letters. The reproductions of photographs of many of Mr. ELWELL's fine statues will prove one of the most interesting art features in the magazines of the month.

Coöperation in Great Britain: There is a steadily growing interest throughout America in genuine coöperative work, in spite of the fact that many coöperative experiments have failed because of

the visionary and impractical character of men who assumed to manage them, or because of the absence of the coöperative spirit among the master spirits. But in spite of these failures on the one hand and discreditable attempts to deceive the people by pretended coöperative experiments, the real movement toward brotherhood in business is steadily advancing. Nowhere in the world has the advance been so marked or the results so satisfactory in every respect as in Great Britain, and it affords us great pleasure to be able to present to our readers a carefully-prepared paper written for THE ARENA by Mr. J. C. GRAY, the general secretary of the Coöperative Union of Great Britain. Mr. GRAY is the master spirit or directing hand in this great coöperative movement which last year disbursed about fifty-five million dollars to the coöperators in Great Britain, which under other circumstances would have found its way into the pockets of trusts, monopolies or middlemen.

Some Religious and Philosophical Discussions: In the essay entitled *The Christian Science Concept of Deity* Mr. GEORGE H. MOORE, a prominent member of the Boston Christian Science organization, gives an admirable and authoritative presentation of the beliefs of Christian Scientists in regard to Deity—a paper written in a most admirable spirit and marked by a degree of lucidity rarely present in discussions of this character. In the "Quiet Hour" we have considered Emerson as the poet-philosopher, taking "The Sphinx" as an illustration of how this master thinker presented the great problem of life, veiled in allegory and garbed in verse; while in *Science and the Supernatural* Mr. FEHLANDT has presented with great power and clearness the views and concepts of a large number of the bravest and most thoughtful religious scholars of our time.

Important Political, Social and Economic Contributions: Besides the paper contributed to this number of THE ARENA by Mr. CROZIER, this issue contains a number of other contributions which will be of special interest to students of present-day problems who are awake to the serious character of the crisis now facing the American people.

Probably the most notable of these contributions is by Mr. GEORGE LLEWELLYN REES, entitled *Roosevelt as a Reactionist*, in which the author clearly shows the reason why the President is no serious menace to the plutocracy. No man who makes the fundamental principles of free institutions and just government subservient to the organization or the political machine of his party can lead the nation out of the bondage into which it has fallen through the mastership of the political boss.

The United States Trust is a deeply thoughtful paper by an army man and contains much matter well calculated to set men thinking. While in "The Mirror of the Present" we have dealt somewhat at length with *Popular Rule or Standard-Oil Supremacy* and also the present attempt of the plutocratic wreckers to destroy the Democratic party.

Manufacturing-Works High School for Young Women: The thoughtful paper by WILLIAM THUM, which appeared in the December ARENA, is complemented in this issue by a brief paper in which the author outlines a practical plan for a manufacturing-works high school for young women, where girls desiring to obtain a higher education but whose means are limited, would be able to do so under conditions that would be helpful, and wherein they would be able to maintain the sturdy, independent spirit which has always been the glory of the American people.

Sixty Years' Futile Battle of Legislation With Drink: In our December issue we published a striking and extended paper entitled *One Hundred Years' Battle With the Poison Trust*, prepared expressly for our pages by CHARLES R. JONES, chairman of the Associated Prohibition Press. In this issue we present the other side of the question in a paper prepared for THE ARENA by the well-known author of *Looking Forward* and other economic works, Mr. PHILIP RAPPAPORT. Mr. RAPPAPORT's conclusions are based chiefly upon data furnished by late census reports, and many of the facts given are of a truly startling character.



SAINT NIHAL SING.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them.—HEINE.*

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THE RESURRECTION OF GALVESTON.

BY GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

GALVESTON is built upon the island of Galveston, which is about thirty miles long, with an average width of from two to two and one-half miles, the widest part being five miles and the narrowest about a mile and a half. The city is at the extreme east end of the island and is about a mile and a half wide and four miles long, and comprises, in the terms of the original grant, a "league and labore." The league comprises 4,444 acres and labore 170 acres. It has both a Gulf and a Bay front. Being thus practically surrounded by salt water and subject to the breezes that alternately play from the Gulf to the Bay and the Bay to the Gulf, a temperate climate is produced that cannot be surpassed in healthfulness by any city in the world.

The population of Galveston before the storm of September, 1900, was from 40,000 to 45,000. In that storm some 6,000 people lost their lives. As soon as it was possible for many of those who had been made homeless to get away, a great exodus took place. In a short time, therefore, the population was reduced to from 20,000 to 25,000 people. The present population is from 35,000 to 37,500, and steadily increasing.

Owing to its location directly on the Gulf of Mexico, Galveston is peculiarly fitted to do a large seaport business, and its record during the past year shows an increase little less than marvelous. It ranks second among United States ports in the value of foreign exports; eighth among the ocean and gulf ports in all import matters, and thirteenth among customs districts. It holds fourteenth place among the ports of the world in the extent of its foreign trade. In the exportation of cotton and cotton-seed products it holds first place in the world.

Galveston's steamship service is large and constantly increasing. It has twenty nine lines in the foreign trade, two of which are newly established. It has six steamers each way to and from New York, besides all the chartered steamers and sailing vessels engaged in the coast-wise trade.

Hence it will be seen that Galveston is a great port and that a large portion of its interests are centered around the wharves and railway sheds. The wharves and docks are particularly interesting.

In the year 1890 the United States Government commenced building two jetties leading from the bay into the gulf;



SEA WALL, GALVESTON, TEXAS.

the one on the north being five miles in length, and the one on the south seven miles in length. These two jetties, one extending seaward from Boliver Point, and the other from Galveston Island, were for the purpose of increasing the velocity of the tidal flow with a view of removing the sand bars at the entrance to the harbor. The jetties, aided by dredging, have accomplished the desired results, and there is now a channel depth of approximately thirty feet, thus permitting the largest vessels to come to anchor at the city's wharves.

These jetties were severely damaged by the storm of 1900, and at an expenditure of a million and a half dollars the government has reconstructed them and has also appropriated and is now expending another million and a half in widening the harbor channel to a uniform width of 1,200 feet and giving it a uniform depth of thirty feet.

The jetties are built of granite with a sandstone core, being capped with granite rocks weighing from eight to eleven tons. As some of these caps were removed in the storm, none of the new caps are less than from ten to twelve tons.

In order to protect the city from further inundation from any extraordinary storm on the Gulf of Mexico, the citizens of the county of Galveston petitioned the State legislature to empower them to issue bonds to build a sea wall that would effectually bar out future floods. The United States Government was also asked to aid, by extending the sea wall in front of its property. Realizing to the full the importance of Galveston as her greatest seaport, Texas gave the requisite power, and the United States Government also undertook to do its share of this necessary protective work.

The great sea wall is man's defiance



GRESHAM HOME, GALVESTON, TEXAS

to the powers of nature. It must be remembered that it was not a tidal wave, as so many people suppose, that destroyed Galveston. It was a wave piled up by the force of a hurricane that swept up from the gulf. The city was built on the harbor side of the island, but all along the ocean side and on that frontage were many shanties and small houses, many of them lifted by short piling above normal high-water mark. This seldom reaches above four or five feet above mean low tide. The extreme high tide of 1875 was 9.5 feet, and of 1886 9 feet. When the flood of 1900 came it was 15.7 feet above mean low tide, and therefore swept these ocean-fronted shanties to destruction and passed almost completely over the whole island. The sea wall, to meet future contingencies, was made 17 feet above mean gulf level. In front of the concrete wall and leading up to it is an apron of granite riffraff, 27 feet

wide and from three to six feet thick, resting on the beach.

Adjoining the wall, which is four and one-half miles long, is a boulevard 100 feet wide, partitioned as follows. Closest to the ocean and next to the wall is a sixteen-feet wide concrete sidewalk, protected by a heavy iron railing on the sea wall; next comes the paved road, 54 feet wide, followed by a parkway 30 feet wide. The ladies of the city have undertaken to plant out this parkway in trees, flowers and grass and keep it in good condition. It will thus make one of the most beautiful ocean promenades and driveways in the United States and afford incalculable pleasure to countless thousands.

In order to make it perfectly clear to my readers how a boulevard 100 feet wide can be at the top of the sea wall, it is well to explain in advance that the level of the island behind the wall is



COURT HOUSE, GALVESTON, TEXAS.

being raised to correspond to the height of the wall itself.

The wall was completed two years ago. About three and one-half miles of it were built by the county of Galveston at a cost of a million and a half dollars, and the other mile by the United States Government at a cost of about three-quarters of a million dollars. The legislature authorized the issuance by the county of four per cent. bonds for the needful amount, nearly all of which were subscribed for at par by the citizens of Galveston at a time when the credit of the city and county were both nil. Before the sea wall was completed the bonds were being bought in all the markets of the world at par.

So it was with the city bonds. Prior to the reorganization of the city government these were as low as 60 per cent. and 65 per cent. They are now being sold at a premium, 102 to 103 being the lowest prices.

When the wall was completed the necessity for the raising of the grade of the city was more than ever apparent. With keen foresight the leaders,—banded together as the Deep-Water Committee—had already prepared the way fully and completely. Section 68 of the new charter of 1903 conferred upon the Board of Commissioners the power to appoint a board of engineers, and they were empowered to issue five-per cent. bonds for two million dollars, payable not more than fifty years after their date, to be sold at not less than par, the proceeds of which were to be used and expended for raising and filling the grades of the city.

When this question of raising the grade of the city was being considered, those who were giving it their especial attention soon found that various difficulties of a legal nature as well as the tremendous expense and great inconvenience it would



ROSENBERG LIBRARY, GALVESTON, TEXAS.

be to the people of the city, stood in their way. The constitution of the state provides that money once paid into the state treasury cannot be paid out except for a special appropriation made by law and the legislature has no authority to make an appropriation for a longer term than two years. This instrument also prohibits the legislature from giving or lending the credit of the state in aid of any person, corporation, or municipality, and forbids the pledging of the credit of the state for the payment of the liabilities of any individual, municipality, or other corporations. It exercised the ingenuity of the legal members of the committee to devise a way by means of which these wise constitutional provisions could be so adjusted as to meet the special necessities of the stricken city.

The state was asked to donate to the city of Galveston all taxes to which it was entitled from the County of Galves-

ton, except those that pertained to local needs, such, for instance, as schools, etc., for the space of eighteen years; and to authorize the state tax collector to pay these state taxes direct to the city treasurer instead of to the treasurer of the state.

When the members who had this matter in hand suggested it to the committee, they were almost laughed to scorn. The largeness of the request seemed to be its own condemnation, but Colonel Walter Gresham, who has been foremost in the upbuilding of Galveston, and his coadjutors were fully aware of the fact that large expectations often generate large responses.

An amusing incident occurred in the committee room, which one of the members told to me, which illustrates how, even among these, the battle for this large improvement had to be fought. There were nine members present when the thing was finally decided, and one of

those who opposed it was one of the most forward and progressive men of the city, Colonel W. L. Moody. His opposition was based upon the ground that it seemed unreasonable to ask for so large a thing from the politicians of the whole state. At last, Colonel Gresham turned to him and said, "But even you, Colonel Moody, have often said that you could always get what you wanted by persistent asking for it." With dignified language, but in most determined manner, Colonel Moody denied that he had ever made such a remark. Again Mr. Gresham insisted that he felt sure he had heard that sentiment fall from Colonel Moody's lips many times. Again Colonel Moody denied that the words were ever used by him, and for some four or five minutes the two gentlemen, in the most courteous and positive way argued that the other was mistaken, until the rest of the members of the committee began to feel a little uncomfortable. At length,



COL. WALTER GRESHAM, GALVESTON, TEXAS
WHO WAS THE PRIME MOVER IN THE
NEW GOVERNMENT OF THE CITY.

in desperation, Mr. Gresham asked: "Well, Colonel Moody, what was it that you did say?" Without the shadow of a smile, but with a twinkle in his eyes, that at once revealed the secret of his pertinacity he pointed to Colonel Gresham and sententiously exclaimed: "I have never said that I got what I asked for, but that *you* always got what *you* asked for."

With this large faith, Colonel Gresham and Mr. Clarence Ousley went to the legislature and to the great delight of the citizens of Galveston, their request was generously granted.

This was a gift from the people of Texas to the stricken city, estimated to be worth fully two million dollars, for, as the taxable values of the county increase, the amount remitted will correspondingly increase. The act of the legislature also provided for the bonding of this gift by the city in the sum of two million dollars. This was done and contracts called for to grade the city to the required level. The contractors were asked to take half their pay in cash and half in the city bonds, and such was their confidence in the men who are now directing the city's finances, that they agreed to do this. The taxes thus remitted amounted to about \$85,000 in 1906. Thus it will be seen that the bonds, while issued by the city, are practically guaranteed by the state.

Colonel Gresham is one of those far-seeing men whose presence in a community is a constant inspiration to those citizens who can never see beyond their own immediate profit. As early as 1887 he began to plan large things for the city's future. When he advocated the deepening of the harbor to 30 feet he stood almost alone, and the most sanguine of Galveston's citizens begged him only to ask for 18 feet. Yet his large claims are now fully justified and the United States Government is now contemplating the extension of the jetties far enough to obtain a uniform depth in the harbor of 35 feet at mean low tide.



BAIL HIGH SCHOOL, GALVESTON, TEXAS.



ROSENBERG HIGH SCHOOL, GALVESTON, TEXAS.



BEACH, GALVESTON, TEXAS.

When the Grade-Raising Board first began operations, some of the people would not understand or believe what was going on. They refused to raise their houses and were somewhat disconcerted and horrified to find the wet sand being poured around them. It did not take them long to realize that the board "meant business," and after that first experience no one has given any trouble.

In filling in so as to raise the grades it can well be seen that most, if not all, of the gardens, trees and lawns of the city were destroyed, as well as all the shade trees that had been planted along the streets. Galveston has long been noted for its palms, oleanders, magnolias and other semi-tropical trees, and to destroy them has been a great grief to all concerned. But it was one of the lesser evils that had to be as cheerfully submitted to as possible in order to protect

against the greater evil, and time will cooperate with the earnest endeavors of the people and soon restore the beauty that has been destroyed. Nay, it will be enhanced and increased by the material improvements that are now so rapidly nearing completion.

While the grade was being raised the city authorities took the opportunity to improve and enlarge the sewerage system, and now, as the large extent of the former has been finished, the city rejoices in a perfect and sanitary sewerage, which, as soon as the whole of the grading is done, will be as thorough and complete as that of any city of its size in the country.

Another great improvement is now about to be begun. The various railways that enter Galveston all converge to Virginia Point on the mainland, and then across the bay on trestles. The legislature has already passed a bill author-



SACRED HEART CHURCH, GALVESTON, TEXAS.

izing the county of Galveston to issue bonds for the construction of a magnificent causeway, 140 feet wide, to take the place of this railway trestle. It will probably have a concrete base with a superstructure of granite, and will not only allow a proper space for the tracks of all the railways, but will make a fine boulevard for riding, driving or automobiling. The railways will be required to do their share of the work, and they have all expressed themselves as heartily in favor of the project. A certain width of this will be set aside as parking, where grass, trees and flowers will be planted. It will thus afford a solid and beautiful avenue leading from the islands to the mainland.

On the 27th of March, 1907, the State Legislature passed an act validating a conveyance from the city of Galveston, vesting the title to 1,000 acres of land in the United States Government for a naval

reserve station. This action was required by Congress before it would authorize the spending of more Federal money on the widening and deepening of the harbor channel.

The United States Government has three forts at Galveston. Fort San Jacinto, on the east end of the island, has 700 acres of land connected with it. It is the intention of the government to build a sea wall from the western jetty around in front of the fort to the south, and then to the western limit of the property. The enclosed area will then be raised to the same level as the city and fully improved,—planted with trees, shrubs, flowers and grass. This has already been done at Fort Crockett at the western limit of the city.

When this plan is carried out it will leave a space of three-quarters of a mile between the government sea wall and that of the city. Some 1,700 acres is



URSULINE CONVENT, GALVESTON, TEXAS.

included in this area. Colonel Gresham is working on a plan to have the government sea wall extended to the city wall fill up the space to the city level and convert the whole into a magnificent park, 700 acres of it to be used as a military park and reservation, and the other 1,000 acres by the city.

The city is provided with water from thirty artesian wells, which are located on the mainland, some eighteen miles away. Each of these wells is from 600 to 800 feet deep and the water is brought through 30-inch pipes, which pass for two miles under Galveston Bay to large and adequate reservoirs in the heart of the city. The water is of excellent quality and there is more than enough at the present time for a population of five times the present number. The city also owns in the artesian belt a large amount more of water-bearing land, so that there will be no difficulty in

making water provision for a population of a quarter of a million.

In general appearance the island on which Galveston is built reminds one of Manhattan Island. But the City of New York is built north and south, the island lying that way, while Galveston island lies broadside to the Gulf, and the city is built, therefore, east to west.

Should the population increase, as it is perfectly possible it may, until Galveston becomes the main seaport of the Southwest, the island will become as crowded as is Manhattan. Then the Bolivar peninsula on the east side of the harbor entrance will be invaded, and the mainland to the north of the island, which latter, as I have elsewhere stated, is soon to be connected with the island by the elaborate 140-feet wide concrete and granite causeway.

The city is therefore surrounded on three sides (and should it ultimately



UNIVERSITY, GALVESTON, TEXAS

cover the western part of the island, on four sides) with salt water in constant motion with the tides, thus providing a perfect drainage and also an abundance of deep sea fish. The temperature of the sea water materially affects the temperature of the city, and aids in keeping it uniform. In 1906 the highest temperature in October was 77 degrees Fahrenheit, and the lowest 65 degrees. In November the highest was 74 degrees, the lowest 60 degrees. In December the highest was 73 degrees, the lowest 54 degrees. The value of this nearly uniform temperature as a health asset cannot be overestimated.

From the foregoing recital of facts it will be seen that Galveston has been concerned during the past few years in the making of needed material improvements that were essential for the safety, health, prosperity and general well-being of the city. Advantage has been taken,

where possible, of opportunities for its beautification, as on the sea-wall esplanade. But in the line of parks Galveston has not yet had time or opportunity to give such matters much consideration. She has three small parks, but they are not improved and are practically ignored.

Now that her city government has placed her financially in a good condition, it is to be hoped that the time is not far distant when parks, boulevards and the improvement of all public grounds and school yards will be taken in hand with the same vigor, good sense and thoroughness that have characterized her recent actions. This feature, the esthetic and artistic, is the only one in which Galveston is now deficient. In the essential and primary work of safeguarding the city from future tides, in raising the level, in providing adequate sewerage and water systems, and all such things, it was right that all second-



SEALY HOSPITAL, GALVESTON, TEXAS.

ary matters be ignored. But now that these are satisfactorily accomplished or well under way, it is equally important that the beauty of the city be considered. A thoughtful survey of the situation now, a proper grasping of her growth and future needs, and a large and comprehensive plan of park and similar improvements, can be outlined at a com-

paratively trivial cost, which, in a couple of generations will have more than quadrupled their cost and have provided for all time the breathing and beauty spots without which no well-ordered city can properly exist.

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

Pasadena, California.

INDIA'S COMING GREATNESS FROM A CONSTRUCTIVE VIEW-POINT.

BY SAINT NIHAL SING.

CURRENT literature regarding to-day in India paints a gloomy picture of the country and its people. Press dispatches and feature articles dwell on the fearful poverty of the teeming millions in Hindostan, who suffer from perpetual famine, and describe the educated community as seething with political agitation and ferment, leaving a strong, subconscious effect upon the reader's mind that the land is in a chaotic state—going backward, at least *not forward*.

Of the present affairs in India about all that is known in America is that the educated people of Hindostan are seemingly satisfied with merely carrying on wordy warfare over political questions and concerning themselves with arraigning the British administrators of Hindostan for inaugurating a reign of Czarist terrorism in the country. The impression is deepening in the minds of American people who take interest in the march of world events that the disaffection of the intelligent classes of India from the English Government necessarily involves volcanic conditions in the country and an ignominious fate for the nation, as a natural sequence.

In the paper, "Unrest in India, Its Genesis and Trend, as an Expatriated East Indian Sees It,"* the attempt was made to show that Hindostan is in no danger of once again being steeped in the Cimmerian darkness of the Middle Ages and becoming a prey to anarchy and lawlessness.

In the present article the writer submits a brief of uplift and optimism. He raises the contentions:

I: That, the so-called political fer-

ment at present prevailing in Hindostan presages a period of construction and well-being;

II: That India is rapidly awakening to a full sense of its opportunities and responsibilities, and there is palpable and irrefutable evidence that the people of Hindostan are aggressively engaged in remodeling themselves and their methods according to the most modern and approved patterns; and that, the uplift in the Indian Empire is not confined to a single department of life nor to any one of the numerous congeries of races and castes that constitute the 300,000,000 inhabitants of the country; but that the yeast of evolution is at work everywhere and is leavening all things and all classes.

On account of limited space only the briefest outlines can be presented to the reader; but enough evidence can be brought to bear on the contentions to prove that all influences are combining to raise the country from a slough of despondency and degeneracy and head it toward progress and modernization.

In order to answer the first issue, the political grievances which are agitating the minds of educated Hindostanees, should be examined. These may be succinctly stated in the words of certain resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress in its Calcutta session of 1906.

This body, which meets once a year, is composed of the cream of educated East Indians of all classes, creeds, castes and learned professions, is the pseudo-congress of India—an Assembly of Protest. These resolutions, selected from its sessions of the year before last, are cited because during the last session of the Congress, convened during the last week of the year 1907, they formed

*See THE ARENA for December, 1907.

the vortex of a cyclonic discussion amongst its members to such an extent that the assembly, which for almost a quarter of a century had held its annual meetings without any serious dissension, had to be adjourned *sine die*. In order to be explicit, it should be stated that almost fifty per cent. of the delegates sent to the 1907 session of the Indian National Congress were so vitally interested and so enthusiastically in favor of the resolutions in question that the rest of the representatives of the people had to consent to the *status quo* of the last Congress either by reaffirming them or by dissolving the body. These resolutions, therefore, are tolerably correct indices of the political demands of the natives of India which are exercising their minds. The seventh resolution read in part:

"That, having regard to the fact that the people of this country have little or no voice in the Administration and that their representations to the government do not receive due consideration, this Congress is of the opinion that the boycott movement inaugurated in Bengal by way of protest against the partition of the Province was and is legitimate."

At the same session the Indian National Congress passed another resolution:

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, the time has arrived for people all over the country earnestly to take up the question of national education for both boys and girls, and organize a system of education—literary, scientific and technical—suited to the requirements of the country, or national lines and under national control."

This resolution was formed as the Congress's repeated protests "against the policy of government in respect of high and secondary education as being one of officializing the governing bodies of the universities and restricting the spread of education" were not heeded. The Congress had recommended "that government should take immediate steps for (1) making primary education free

and gradually compulsory all over the country, (2) assigning larger sums of money to secondary education, special encouragement being given where necessary to the education of the backward classes, (3) making the existing universities more free from official control and providing them with sufficient men to take up the work of teaching, (4) making adequate provision for technical education in the different Provinces having regard to local requirements"; and since the alien government paid no attention to these petitions the more than a thousand representatives of the East Indian people avowed their intention of establishing an independent system of national education for the rising generation in India.

Somewhat along these lines another resolution was introduced. This had for its object the vitalizing of Indian industries and giving them a new impetus. Its purpose was to encourage home industries and entreat and counsel the people to use *India-made goods*. It was inaugurated with a view to uphold the *Swadeshi* movement—which may roughly be translated as the movement for the exclusive use of India-made goods—and was worded:

"This Congress accords its most cordial support to the *Swadeshi* movement and calls upon the people of the country to labor to promote its success by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries, and encourage the consumption of indigenous articles by giving them preference over imported commodities."

These resolutions were capped by the following:

"That this Congress is of the opinion that the system of government in the self-governing British colonies should be extended to India."

This political platform may lead to dissension in the East-Indian camp, but such division of opinion is an "evidence of life and pluck," and, as an experienced pro-Indian English statesman naïvely

remarks, "is better than the old dead level of cowardice and stagnation." The political agitation of the people of India reduces itself to this:

That the Government of India should not be administered for the benefit of the English people; that the berths in the Government should not be treated by Britishers as their preserves; that the foreigners should not be permitted to exploit the country as a market for the products of British mills and factories; legislation and the educational system operated with a view to throttling the Indian industries and keeping the Hindostanees ignorant of modern methods employed in farming and manufacturing industries; that the emasculation of East-Indians accomplished by means of depriving them of the privilege of carrying arms and not permitting them to shoulder the responsibilities of their city, provincial and federal governments, be immediately stopped and in its stead India be strictly governed *by and for the people*.

The educated Indians have been carrying on a campaign in this direction for at least a quarter of a century. Their agitation, however, has taken merely the form of supplicating the British Bureaucrats whose policy and administration they criticized. The educated classes of India have been imploring an alien people whose rule was established in Hindostan by a company of commercial men and has been consistently carried on with a view to affording a profitable market for their own manufacturers and capitalists, to *voluntarily* renounce what they have come to regard as their loaves and fishes. The East-Indian political agitator has failed to realize that the interests of the Englishman and himself are at variance. The agitation of a quarter of a century, therefore, has proved a total failure.

Despite the protests of the East-Indian educated men, \$100,000,000 annually go to England, outwardly to pay salaries, pensions *et al*, but virtually as a tribute

from the East-Indian subjects to the British ruler. Regardless of the prayers and even of the protests of the native East Indians, the administrative posts carrying princely salaries have been appropriated by the Englishman; out of 960 of the highest governmental posts in the land, 900 being at present held by aliens and only 60 by natives of the country. In spite of the supplications of the natives, four-fifths of the villages in India continue without a schoolhouse; 145 out of 146 women, and 90 out of 100 men are illiterate, and there is practically no provision made for imparting instruction in up-to-date methods of scientific agriculture and industries. Of the 95,000,000 pounds yearly collected in revenues from the taxpayers of India, more than one-fourth is spent on the army, merely 6,000,000 pounds being appropriated for education.

This unavailing struggle for "India for the East Indians" is responsible for alienating the people of Hindostan from British rule. Daily the breach is widening. As a natural consequence the natives of the land, in increasing numbers, are arriving at the conclusion that something more than mere duelling with words or supplicating the English administration in India or England is required.

East Indians have not succeeded in their quest for a liberal government. In fact, since the beginning of the present campaign for popular administration, the British bureaucracy in charge of Indian affairs has become more autocratic and imperious.

The struggle, however, has not proved abortive. On the contrary, their very failure has been the means of stimulating the pride of the people and inciting them to do constructive work along national lines. It has quickened the land of the Hindoos with a new consciousness and paved the way for future prosperity and ultimate political and economic liberty.

What this new awakening is can best be described by means of an Indian

fable told of two cats who fought over a piece of bread. Each wanted the whole loaf and nearly killed the other in an endeavor to get it. A monkey appeared on the scene. His Christian spirit, unable to brook the sad struggle going on between the cats, he suggested that he would amicably and justly settle the feud. The monkey procured a pair of balances and, intent upon doing justice to the cats, divided the bread into two pieces and put one in each scale. Finding the division was unequal, he bit off a piece of bread from the larger portion and let it slide down his throat, attributing the misappropriation of that piece to a mere accident. The monkey kept up the hypocrisy of dividing and redividing the bread until none was left and the disillusioned cats disappeared having learned a valuable lesson at the expense of losing the entire loaf of bread.

The unsuccessful fight for political freedom is making the Hindostanees remark to themselves that the conduct of the English in India in every particular is the same as that of the monkey in the above fable. The Englishman found the East Indians warring amongst themselves. He evinced the desire to put a stop to the discord between the fighting factions. He promised to manage their estates until they reached the age when they would have sense enough to attend to their own affairs. He showed great concern to educate his wards and protect them from evil influences. He undertook to husband their resources and employ them judiciously so that the estate might grow more valuable. He contracted to protect their property from internal as well as external attack. He promised to train his wards to a sense of responsibility. All this he piously undertook to do because his Christian spirit would not let him rest if he neglected to look after the insane and imbecile heathen inhabitants of Hindostan. It was the "white man's burden" he voluntarily shouldered, the duty of a Christian that made him take the reins of India's

government into his own hands. The East Indian was losing his manhood through internecine lawlessness and his property was going to waste through lack of judgment. Swayed by religious fervor he declared war upon those who were fighting, forced them to desist and began their reorganization on a saner, sounder plan, without any consideration—except the sweet consciousness that pervades the soul when a man selflessly ministers to the helpless without receiving any return for his good deeds.

With child-like credulity East Indians took these professions for principles which were to underlie the policy and actions of the British administration of India. Had the Englishman fulfilled some of his promises the Hindostanees would have continued to believe in his altruistic motives; but his tardiness in meeting his liabilities is making the natives of the land believe that the British promises of liberty, equality and fraternity held out to the East Indians, always have been like the horizon—the nearer you approach the farther they recede.

As a direct result of the political agitation the natives have commenced to realize that they do not wish a "good" government conducted by an alien people; but a government of their own, even if it is corrupt and weak.

Not long ago when an English high official landed in Bombay, the sycophancy of the people of Hindostan expressed itself in an inscription which was worked into a floral arch, and read: "God deliver us from the rule of our own countrymen."

Within ten years the sentiment has become so metamorphosed that not long ago India's Grand Old Man, Dadabhai Naoroji, a citizen of the Bombay Presidency, remarked: "Patriotism means making an end of *foreign* rule."

It will be hard for the American reader to realize how colossal this transition is. Through this mental transformation the very shackles that have kept Hindostan from progress and prosperity are now

to be utilized to build a ladder that will lead to future well-being.

The attitude of independence assumed of late by the native East Indian is not merely of a negative character. It is not only proving an incentive to watch the movements of the alien ruler; to distrust him; to cease to help him; to desist from looking up to him for advice, guidance and assistance; but it is positive—it is aggressive—it attempts to checkmate him. The surge of the new spirit is directed toward construction—toward aggressive construction.

The flood, moreover, is not heading toward a single point. Its waters have divided themselves into many channels, draining the manifold departments of life, then collecting into one powerful stream: "India for the East Indians."

Urged by this spirit East Indian young men are no longer contenting themselves with ill-paid berths in the government service; but they are endeavoring to industrially regenerate their country. Already the exodus of East Indian students has commenced to foreign lands such as Japan, the United States, Germany, France and England. Of recent years fewer East Indian students go to England for qualifying themselves as barristers or civil servants than went a decade or two ago. Instead the young men of Hindostan are going to Japan and America with a view to learning farming and manufacturing industries and returning to their native land to give a fresh impetus to agriculture and trades.

India has sent to foreign countries the cream of its young men. Intelligent, hardy and self-sacrificing, these students are doing all in their power to learn the theoretical and practical details of trades and professions. They come from all provinces of India and represent all creeds, religions and races. It is interesting to note that they are not going into merely one or two lines of trade, but are engaged in qualifying themselves for following various callings. In the

middle of 1906, when the writer was in Japan, he made a careful survey of the trades that East-Indian young men were learning in the Mikado's empire. The result of his inquiries are shown in the following table:

Pencil-making, 11; tanning, 7; weaving and spinning, 7; soap-making, 4; knitting, 4; applied chemistry, 4; matches-making, 4; tin-work, 3; horn-work, 2; condensing milk, 2; artificial flower-making, 2; glass-making, 2; ceramics, 2; button-making, 2; agriculture, 2; sericulture, 2; pharmacy, 2; paper-making, 2; mechanical engineering, 2; electrical engineering, 2; mining, 2; lacquering and painting, 2; acid and alkali-making, 1; total, 74.

From more recent investigations it has been learned that the number of students in Japan has considerably been augmented and the young men are learning a large number of trades.

It is noteworthy that amongst the Indian students in Japan there is not one in receipt of a government of India scholarship. About 80 per cent. of the students are supported by public or private stipends; the rest depend upon remittances from parents or guardians.

In America the number of Hindoo students is estimated variously between 200 and 500. The influx is daily growing in volume and before long it is expected that almost every technological and agricultural institute in this country will have a small quota of East-Indian students. Hindoo young men go to Japan through reasons of economy and also because they realize the Pan-Asiatic sentiments of the Japanese; but in the Mikado's Empire they find that their knowledge of English, with which usually they are fully equipped, is practically of no avail and that it is impossible for them to earn their living while pursuing their studies. For this reason America will be the future mecca of the East-Indian student. Here he can manage to pay his way.

It cannot be doubted that these men

will wield an enormous influence on the regeneration of India when they return home. Representatives in the best sense of the word, the professions they are learning are varied and numerous. It is easy to imagine that they will exercise a potent influence on the industries and manufactures of the country when they return with excellent theoretical and practical technical knowledge.

The greatest advantage from a constructive viewpoint which is destined to accrue to India from these young men is that foreign education and travel have tended toward diminishing the caste and racial distinctions which so far have proved the bane of India. These young men, though still professing the religious beliefs of their ancestors, overcome their denominational exclusiveness and intolerance. In Japan, the United States and other countries, they do not live in small groups according to their religions, castes or provinces. So far as they are concerned, caste has lost its hold upon them. The Indian students, on their return to India, therefore will not only be the means of putting new life into the decadent Indian manufactures and industries and opening up new trades and crafts; but by living down caste and racial prejudices they will help to unify the incoherent masses of India and thus pave the way for the regeneration and progress of the country.

Realizing that but a few men could be sent to foreign countries for education and that the bulk of the people will have to be educated at home, the leaders of India are doing their best to make provision for a sensible and patriotic form of education. Recognizing the woeful lack of educational facilities for the masses and the frightful ignorance of the agriculturists, many native states have already provided adequate instructors and schools to impart free primary education to their wards. Feeling that the educational facilities for the masses and educational system administered by the English people in India has failed to

provide technical, industrial and commercial education, efforts are being made to supply this lack in British India. The Bengal National College and School, established in August, 1907, by the national council of education, to mention an instance, is a product of this new spirit. This institution, with which many national schools are affiliated, has been designed, inaugurated and managed solely by the natives of Bengal, and is being run on national lines. The teachers are all prominent educated Bengalees who are working merely for their living expenses. Most of the professors reside on the college campus and thus, through intimate association, are exercising a vital influence upon their pupils. The trade workshops and biological and technical laboratories are doing effective work in equipping the students with modern methods of doing things. At the time of the present writing the institution is exhibiting the results that it has already obtained in the form of implements, apparatus, etc., manufactured by the students under the instruction of the teachers.

On similar lines as this college in Bengal, is conducted the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic college at Lahore at the other extremity of India. It is under purely native management and has a net-work of schools dotted all over the province affiliated with it. A few miles away from this college, at Amritsar, is the headquarters of the great educational institution of the Sikhs, the martial race of the Punjab—the Khalsa College. Almost midway between Amritsar and Calcutta, at Aligarh, the Mahommedans maintain a large and well-organized college. A few hundred miles away is the Central Hindu College at Benares, conducted under the auspices of the Theosophical Society. In the same category is to be classed Ferguson College at Poona, a thousand miles away from the headquarters of the last-named institution. There are other schools of the same kind; but this article does not pre-

tend to catalogue them. These educational institutions financed, managed and conducted by the natives of Hindostan, point out that East Indians are determined to disseminate education along their own lines and for their own people.

These institutes, while steering clear of the rules and regulations laid down by the Government and endeavoring to propagate a system of national education, make a strong feature of instructing the pupil in Western science and methods. On the one hand the purpose is to produce a well-balanced young man capable of supporting himself and his family; on the other, the effort is made to enthuse him to make his life directly and indirectly tend toward the uplift of his neighbors and relatives. The endeavor is made to take everything good from Western nations and influence the malleable minds of young men to become practical; but the instructors constantly bear in mind to accomplish this without losing the national entity of the pupil.

India's rehabilitation hinges solely on the children of the country being given the right kind of preparation for fulfilling the duties that are to fall to them when they step into the shoes of the present generation. It is worthy of remark that the leaders of India have awakened to an animated appreciation of this fact. It is touching to note the spirit of abnegation which both the students and their teachers are displaying. In certain parts of India the people seem to be mad for obtaining knowledge. They are making greater sacrifices to equip themselves with modern education than any other people in the world, with the possible exception of the Japanese.

As a direct result of the demands for instruction made by the natives of India, even the British Government is being goaded into increasing its equipment. Probably within the next decade provision may be made for free and compulsory education throughout India, and the native East Indians may find better

facilities provided in the shape of technical and agricultural institutions.

Awakened India has not only turned its attention towards educating its people, but is also seeking to improve the physiques of its embryonic men and women and adults. With the exception of a limited number of martial people, East Indians possess frail constitutions. If the new spirit which already has given birth to the establishment of athletic clubs for physical exercise keeps growing, the result is sure to be a manly and independent generation.

Probably the most assuring sign of India's coming greatness lies in the fact that the intelligent East Indians have realized the true meaning of the old adage, "Uplift the mass to uplift the country," and have not failed to provide for the advance of womanhood. Girls' schools have been established by philanthropists where they can learn domestic arts, cooking, sewing, nursing and the care of children, and at the same time can pursue academic courses. The best class of educated Hindoos is coming to realize that India's well-being and future prosperity depend more upon the education of women than any other factor. Rulers of native states, especially, are displaying a great deal of interest in female education and the general elevation of East-Indian womanhood. The native chief of the State of Baroda, Sayaji Rao, has introduced what is admitted to be the best educational system for girls in India, both in inception and administration. In this work the Maharajah of Baroda is ably assisted by his consort, the Maharini, who is a splendid type of advanced womanhood, and who takes a foremost place in the work of securing greater liberty for the women of Hindostan.

A great change has taken place in the home life of the natives of India in the last few years. Morning and evening the children of East-Indian gentlemen are taken out for an airing by *ayahs* (nurses). Some men have become so stirred by

the new spirit that is swaying the whole nation that they drive out in open vehicles in the evening accompanied by their wives. The editor of an East-Indian vernacular journal declares :

"A week ago we saw the daughter of a man of position walking with her father on the railway platform at Lahore. She was dressed in what seemed like an English gown, had English shoes on, and when her husband came up left her father and walked with him. Her face was quite uncovered."

Wives go out shoulder to shoulder with their husbands and seemingly have completely cast off the old restrictions. So imbued have many East-Indian women become with the desire for liberty of action that it would be a bold man who would dare to attempt once more to force the old customs on his woman-kind.

The era of reconstruction in India has commenced but recently and only the foundations have been laid in the matter of providing mass and industrial education and uplifting women. Side by side with the uplift in these directions it is interesting to note that, in the ten years ending 1906-1906, the number of registered presses in India increased from 1,966 to 2,380. During the same period the number of newspapers increased from 674 to 747 while periodical publications other than newspapers increased from 510 to 793. The number of books published in English or some other European language grew from 1,067 to 1,411 while a total of 7,644 modern and classical books in the Indian language were published, showing an increase during the ten years of 28 per cent. Books were published in about fifty languages, and there were 777 bi-lingual, 74 tri-lingual and 3 polyglot books in the list.

Considerable effort is being made in India to establish a *Lingua Franca* for the whole country. As it is to-day, a native East-Indian can go from one end of the land to the other without experiencing much difficulty in making himself

understood through the medium of the English language. This is a very hopeful sign. English, being the commercial lingo of two hemispheres, through its agency India will be enabled to come in contact with the outside world. Be this as it may, *Hindi* and *Urdu* are becoming the common mediums of exchange of thought throughout India. It is certain that Hindostan, within a brief term of years, will have a *Lingua Franca* of its own, besides the English, since a strong movement is already on foot to effect this, and is meeting with gratifying success.

This leads up to a word or two about the much-talked-of banes of caste and racial prejudice. Educated East Indians are learning that the present-day exigencies make it necessary for them to be tolerant of one another's religious opinions and descent. They are fast recognizing that the woe of one constitutes the grief of the other, and the weal of one forms the welfare of the other. Community of interests is inciting the native East Indians to strive to have a common language for their use and a common foundation upon which political and economic prosperity may be reared.

At the time of the present writing it happens that the Hindus and Mahomedans, the two largest communities in India in the proportion of 4 to 1 respectively, are showing bitter animosity toward each other. This is ascribed to the political moves of the English people whose salvation, it is claimed by East-Indian writers, depends on their ability to keep the native population divided, thus making it possible for 150,000 foreigners to keep 300,000,000 people in subjugation. Be this as it may, the dissensions amongst Hindus and Mahomedans, calmly considered, are merely extraneous and superficial. They are an indication that race and religious hostility have been doomed to death. A wound always looks ugliest just as it is about to heal, and the present

virulence is but an indication that the breach between the two factions in Hindostan is about to be permanently closed up.

But a few years are needed for the adjustment of the Hindu and Mahomedan interests; and even as it stands to-day, the coming greatness of India is not at all jeopardized by their feuds. If an adjustment could take place in a country such as Canada with its warring elements, the French and English Canadians, there is a strong presumption that history will repeat itself and the discordant parties in India will bury the hatchet.

One sure sign that the caste regulations are losing their grip on the peoples of Hindostan is that from the most remote districts East Indians have commenced to emigrate to far-distant countries. The impression has prevailed that the Native of Hindostan is chained to the home of his ancestors by caste regulations, family ties and village economy. It has come to pass, however, that the Indian, influenced by Western ideals that have drifted to him, finds intolerable the precarious living he is able to eke out, by hard and unremitting labor from his exhausted land or dying industry. The one-time fatalistic native of Hindostan is becoming tainted with discontent and is possessed with a yearning to break through the shell of his limitations which hampers him from achieving, and seek new scenes. The literate and illiterate are being seized with a passion to find new spheres where their work will bring richer results.

While caste prejudices are on the wane amongst the Hindostanees, unfortunately a new caste has sprung up. The rulers and the ruled in India, coming from different continents, speaking different languages, live, as it were, in two distinct worlds. The Englishman, supercilious by nature and training, and the Hindu, polite and cringing in character, have met in India, but have not mixed. A sharp demarcation has grown up,

giving birth to a baneful caste—the caste of the ruler and the ruled. The Englishman in India has remained untouched by the spirit of our times. But the native East Indian is becoming more and more steeped in the democratic spirit. He is growing ashamed of having allowed the Englishman to misconstrue his politeness into abject slavishness.

The educated East Indians demand reciprocity of relations of the Englishman in India. They are ready to prostrate themselves before the Britisher as was their wont, provided the Englishman is willing to respect the Oriental institutions and do the same thing by the natives of the land. The Englishman's unwillingness to meet squarely this new consciousness of Democracy in India is producing much chaos and tribulation.

The ultimate influence of even this new caste, however, is tending toward the uplift of the Hindostanees. It is making the East Indian demand that if the British colonists exclude natives of Hindostan from their soul, the latter ought to pay the same compliment to the British who go to India for the purposes of monetary gain. The spirit engendered by this may bring the people of India in violent collision with the Britishers, but it cannot be denied that it is helping them to awaken to the consciousness that they should be men and not mere cringing slaves. It is also responsible for the wave of material prosperity which is spreading throughout the length and breadth of the land. Mention has already been made of the boycott of English goods instituted in many parts of India and still vigorously pursued, which, in a measure has been brought on by this refusal of the Englishman to listen to the fair demands of the Native East Indians. The writer does not have at hand figures to prove that the boycott has had a crippling effect on British trade with India; but it certainly has been instrumental in opening the eyes of East Indians and enlisting their eager interest in the reorganization of their industries

and trades. Reference has already been made to this spirit being at the bottom of the sending of East-Indian students to foreign countries for the purpose of learning scientific salesmanship and the most economical and improved methods of agriculture and manufacture. This sentiment has done even more. It has made the natives of India realize that so long as they continue to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, there is no hope for their future existence, much less prosperity—so long as they merely concern themselves with producing raw materials, shipping them to England and other European countries and then buying the finished product, the Indian manufacturers and craftsmen cannot but starve. What this spirit has done for the East Indian may be described in the words of Mr. R. C. Dutt, an East-Indian publicist of note:

"History will record in future ages how the people of India in the commencement of the twentieth century effected their own industrial salvation. Without any control over their own tariff or financial arrangements, without any effective voice over our own legislation or our administration—such as every other civilized nation on earth possesses to-day—without any of these privileges which are the birthright of nations, we have determined, simply by giving preference to our home manufactures, to revive the industrial activities of this vast country and to improve the condition of our industrial population. The call has gone forth from province to province and from village to village; and unnumbered millions are responding to the call with almost religious fervor. The womanhood of India has nobly joined in this patriotic work; and every true Indian, Hindu or Mussulman, Parsi, Jain or Christian, coöperates in the *Swadeshi* movement and exerts himself for the industrial progress of his Fatherland. We are yet far, very far, from success, but in our heart of hearts we have taken a solemn vow to work together towards

this great object. And when we have passed away, our sons and grandsons will take up this holy work and will accomplish what we have begun, giving our country her rightful, her ancient place among the industrial nations of the earth."

As a result of this "India-made" sentiment, throughout Hindostan all classes and sections of people are reviving old industries and adding new to the list. Improved hand-loom are being installed everywhere, and the sentiment for "India-made" goods is actuating the people to use coarser cloth and pay more for it, in preference to buying finer and cheaper products of alien looms. It may be mentioned that the main motive power for the *Swadeshi* movement has come from Hindu sources; but Mohammedans, forming the bulk of Indian weavers, are receiving the benefit from the propaganda.

It is not the weaving industry alone which is receiving a new impetus, but the same is equally true of other handicrafts and trades. As an instance it may be mentioned that the sugar industry in Hindostan has been quickened. New refining processes are being utilized and the depreciation of using imported sugar is leading to a wonderful regeneration of the industry. Cotton growing also has received a new lease of life. Successful experiments have been made with Egyptian cotton, and there is the bright prospect of India's being able to improve the quality of the cotton crop in the very near future by the proper selection of seed, and increase the quantity by intensive methods of cultivation.

Great innovations are taking place in the industrial realms of India. The dreamy Hindoo at last is coming to the realization that crafts should be pursued not only with the altruistic and artistic ends in view, but the commercial aspect should be strictly kept in mind.

The erstwhile spiritualistic East Indian is, in a sense, becoming materialistic. He is discovering that he should curb

some of his artistic temperament and give the primary place to material prosperity. He is finding that hereafter will take care of itself so long as he carefully looks after the *here and now*. It is likely that through this new consciousness in India the world may not hear much of India's grand religions, philosophies and arts; but it is also notable that Hindostan will no longer be regarded by the outside world as a land of eternal famine.

As a sign of the times, the Indians are learning the necessity of harnessing their rivers and waterfalls, of superseding hand industries with machinery. In the Bombay Presidency alone wonderful progress has been made in this direction. The following table shows the number of factories and their population in this province:

	FACTORIES.	POPULATION.
1902.....	400	180,224
1903.....	418	182,910
1904.....	432	188,106
1905.....	455	200,432
1906.....	495	212,637

During the last two decades the cotton mill industry has increased three-fold in India, as the following figures, including both spinning and weaving mills, show:

	1884	1894	1906
Mills.....	74	137	204
Spindles.....	1,995,000	3,540,000	5,393,000
Looms.....	16,000	29,000	52,000

Spinning mills number 104; weaving,

8; and those for both processes, 92. The yarns produced totaled over 655,-500,000 pounds mostly of low counts. Woven goods totaled over 156,500,000 pounds, the bulk of which was gray goods. The amount of capital and debentures involved is nearly 20 crores of rupees, of which 16 crores, or \$53,-335,000 is paid up. These factories, thanks to the *Swadeshi* spirit, are not dying of *ennui*. On the contrary they are not able to meet the demand for their products.

To show that India is not undertaking these enterprises on a baby scale, it may be mentioned that the well-known Indian firm of Tatta & Company is now engaged in establishing an iron foundry which will be the second largest in the world, the largest being in the United States.

The new spirit has also led the people to take care of their finances. Banks and insurance companies have been established all over the country and are being successfully operated under native management. The All-India United Insurance Company of Bombay, which was organized twelve months ago, recently announced a dividend of 3½ per cent. on the first year's work, starting from the day of registration. This is after putting Rs. 40,000 into the premium reserve fund. SAINT NIHAL SING.

Chicago, Illinois.

HOW TO MAKE COMMERCIAL PANICS IMPOSSIBLE.

BY ALBERT GRIFFIN.

DURING several months of 1903-4 the country quivered on the brink of a commercial panic; since then, ominous tremors have repeatedly startled business circles; and, as I write (March, 1907) anxious eyes are fixed on financial clouds, and people are saying, "Yes: the storm may burst on us almost any

moment—and I am not ready." It is, therefore, a fitting time to consider the cause of these financial convulsions—and how to prevent them. But, before doing this, I wish to emphasize a few groups of facts and deductions that long study of this problem has shown to be as important as they are incontrovertible.

I. The oldest citizen remembers hearing his father tell of terrible monetary panics; but, nevertheless, they are modern phenomena. The first considerable one was the John Law hocus-pocus money panic of 1720; and the first one noted by historians of this country occurred during the second decade of the last century. To find their cause we must look for a factor that is always active *just before* and during *every* panic period—and that is not as potent at any other time.

II. Commercial panics were entirely unknown until the system of "banking on deposits" had become established; they occur only in countries a large part of whose business is done through banks of deposit; and their frequency and severity is everywhere in exact proportion to the share of its business that is transacted through them. Deposit banks are nowhere so numerous and powerful as they are throughout Great Britain and this country—and nowhere else are panics nearly so frequent and ruinous. Not a solitary exception can be found to these statements—and they certainly show a close relationship between commercial panics and banking on deposit.

III. Panics are always preceded by a period in which money is relatively abundant; the demand for services and products increasing; business of all kinds improving; wages, prices and values advancing—with decreasing suffering and increasing hopefulness among all classes. And they are always coincident with, and followed by, a relative scarcity of money; a decreasing demand for services and commodities; a falling market for everything; and widespread and long continued misery and ruin. And history furnishes no exception, anywhere to these statements.

IV. The *desire* to purchase *never* decreases, but *always* increases; and the market supply of services and products is always greater during and following panics than during the preceding periods. The only reason why products

and services are less marketable during these times is that so many are unable to dispose of their own. That is, they cannot effect exchanges because the "medium of exchange" (money) market is more or less paralyzed. And, as soon as this obstacle disappears, the wheels of industry revolve as freely as ever.

V. Invariably, the prosperity that precedes panics is itself preceded and accompanied (indeed, *caused*) by "an easy money market"—indicated by "increasing bank loans and discounts," the volume of which approximately measures the increased business activity. In like manner, every commercial panic ever known was *preceded* by a relative *contraction* of bank loans—which contraction continued through the following period of "liquidation!"

VI. Many causes are given for commercial panics, but few of them are always active immediately before and during these periods—and some of them are even more active when there is no panic. Moreover, those usually cited that are always present, are only incidental, or are merely results—except "loss of confidence," and of this it is sufficient to say that, when not a merely local affair, it always *originates in the banks themselves*,—whose managers scenting danger, so contract their loans and discounts as to alarm some of their patrons whose business is done with borrowed capital.

The soundness of five of these groups of facts will be admitted by all well posted, candid men; the sixth is also incontrovertible; and, taken together, they establish a presumption that the true cause of commercial panics is decreased ability to exchange services and products—which is due to the inability or unwillingness of banks to provide business men with the money needed to effect exchanges.) Under existing conditions, it is folly to close one's eyes to such patent facts. If the explanation suggested is not correct, why cannot those who easily effect exchanges one week do so the next? Why such

sudden and ruinous business paralysis all over the country when there is no other change in business conditions?

Every person is a seller—and also a buyer *whose ability to purchase depends upon his ability to sell*. The desire to buy never decreases; its gratification is limited only by the receipts from sales; and the only reason why those who easily sold and bought yesterday cannot do either to-day seems to be that there is a decrease in the “medium of exchange.” The services and products are on the market; the desire to sell and to buy is as strong as ever; and the only apparent reason why it is not done as before is that the necessary medium of exchange is no longer procurable—and the only apparent reason why it is not is that banks have “put on the brakes.”

In December, 1892, Dunn's Review of the financial situation said that the year had been one of remarkable prosperity, and that it “closed without a cloud on the financial horizon.” During the next four months there were no great calamities of any kind, and, on April 26th, business was going on as usual, with no thought of trouble; but, a few days later, the terrible panic of 1893 turned the New York Exchange into a pandemonium, and covered the country with financial wrecks.

The sole cause of this desolating change in conditions was the sudden destruction of an immense quantity of the medium of exchange (bank loans) with which people were actually doing business—and the loss of which ruined them. It is true that the treasury reports showed an increase in the volume of money during that panic period—but the New York City bank reports indicated that, although the money in their vaults actually *increased*, their loans and discounts *decreased* fully \$500,000,000 in five months. This instance is cited because it is well known that this panic was caused by a contraction of bank loans, decided upon at a conference between the

Secretary of the Treasury and leading bank presidents, *for the purpose* of creating a business situation so distressing that it would (*as it did*) influence national legislation.

For a dozen years I have been publishing facts showing that our great business booms, desolating commercial panics, and long periods of business depression are all caused by the alternate expansion and contraction of “hocus pocus money,”—made by banks of deposit, out of nothing. But the bankers (who *dare not* discuss the charge, nor the facts that sustain it) have thus far succeeded in preventing their general consideration.

Fortunately, however, the seed sown has not been entirely lost, and this article is written in the hope that the readers of so fearless a magazine as THE ARENA will weigh well the facts which follow—and help to start an agitation that will not cease until the proper remedy shall have been applied.

For several hundred years the bankers have been the most closely allied guild in the world; their wealth and power increases faster than that of any other; and they really constitute “The Money Power”—of which so much is said and so little known. They dictate to all classes of business men and producers; and they largely control political parties, the public press, and the national, state and municipal governments.

That their method of doing business with *fictitious* capital, *used as money*, is *the sole cause* of commercial panics, is not a mere theory; nor is the statement based upon bald assumptions, but upon bank reports (mostly made under oath) tabulated by the United States Controller of the Treasury, and printed in his annual reports. Bank reports are not always correct, but correcting their intended mistakes would show still worse conditions for them. The following table, compiled from the Controller's reports, throws enough light on this subject to enable even the blind to see.

	Number of Banks.	Capital, Surplus, Undivided Profits and National Bank Notes.	Capital invested in Stocks, Bonds, Real Estate, Etc.	Capital remaining available for Commercial Loans.	Loans and Discounts Reported.	Ratio of Loans to Loanable Capital.
1888.						
National Banks.....	3,140	\$1,007,379,455	\$ 420,140,748	\$ 587,138,712	\$1,684,180,634	2.87 to 1
State Banks.....	1,408	211,816,956	80,623,901	131,193,055	410,511,868	3.13 to 1
Private Banks.....	1,308	55,720,080	28,447,270	27,272,790	95,474,774	3.50 to 1
Loan and Trust Companies	120	89,195,197	133,137,094	*-43,941,897	204,118,569	Unstatable
Total.....	5,966	1,364,011,668	662,349,008	701,662,660	2,394,285,835	3.41 to 1
1896.						
National Banks.....	3,676	1,194,827,177	584,876,090	609,951,087	1,876,591,716	3.08 to 1
State Banks.....	3,708	385,908,307	190,743,388	145,164,919	659,895,450	4.54 to 1
Private Banks.....	834	30,109,711	25,587,431	4,522,280	47,699,852	10.55 to 1
Loan and Trust Companies	260	195,460,585	304,940,983	*-109,480,398	391,545,393	Unstatable
Total.....	8,466	1,766,305,780	1,106,147,892	650,157,888	2,975,732,411	4.57 to 1
1906.						
National Banks.....	6,137	2,023,846,288	1,519,542,938	504,308,350	4,331,458,511	8.59 to 1
State Banks.....	8,862	672,960,513	672,187,372	778,241	2,123,300,307	2744.55 to 1
Private Banks.....	929	28,868,779	37,300,925	1,592,854	83,164,737	52.17 to 1
Loan and Trust Companies	742	663,757,957	1,013,029,211	*-349,271,255	1,443,883,431	Unstatable
Total.....	16,670	3,380,458,537	3,232,060,347	157,398,190	7,980,646,986	50.77 to 1
Changes bet. 1888 and 1896	+ 2,602	+392,294,112	+443,798,884	-51,504,581	+581,446,576	+1.16 to 1
Changes bet. 1896 and 1906	+ 8,202	+1,633,152,757	+2,125,912,455	-492,759,698	+5,004,914,575	+46.20 to 1
Changes bet. 1888 and 1906	+10,808	+2,025,446,869	+2,569,711,339	-544,264,470	+5,586,361,151	+47.36 to 1

*This is a minus quantity and must be deducted from the sum of the figures to find the total.

These figures show that, during the eight years preceding 1896, the number of banks increased 2,602; their capital increased (in round numbers) \$392,000,000; but the part of it invested in stocks, bonds, etc., increased \$443,000,000; so that the amount available for commercial loans actually *decreased* \$51,000,000; and yet their loans *increased* \$581,000,000. The ratio of their loans to loanable capital, which was \$3.41 of loans for every dollar of their loanable capital, in 1888, grew to \$4.57 to one in 1896.

In ten years from 1896 to 1906, the number of banks increased 8,202; their capital increased \$1,633,000,000, and their investments of capital \$2,125,000,000—so that their loanable capital *decreased* \$492,000,000 but in spite of this decrease, their loans *increased* more than \$5,000,000,000—and amounted to \$50.77 for every dollar of their loanable capital.

Of the many lines of facts shown by the table, the one I wish to emphasize is brought out in the fourth and fifth columns. Deducting the \$157,000,000 of their capital that the bank reports of last year do not show had been permanently

invested—and *which was all they had to lend*—from the \$7,980,000,000 of their loans and discounts reported, shows that they actually loaned \$7,823,000,000 of *purely fictitious capital*—the annual interest on which at only 5 per cent. would be \$391,000,000.

But the fact that this system enables bankers to collect from other business men such enormous sums for the use of fictitious capital is not its most important feature.—A worse one—a *very much worse one*—is that every one of these transactions varies the volume of the medium of exchange—expands it (but only for a few days or months) and then contracts it. In all cases, the entries on the bank's books are "deposits" of *money*—although all concerned know that no such sum has been deposited by anyone.

I am not charging intentional fraud upon bankers, for it is generally understood—but usually in a very vague way—that it is by some sleight-of-hand, or hocus-pocus method, that "bankers can make a little money go a long way in the settlement of accounts." But too much

emphasis cannot be put upon the fact that their loans and discounts in excess of their loanable capital *actually do the work of money*—and, therefore, must be recognized as money, if we wish to get at the truth about panics. It is undeniable that all of these transactions purport to be loans of money; they are paid for as money; the courts treat them as transactions in money; and increasing and decreasing them has exactly the same effect on prices, values and business that a similar increase or decrease in the volume of real money would have.

Now connect with preliminary facts II and III the following:

1. All bank loans and discounts in excess of their uninvested capital are—and necessarily must be—in effect, *additions to the "medium of exchange" (money) in actual use*. The fact that it cannot be seen and handled does not change the fact that, as it does the work of money and does nothing else, it is, *because of this*, money. It is well called *hocus-pocus* money—but it is money. It is a very poor and *unsafe* kind—but it is money all the same—and calling it by any other name will not change this fact.

2. Hocus-pocus money is created by entries on bank-books falsely stating that specific sums of "money" have been deposited to the credit of certain persons; and *it ceases to exist* when the notes or drafts are paid. In other words, it exists only during the life of the paper sold to the bank.

3. Most notes and drafts bought by banks run from one to ninety days. The average being but little over two months. Every one of these fictitious deposits positively expands the medium of exchange that much; every payment made by the borrower contracts it; and these expansions and contractions run up into billions every month. Indeed, they sometimes amount to hundreds of millions in a single day; and, unfortunately the changes, which seldom exactly balance each other, often differ greatly.

4. As more than 20,000 banks are

making and destroying this kind of money every day, at their pleasure, it is the most "elastic" currency ever known—and yet bankers insist that it is not sufficiently so. They demand permission to take still greater risks, and more freedom to use the money of other people to compel producers to pay them for the medium with which to exchange their own products. And it should be kept in mind that this method of doing business requires that the volume of real money shall be kept ruinously small.

5. When the volume of all kinds of real and hocus-pocus money in use increases faster than the products and services to be exchanged, prices, values and wages invariably tend upward. But when services and products increase faster than the volume of money of all kinds, prices and wages tend downwards. This is the quantitative theory, which goldites, silverites, fiatists—indeed, political economists of every school—admit to be self-evident. The confusion in the public mind on this subject results from failure to recognize the fact that everything actually used as a medium of exchange, and for no other purpose, must be counted as money. It is only by accepting "money" and "the medium of exchange" as equivalent terms that the quantitative theory can be sustained. Fluctuations in the volume of hocus-pocus money are unceasing—and at times they are very rapid and great. Every so-called boom ever known in this country was occasioned by an *expansion of hocus-pocus money*; and every commercial panic,—and nearly every considerable business depression—*was caused by its contraction*. Changes in the volume of real money are never sufficient to cause quick changes in conditions—except by causing changes in the volume of hocus-pocus money.

Every business man knows that panics and business depression are preceded by and coincident with a "tight money market"—inability to get paper discounted by banks that would readily have

accepted it a short time before. So long as "times are good," banks lend as much as they dare. In 1906, the national banks loaned \$8.94 for every dollar of real money they claimed to have; state banks, \$11.22; private banks, \$16.55; and loan and trust companies, \$31.95—the average being \$11.55.

The entire quantity of money which they reported was \$968,000,000. Of this, *only* \$157,000,000 belonged to them, and the remaining \$811,000,000 of real money, and their loans of hocus-pocus money (all due to depositors on demand) aggregated \$11,185,000,000. That is, they owed—*due on demand*—\$10,217,000,000 more than they claimed to have. The ratio of their cash liabilities to cash in hand, which, in 1888, was \$6.01 to one, increased gradually, and, in 1906, was \$11.55 to one—which shows a constant tendency to take increased risks. Political economists agree that "bank reserves" should always amount to at least 25 per cent. of their liabilities—and the most of them say 33 per cent. Yet we see that the reports of the deposit banks of this country show that they average less than 9 per cent.—even when it is generally believed that a panic in the near future is certain.

Now let us see how such a system works. With everything running smoothly, the banks lend freely, and the quantity of real money in their possession does not keep pace with their cash liabilities. And remember that, with deposits due on demand nearly twelve times as great as the money with which to pay them, reducing cash reserves \$10,000 removes the basis from more than \$100,000 of hocus-pocus money. Consequently, when such conditions exist, and it also becomes known that gold is being exported; that heavy capitalists are withdrawing money from certain banks for special purposes; or that some large concerns are in danger of bankruptcy; cautious bankers cease making new loans, or renewing old ones, to any but themselves and their more

favoured patrons. And when it becomes known that bankers, who are the best informed as to actual conditions, are feeling apprehensive, depositors naturally begin to decrease their deposits, and it would be surprising if fear did not sometimes become ungovernable panic.

The principal points made are (1) that the deposit banking system causes the volume of the medium of exchange with which business is actually done to increase rapidly during certain periods, and to decrease still faster during others. (2) That every panic is preceded by the kind of conditions that are invariably produced by an *increasing* volume of money; and is also immediately *preceded* and *accompanied* by those that are necessarily produced by a *decreasing* volume of money. (3) That these panics always have been, and still are, confined to countries a large part of whose business is done with hocus-pocus money.

There is much more that ought to be said on this subject, but space permits me to add only a few words as to what should be done about it. "The Real Money League," of Topeka, Kansas, holds that

"The best money is that the *exchange* value of which varies the least—and the constant effort should be to increase the quantity of the best until there is enough of it, and to decrease that of the poorer kinds until only the best remains,"

And further that

"Any kind of real money issued by the nation, with all the people behind it, *must* be better than unreal, hocus pocus money, with only some local bank behind it."

This is the keynote of monetary improvement—more real money, and less unreal. Of the many kinds of money in use, the better kinds should be increased until the aggregate volume makes it possible for *all of the people* to exchange *all* of their services and products—at *all* times. This is the expansion side—and it should continue *unceasingly*—because the need constantly increases. Con-

traction should be restricted to the poorest money in actual use. It should never precede but always follow or accompany expansion of the better kinds; should never equal it in amount; and should be continued until no poor money is left.

As, under the existing system, expanding even the best kind of money would be followed by an immense inflation of mis-called "bank credit," all banking institutions should be required to gradually increase their reserves to at least 25 per cent. of their checkable liabilities—and as much more as might from time to time, be thought advisable—every step in which direction would make the banking business (and every other) safer. Even the poorest money in use does a great deal of good; but hocus-pocus money also does a great deal of harm. It gives an immense and unjust advantage to a few already powerful people; it is the direct cause of nearly all serious *monetary* disturbances; and justice and the public interests require that it shall be made safer, and less powerful for evil.

An important fact is that increasing the amount of real money and decreasing the proportion of hocus-pocus money does not require revolutionary proceedings. It is admitted by all that there is not enough money of all kinds in existence. The bankers wish to make up the deficiency by increasing the quantity of hocus-pocus money—which they formerly called "money of account," but now refer to as "bank credit," "credit money," "liquid capital," "liquid currency," etc.,—but it seems clear that even fiat money with this great Nation behind it, would be safer, and better in every way, than mere hocus-pocus money, with only some local bank behind it.

It is an undeniable economic law that an unlimited market demand for *anything*, at a fixed price, prevents it from falling below that rate. The bullion value of gold changes but little—and only locally—solely because it can always be coined into money at approximately the same rate. The same was true of silver

so long as it was treated in the same way; and all intelligent, open-minded business men knew that if silver should be re-monetized *and the banks required to sufficiently increase their reserves*, there would be fewer, and less serious, fluctuations in the money market—and more general "prosperity" for all classes.

The larger their reserves the *safer* must the banks be. The more real money there is in existence the less need is there for the unreal. With safer banking ensured, by increased deposits of real money, business conditions would inevitably improve, in all respects. *It could not be otherwise.* Every step in these directions would put the business world on firmer ground, and the forward movement could be hastened, decreased, or arrested whenever deemed advisable.

The only specific change that I am urging is that the aggregate volume of money shall be kept *constantly* increasing, *in proportion to the increasing needs of business*; and that the *proportion* of hocus-pocus money tolerated shall be steadily decreased, until it ceases to be a disturbing factor in business. Is this unreasonable?

Of those who believe in equal opportunities for all, I ask, Is not this subject well worth patient study? The important thing now is not *What* shall be done? but, Shall not *something* be done to increase the quantity of available money, and to compel the banks to be less reckless with other people's money?

But, when the *What* and the *How* is considered the fact should be ever kept in mind that the deposit banking guild is the only one that profits by the existing system. Nearly a century ago, after the British government had wrecked the fortunes of a large part of its people by the monetary contraction which placed that empire on a gold basis, the great historian, Macaulay, said: "Amid the general gloom, one class alone prospered—the bankers." And this has been true of every succeeding panic. This class will, of course, bitterly oppose any change

that will decrease its profits and power. And it will, therefore, be as unwise to go to it for advice as to how the evils of the present system can most quickly and certainly be ended, as it would be to consult with railroad magnates, meat packers, coal barons, and liquor dealers, when framing laws to end the evils for which they and their methods are responsible.

Fortunately, although the deposit banking system is the most colossal of the combinations from whose greed and defiance of law the country suffers, it is the easiest one of them all to either restrict or eliminate. Indeed, this could be done without cost to the people, or the loss of a dollar of its capital by any fairly well-managed bank.

Less than five thousand men control our 20,000 hocus-pocus money banks—and less than one-tenth of that number direct their general policy. In addition to their \$3,389,000,000 of capital invested in personal property and real estate, these institutions actually create out of nothing, and collect interest on, more than \$8,000,000,000 of purely fictitious capital, in the guise of "loans," for short periods, of hocus pocus money, which they can require shall be repaid in real money—nearly all of which in existence, not needed for small change, is already in their possession. Solely because the volume of *real* money has been purposely kept ruinously small, many hundreds of thousands of people have to go to these banks for this hocus-pocus money, without which they cannot now do business—and often they go with the soul sickening knowledge that failure to get it means financial disaster, and personal distress.

Candidly, reader, can you reflect on these facts without uneasiness? It may be said that these institutions are so strong that it is useless to oppose them. But everyone with any manhood left knows that a desperate struggle is certain to come—and, as the situation constantly grows more serious, I submit

that not another day should be lost. And, fortunately, a host of really great men are now looming up whose conduct proves that they have a genuine interest in humanity, and who, caring more for an honorable record than for money, cannot be bought. The need of the time seems to be an educational campaign along the lines of more *real* money—and a *safer* banking system. What say you—the man or woman who is reading this? And, What are *you* going to do about it?

ALBERT GRIFFIN.

Topeka, Kan.

Uncontrollable circumstances having prevented the publication of this article at the time it was written, enables me to add that the events of the last few months confirm the correctness of the facts and the soundness of the principles set forth in it.

The United States [Controll]ers report for the last year also greatly strengthens the argument. The increase in the number of banks last year was 1,786; in capital, \$256,000,000; and investments in property, \$1,336,000,000—leaving \$921,000,000 *less than nothing* available for commercial loans. That is, taking them all together, their investment in property in their own names, took all of their capital, surplus, undivided profits and national bank notes, and \$921,000,000 of their *depositor*s' money. And yet, with nearly a billion dollars *less than no capital* available they reported their loans at \$7,588,000,000. In other words, they collected interest, or profits, on \$8,510,000,000 of *absolutely fictitious capital used as money*.

Yet, *as has always been the case*, the bankers' remedy is more hocus-pocus money of some kind. But the "Real Money League" still insists that the only rational remedy is more *Real* money, and less *Unreal*. What say the readers of THE ARENA?

LEIBNITZ, HEGEL AND MODERN THEOSOPHY.

BY EDWARD C. FARNSWORTH.

THE DISCIPLES of the Absolute Philosophy have held that through the secret of Hegel is attained that fulness of truth which will remedy the ills of life. Of his own attaining Hegel never doubted. Had he not found that "Thing-in-itself" which Kant had placed beyond the bounds of human understanding, beyond the utmost reach of human reason, in the realms of the unconditioned, the abode of beings mentally more endowed than man? Had he not demonstrated what to the cautious Kant were but articles of faith, to wit, God and the soul? Beginning with those abstractions, Nothing and mere empty Being, he, by a dialectic process of his own, had arrived at the perfected self-consciousness of the Absolute. On his journey he had gathered to his philosophizing the arts and sciences; at his conjuring had returned the old Aristotelian times enriched with the glories of the modern world. By his vast intellectual effort he had solved the problem of the thinker, the metaphysical riddle of the ages; because of this, Philosophy was now complete.

But later days brought doubt, distrust of Hegel's principle. Schopenhauer scorned that ultimate truth should be realized by a rationalizing method. After all, Bacon's estimate of Philosophy may be just, "Like a virgin consecrated to God she bears no fruit." Probably Aristotle has warrant for saying that philosophy itself produces nothing new. Many will agree with Fichte that Philosophy is but a means to the knowledge of life.

In human nature is an irrepressible craving which mere logic, however exhaustive and convincing, can never satisfy. Man is born from mystery into mystery, and unto mystery he returns. Through

life he repeats the dying words of Goethe, "More light!" Hegel, the man of method, was broad enough to acknowledge this universal need of definite knowledge, but it ill became the logician to usurp the province of the seer; it is much that he acknowledged the legitimacy of such mystics as Jacob Bohm; and yet the prosaic teacher of Jena and Heidelberg was inwardly the intuitional dreamer. The laborious thinker, creeping inch by inch to the very summit of human thought had, ere his ascent, beheld a vision that allied him with the sages of old India.

He had seen the beginning and the end of things, the primordial Being devoid of attributes, the one and the many, the many and the one indistinguishable, undifferentiated in their multitude. He had seen their self-externalization in the world of sense; the growing illusion of separateness necessary to the concretion of their individualities; and he had watched them, in their great cycle of necessity, rising from the earthly and returning whence they came bearing each the freight of its world experience, converging each to one center there to render into the common fund of wisdom the result of every separate attainment. Beholding all this he had comprehended the consummation, the self-conscious many unified as the self-conscious One.

Becoming, the process whereby Infinite Unity results in finite diversity, was from the pure monism of Spinoza, wholly unaccountable. Moreover a pantheism which makes of man but a momentary wave on the ocean of Being, satisfies in no way the I am I dominant and insistent in human consciousness. That it be neither dissipated nor annulled Thought requires a thinker, a something persisting when the wave of objective life has passed, and so because of the one-sided

pantheism of Spinoza arose the modology of Leibnitz.

In this system the monad is a positive center of consciousness whose power to repel proves the existence of something repelled, namely a plurality of monads. Each is a microcosm capable of reflecting the universe of monads; each is a focal point for all others. The monad is not in three-dimensional space, therefore size enters not into consideration of it.

The monads exist in an ever-ascending series from mineral to man. Monadical consciousness "sleeps in the mineral, dreams in the plant, wakes to consciousness in the animal, and to self-consciousness in man." The monad of man is the self-conscious dweller in his body itself the congeries of less-developed monads. Physical death is only the loss of the coarser and by no means indispensable monads of the outer body. The various organs and general structure are maintained though no longer perceived by physical sense. What is true of man's life and death applies in less and less degree in the descending scale of physical being. Inasmuch as matter is to Leibnitz but crassified spirit he cannot well be accused of materialism though he demands a vehicle for every grade of consciousness.

In the time of Hegel attention was already turning to the religio-philosophical writings of the remote-East. Possibly in lands other than that of Thales and Pythagoras, the eye of Reason had looked inward, and the introspection had been to some purpose.

Hegel's estimate of Hindoo thought as voiced in his *Philosophy of History*, would by any pundit be deemed absurd. The German philosopher's excuse lies in the then insufficient knowledge of the sacred texts which in many instances caution that a teacher is necessary. Schopenhauer arrived nearer the truth when, as he searched the Vedas and the Upanishads he half divined the secret science there hidden beneath an exoteric dress.

Modern Theosophy purports to be the sacred, esoteric wisdom of old Egypt and India. Like most ancient systems it includes Science, Religion and Philosophy. Unlike Socrates it centers not attention on man, for it claims that prior to the days of Socrates man was the object of its exhaustive study. Dealing not with the categories of Kant it yet claims as its oldern possession all of value in his Critical Philosophy. Though ignoring the dialectic of Hegel, it asserts its ascent of the Himalayas of reason when as yet his ancestors roamed savage amidst the northern forests. It accords not with much in our modern empirical science, yet professes to possess the key to riddles whose solution will reverse the attitude of the physicist. Its astounding claims to knowledge it would substantiate with a vast and elaborated cosmogony which dwarfs the dreams of Swedenborg.

The monadology of Leibnitz, and the scheme and outcome of Hegel, exhibit much in common with the teachings of Theosophy; nevertheless the Absolute of Hegel is not the Absolute of Theosophy or of the Vedante philosophy, that more exoteric explanation of man and the universe. The Absolute of Theosophy is the "Secondless Eternal" of Vedante; it is the concealed Logos author of the spoken word which itself is the manifested universe in its aspect as the undifferentiated monadic essence from which the totality of monads was gradually unfolded. In its primal condition this essence is mere Being, empty of meaning as any digit if considered apart from its relation to numbers; this essence, is, in fact, what to Hegel is equivalent to nothing. The Unmanifested Word is the Father, the Manifested Word is the Son in whom are the Divine Imminence and the Divine Transcendence until the great day "Be with Us," when the universe is merged in its ultimate source.

The Manifested Word, the Original Emanation, the Primal Substance, is the sole reality, the steadfast nomenion which

by projecting its phenomenal shadow, creates both time and space and the material conditions wherein Reality may unfold its latent possibilities. This original emanation hovers around the mineral world in well-nigh unconscious nebulousness; half awakened it projects the life and shapes of trees that wave in the wind, and all of the green and varied color that springs from earth into the shining of the sun. Seeing now the animal kingdom, its own shadow, it becomes identified with that evolution; and now its gradually disrupting oneness, wholly sundering into the many, surrounds each animal form. In man it realizes itself as soul, and eventually as ego. Passing beyond the human stage it knows itself as free ego permitted to return as world teacher and uplifter, or to pursue its way toward the highest Nirvana.

But what of Nirvana? Of what import this word of mystery? Theosophy teaches that whosoever deems Nirvana to be the Buddhistic vacuum has lost himself on the metaphysical heights. Nirvana is the fruition of individual unfolding; the coming into touch with the "thing-in-itself" of Kant the clear cognition of sole reality the eternal union with "the silent watcher," that original substance which enveloped the animal form ere man was man.

Since the beginning of the universal cycle evolution has been from mere potentiality to complete unfolding; this process necessitated the gradual individualizing of consciousness. What an absurd supposition that the result of ages of becoming is negated at the moment of consummation! Nirvana is the center in which converging individualities meet; the self-conscious realization that the many are One. Individual attainment is there merged in general attainment; seemingly each consciousness gathers into itself all others. This consummation is not unlike that of the Absolute Philosophy wherein the ego reaching the focus of thought, knows itself as all truth attained.

Kant argues that certain ideas or notions or judgments are a priori in man. Worldly experience furnishes the matter to which these judgments are the matrix. But that gatherer of knowledge, the mind, cognizes through a brain which only knows reality as conditioned by time and space, that to which even the pure intellect must submit.

The limitation of mere brain ability to perception of the phenomenal world has been sharply defined by all Indian thinkers, and in accord with these Theosophy teaches that only by rising superior to the physical senses into the "higher mind," only by sundering the ties of time and space does the sage attain unto the noumena. Evidently this results from more than that pure feeling, that inmost conviction, that intuitive cognition, for which Jacobi declares is his polemic against philosophy in general.

In direct opposition to Locke, and more in accord with Fichte, Theosophy teaches that all knowledge is innate in the ego. Other egos impinge upon it and the resulting friction excites the ego to active unfolding of universal wisdom inherited from its divine Source. In every monad the divine Imminence and Transcendence announces itself as the law of Cause and Effect, the law of "Karma," the law of Absolute Wisdom and Justice; therefore, every thought and act, whether good or bad, returns to the magnetic sphere of the monad from which it emanated. The perpetual adjustments of the Karmic law are to the monads of Theosophy what the pre-established harmony is to the monads of Leibnitz.

These latter, like those of Theosophy, are eternal and indestructable and, as has been said, some have only mineral consciousness, others plant consciousness, others again are at the human stage while the highest enjoy perfected self-consciousness. Although the higher monads dwell in physical bodies composed of lesser monads, all pursue an independent development, but, because

of the preëstablished harmony, nothing of confusion arises; therefore the organism suffers no harm from any monad.

Theosophy teaches that mutual helpfulness is the great lesson of life, and yet what every monad needs is not wisdom from without, but, in fact, stimulation that it may sooner unfold the amplitude of its own being. This result the chief monad of the physical body accomplishes through the unconscious exertion of a more-developed will, drawing to itself the various groups of monads which construct the organs unified by this chief monad.

Leibnitz fails to explain the definite process whereby the monad rises from perception to perception through the various kingdoms of nature, therefore the history of the human monad, prior to physical birth, remains to his readers a mystery. Theosophy would fill this wide gap in the system of the German savant.

Evidently an indestructable and unfolding consciousness can never be without its appropriate vehicle. To the monad of Leibnitz death was but the loss of the coarsest, least-developed monads of the physical body, but a central doctrine of Theosophy is that the monad must submit to a series of physical reïmbodiments. Unexpended effects of causes generated within its own magnetic sphere compel it back to the arena of this world. That lesson of lessons the overcoming of selfish desire, it learned not amidst the vast opportunities of hard, unsympathetic physical environment: all previous reïmbodiments, innumerable through ages, had been but preparation for this self-conscious task. Therefore Eternal Justice will cause the monadic consciousness again to center itself in the old lesson and the place of that lesson.

Despite his Absolute Idealism, Hegel has been deemed by many to be one of the bulwarks of Christianity. The clearest reasoner since Socrates and Aristotle, he preached the stronghold of the Kantian logic in his warring for the existence of God and the actuality of the ego. Hegel

remained within the fold of Luther nor deemed he stultified his mighty intellect by accepting as final the Gospel Revelation. And yet Christ was to him not the Divine of the old Scholasticism for the Reformation had delivered Reason and and her philosophizing from the thrall of rigid dogma. Christ was to Hegel's perception what the Speculative Philosophy had realized as the possible of every free ego, to wit, attained self-conscious union with God, for which end the Idea, even the Absolute Spirit, in the beginning externalized itself as a pure but characterless shadow. This conception of Christ so nearly accords with Theosophical teaching that it gives a clue to the avatars of the Hindoo god, and the birth of every Buddha the East has known.

The full divinity of man is necessarily the outcome of Hegel, but of Theosophy such inference is, in fact, unjust. The "Ancient Arcane Wisdom" teaches that man shall reach the utmost attainable in the system of which our sun is the center, but the all-pervading "Atman" is "That" which emanates and sustains every sun and system. It is "That" into which these shall finally be resolved.

Our sun has its term of objective life, according to Theosophy a term of enormous duration; then follows the night of subjectivity, and then a new day into whose first hour man emerges as regent of the evolving nebule and the future planets, but not as the Universal King. In that new dawning it will be his office of love, his brotherly duty to impress upon the plastic and pure monadic essence those laws which shall guide its otherwise blind course until the first faint unfolding of mind. From thence onward his divine labor shall in nowise cease, for he himself was impressed and guided and watched over on his journey from the star mist to the throne of the planetary spheres.

In the pantheistic system of Spinoza the problem of good and evil is disposed of in a manner unsatisfactory to most

thinkers. Although possessed of an infinity of attributes God, the Infinite substance, is revealed to man only as spirit or thought, and extension or matter. Hence man's inadequate grasp of ultimate truth; hence also his incommensurate view of good and evil, a view which a knowledge of the innumerable attributes of God would wholly reverse.

Leibnitz distinguishes three kinds of evil, Metaphysical evil, appointed of God, that imperfection which in finite things is the cause of their finitude; physical evil, ordered of God as punishment or corrective; moral evil, not ordered of God but unavoidably present if individual will is allowed any latitude and virtue is not compulsory. Wolf, the supplementer of Leibnitz, holds that evil exists not because God so wills; rather it originates in the inevitable imperfection of human nature; nevertheless in the providence of God evil becomes a means to good. Evil to Hegel is but a temporary wandering in the dark until the light of Reason reveals the path in the progress from mere Being to self-conscious Being that knows itself as the absolute truth of every condition, material and spiritual.

Theosophy teaches that all being is a trinity of Will, the life principle; Desire, the passional nature; and Mind, the equalizing and transforming power. In the universal unfolding the life principle as such is at once apparent; soon Desire tends to mere gratification, and eventually rages toward that end; Mind, now appearing as a feeble ray, is at once colored and deflected by selfish Desire. And now the battle of the ages is on, and the wide world is the arena. Unfolding Mind is destined to win, but not by annihilating its adversary, for Desire is immortal as itself. Mind shall triumph by transforming self-seeking Desire into selfless Love, and to finite life it shall reveal that truly it is Life Eternal veiled by the physical from its only Source.

In his philosophy of Art Hegel deals with the Idea or Absolute Spirit risen

from outward restraints into a freedom the result of observance in both morals and the state. The Idea is now apprehended by human reason as the objectively beautiful. Necessarily the beautiful can be cognized only through those limiting medium of art, the stone and wood of the builder, the marble of the sculptor, the colors of the painter, the gamut of the musician, and the measured verse of the poet.

Back of art stands the artist, and through the various mediums he renders objective the universal Idea as developed in him. In architecture the medium is dense, rigid and fixed, the spirit shines as through a clouded glass. Sculpture suggests movement, and movement is life and vehicle of life. In painting the material element has largely disappeared; but while the dimensional is present the solid is only indicated. Music, most subjective of arts, vibrating surface-ward from the inmost of life, finds its medium ere it reaches the eye; that medium is the unseen but heard sympathetic vibration of a sonorous body. Poetry is a synthesis of all arts; to sound it marries speech the expression of a specific idea. In the epic and the drama it delineates the life of nations; with vivid touch and true it paints the doing of famous deeds; with inspired chisel it fixes the doer in imperishable statuesque.

Theosophy makes no claim to be a system of aesthetics; it asserts not with Schilling that "Art is the sole, true and eternal organum as well as the ostensible evidence of philosophy"; neither does it hold with Schopenhauer that the real course to philosophy is through art. It has, however, somewhat to say concerning the origin, nature and possibility of color and sound on which the art of painting, and also that of music is based.

That primordial Substance which in its lowest and most crassified manifestation formed the material sun and planets, is far more subtle and tenuous than the luminiferous ether of physics. The

inconceivably rapid vibrations of that Substance are the internal impulse causing those atmospheric vibrations which to the optic and the auditory nerve are physical light and sound. The original vibration is in fact ultimate light and sound. These in their universal manifestation become fire and motion, the Kosmos builders shaping the pliant world material into geometrical designs.

Architecture and sculpture deal largely with the geometry of art, therefore with those models on which Kosmos was constructed. Painting and music deal directly with that color and that sound which are the physical of original light and sound; but to the light within the light, and to the sound within the sound neither the artist nor the musician can attain. The sacred chants of the Sama Veda, and the intoned mantras are supposedly the potency of sound guided by the definite uttered thought expressed in measured verse which suggests the motion of the Great Breath of Brahm projecting the universe into finitude, only to draw it back to subjectivity; an alternation unceasing forever and ever.

We have said, and to some extent have shown, that modern Theosophy makes astounding claims to knowledge. Possibly a further glance at its teachings will not prove uninteresting.

Light and Sound as vibrations of the great Life Breath are in fact, one, though eye and ear have separated them. The seven prismatic colors composing the one solar fire, are each and all creative breaths united in a center of energy. Because of this sevenfold outbreathing the solar system, and man, the synthesis of nature, are sevenfold. Of the seven principles of man, and nature, the one known as Atma is on the plane of immutable consciousness; all others are derivatives finally to be resolved into its perfected life which in the beginning infolded perfection as the acorn infolds the yet unrealized oak. And as the acorn, itself a sevenfold life, requires for growth Earth's material conditions, so man

amidst the terrestrial shall himself unfold. Man is, therefore, enduring only in Atma, which in the lapse of ages he has gradually individualized to himself from the universal ocean of life.

Because the Atma of man is in its nature identical with the Great Breath; its individual life is commensurate with that of the manifested universe. Each principle wherein it shadows itself is vitalized by Atma; that is to say, the will to live in any of its principles coördinates the monads or minute lives comprising that principle. But this will encounters increasing obstacles because each principle in descending series is a more unyielding form of matter, therefore in man's lowest principle the will initiates going forth is fully exhausted in about seventy years. Weakened it turns in its cycle, the body grows old and soon physical death ensues. Then the lower lives, deprived of their one harmonizing will, work confusion and disintegration to their host.

Within the cycle of terrestrial life are smaller cycles corresponding to the axle rotation of the earth. As that giver of physical life, the sun, approaches the east the will to live of the body is energized but only to experience at night a corresponding depression. This daily sinking of the will is sleep; in other words a temporary inability to maintain relation with the external world; therefore the indestructible will retires into some higher principle, which, during dreamless sleep, is the Higher Ego, fifth in the ascending series of seven. Now is the Ego, free and awake and active, but not wholly so, for the link between it and the physical body is only sundered at the termination of the great will cycle of that body. Death is, therefore, but the completion of a process begun every night of our lives. Evidently the principle immediately higher than the physical body has a longer life cycle, but this cycle must terminate on the plane of its principle.

At the present stage of man's unfolding his individualized Atma centers its atten-

tion on the more spiritualized mind, the Higher Ego. In post-mortem life the normal man fully attains to the plane of the Higher Ego. Here he finds his heaven of rest, here the Ego assimilates all of good in the previous earth life.

Atma, the chief principle of man, is a thing of incessant activity for the urge of the Absolute Will is upon it. In every deep, as in every height, it must contact whatsoever stimulates its unfolding to universal knowledge and wisdom. The microscopic world proves the infinite patience and thoroughness with which it has unfolded its knowledge of all kingdoms culminating in man. Before this earth as such had being, Atma had assimilated the experience of super-sensible conditions which in their downward evolution objectivized as physical matter.

Atma has not attained to full self-consciousness on the plane of the higher mind because that attainment demands more of human experience than it has as yet assimilated. The Higher Ego, the present vehicle of Atma, must purge itself of every impurity; encompassed by selfishness it must wholly conquer and rise to all helpfulness. Seventy or eighty years of mortal life have failed to consummate the imperative task; therefore Atma, through its active intermediate again projects its consciousness downward, reconstructing on each plane of matter the appropriate human principle or body, and at last the physical, the rind which covers all.

Every variety of material body in the humblest species is the almost direct creation of the universal, undifferentiated Atma, and necessarily so, for all but the lowest of its intervening principles are as yet incipient. Benign intelligences vastly superior to man, have in earlier ages guided the unfolding of these lowly entities. Now man himself, because of his highly-developed will, is throned over the inferior life of this planet. Whether for good or ill he is coloring the feeble ray of mind just visible in the higher animal kingdom; and on him

will rest the penalty of unbrotherliness to these creatures destined in future ages to arrive at the human stage.

This conception of man's authority over Nature is more vitally and sympathetically human than that of Schelling in whose Objective Idealism Nature is the negative pole of the human mind perceived by the senses as something external to that mind. Evidently the laws of Nature are for Schelling those which man imposes upon it. For Hegel, as for Schopenhauer, Nature is a realm wherein Reason wanders from the goal to which man himself must turn her feet.

Reason is by Hegel identified with Infinite Substance, Infinite Form, Infinite Power. These beneath all objective life manifest as the "World Spirit" striving toward free expression results in Universal History. The unreason of Nature, on which Hegel and Schopenhauer discant, and because of which Socrates lamented, obtains, according to Theosophy, in appearance chiefly; but a larger, longer survey than that of recorded history is necessary to the full confirmation of this view.

The downfall of nations, the extinction of civilization, are to Theosophy no backward steps of attaining Reason. Such seeming calamity is but the breaking of old vessels no longer adequate to the unfolding Spirit. Forever the antique refashions itself as the new. Egypt, Greece and Rome no doubt return but not in pyramid and Sphinx, not in Pantheon and Acropolis, not in palace and Forum; not in manners and customs; no, not in any externalities. Not even unto their own land do the dead peoples return, but rather they come re embodying afar those inner racial characteristics once the mainspring of their respective world activities.

Much indeed of vice, but surely more of virtue, is re clothed in flesh and lives the vacillating human life of Reason and unreason; but looking down to the abyss of animalism from whence arose our race; looking at its upward trend through

empires founded on blood and slaughter and maintained by crime; looking at the master and the slave of tyrannizing Rome, and the baron and the surf of once bedarkened Europe long abased in feudal chains, looking at every ignorance and malice and abuse behind him, who will not rejoice in our own as yet unperfected day, and turn with serene faith to a liberated future?

We have seen that in the system of Leibnitz a preëstablished harmony obtained with every grade of monads all of whom are evolving to a common center. From this it is evident that having once for all established the harmony, God enjoys perpetual Sabbath. The God of Leibnitz is, in fact, very like the God of Fichte's earlier idealism, a mere moral order in the universe.

In the Bhagavad Gita the Supreme Spirit says, "There is nothing in the universe that it is necessary for me to perform, nor anything possible to obtain that I have not obtained; yet I am constantly in action. If I were not indefatigable in action all men would presently follow my example." The God of Theosophy is this Supreme Spirit and the incessant adjustment of finite action by infinite reaction proceeds from the activity of Absolute Will.

As for the monads of Theosophy, the cause of their unfolding is expressed by the words Universal Brotherhood. Every monad is a center of will, but as no two wills have equally developed, all are each to other as positive and negative. But will develops evil-ward or good-ward therefore every monad is a menace or an aid to its weaker neighbor. Such being the case nothing short of the Divine Reaction, whereby evil returns to the evil-doer, can maintain the stability of the world.

All progress depends on mutual help; a universal lifting up of that which is lower. If men would know their responsibilities let them read in Genesis, "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness, and let them have

dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth."

Of all logicians Hegel has no doubt arrived at the clearest and closest explanation of the great problems which have puzzled the metaphysicians, and he gives his verdict that Philosophy as such does not reform the world. It is believed by Theosophists generally that a clear demonstration of the mutual dependence of universally unfolding life must appeal to men if only to their inherent instinct of self-preservation. Those who profess to hold in custody the Ancient Arcane Wisdom declare that a suicidal selfishness, similar to that which destroyed vast and forgotten civilizations, is now developing in our midst. Moreover, these teachers assert that modern investigation is nearing the discovery of certain laws whose misuse by the men of old was baneful both to themselves and all associated with them.

That which Philosophy avows as its mission is not the elucidation of psychic phenomena, nor the explanation of prenatal and post-mortem states; nor is it the announcing of the seven-foldness of man and nature; neither is it a revelation of conditions of planetary life within the solar system. Theosophy has for object not the mere history of submerged continents and their peoples self-destroyed through the practice of infernal arts. Though all this and more are professedly its province, Theosophy undertakes, as its prime object, to prove that brotherhood in its widest sense is a necessary factor in the progress of the world.

In these few pages the writer would make obvious certain similarities in Eastern and Western thought. Anything like justice to the scope of Leibnitz, Hegel and modern Theosophy would result in a sizable volume. It must not be supposed that this brief article is exhaustive of similarities; others

can be shown, for example; Hegel says of gravitation, it is the desire of that which is the real of matter to individualize itself. Already it would find in a common center that intelligent oneness for which the Spirit first went forth. Theosophy sees in gravitation the principle of Desire urging every atom of the sentient universe to mutual contact in an instinctive attempt to overcome the illusion of separateness.

This desire for oneness, manifest in the wheeling of suns and planets, is, to Hegel, as also to Theosophy, the ultimate cause of those mysterious affinities which the chemist has noted but not explained. Belief in original and final unity inspired the alchemists in their exoteric search for what to Theosophy is the gold of transmuted desire, even Divine Love.

In certain quarters men of distinguished attainment have overleaped the walls wherewith modern physical science has encompassed itself. These investigators have turned to those tabooed subjects, telepathy and spiritism, of which Theosophy essays a detailed explanation. Such investigation is a hopeful sign. Evidently the wave of materialism is expending itself even among the inheritors of the questionable legacy of John Locke. Less and less contempt is now expressed for "German Transcendentalism" and

the so-called wild and extravagant assumptions of Indian thinkers. Though the gradual substantiation of the Darwinian theory is working adversely toward the doctrines of Swedenborg, Theosophists claim that when to wireless telegraphy, and the unique behavior of radium, and our latest knowledge of the atom—said by Theosophy to be like man, a miniature of the solar system—Science has added a few other important discoveries, men will look with amazement at the half-revelation of these in that semi-esoteric work, *The Secret Doctrine*, of H. P. Blavatsky.

Although such thinkers as Hamilton and Mill have deemed the knowledge of God no province of philosophy, and though Kant himself considered his Being a matter of faith, and though Spencer relegates Deity to the regions of the unknowable, Leibnitz made the Universal Monad the indispensable primary of his system, and Hegel deemed that he himself had reasoned even to the Absolute One. And so Theosophy, which, like Hegelianism, declares for the perfectibility and unification of mankind, stands also for "That," the Divine Parent, the All in All when suns and systems and time itself shall be no more.

EDWARD C. FARNSWORTH.

Portland, Maine.

A FAIR EDUCATION FOR ALL.

BY PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS, PH.D.

MR. THUM'S proposal for public works high schools, in connection with which boys could support themselves while getting a good education, both industrial and general, is a very interesting proposition.

It is perfectly clear that something should be done to ensure the better edu-

cation of our young people. Every boy and girl is entitled to at least an education of high-school grade on two lines: (1) academic, and, (2) industrial.

How far we are at present from this desirable minimum is apparent from such facts as the following, secured by the writer within the last two months:

BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS, JANUARY, 1908.	
GRADE.	NUMBER OF PUPILS.
First year primaries.....	13,622
First year grammar.....	10,007
Last year grammar.....	4,909
Last year high schools.....	850

Less than one-sixteenth of the children go through a high school course, either industrial or academic. The great mass of children leave school before they finish the grammar grades. The situation is similar in other cities. Here, for example, are the facts for Philadelphia and Washington. The high-school figures, as before, include the pupils in manual training and commercial schools of high-school grade, as well as those pursuing academic courses.

GRADE.	NUMBER OF PUPILS (OCTOBER, 1907).	
	PHILADELPHIA.	WASHINGTON.
First year primaries.....	33,568	9,198
First year grammar (5th grade).....	19,386	5,601
Last year grammar (8th grade).....	5,710	3,136
Last year high school.....	1,069	663

In Philadelphia less than one-thirtieth of the children go through a high-school course, and in Washington less than one-thirteenth. Only about one-sixth finish the grammar grades in Philadelphia, and about one-third in Washington and Boston. There are nowhere near seats enough in the grammar schools for the children who are in the primaries; and the seating capacity of the high schools would accommodate only a small fraction, about one-sixth, one-tenth or one-twentieth of the pupils in the primaries.

In other words, our cities do not intend to give the bulk of the children a high-school education, and make very incomplete provisions even for grammar-school training. The reason that two-thirds to five-sixths of the pupils leave school before finishing the grammar grades, and that twelve-thirtieths to twenty-nine thirtieths never go through a high school—the principal reason for this, is that the parents take their children from school in order to put them to work. The majority of boys and girls must earn their living as soon as the law allows them to leave school.

The public-works high school meets

this difficulty by providing the means whereby our boys may earn a livelihood by working half-time and attend school the other half day. The young folks get, moreover, from their working hours not only a support but a valuable industrial training. The plan really kills three birds with one stone.

It is to be regretted that the author did not confine himself more closely to the subject in hand. His elaborated speculative theories and dreams tend to diminish the interest in the subject and make the paper far too long. The mixture of irrelevant matter, however, must not blind us to the really practical and valuable suggestion contained in the main proposition.

I do not think Mr. Thum is right in suggesting that the pupils should pay for their tuition in public high schools. They are entitled to the best tuition free of charge. Society owes that to itself and to every child it allows to come into the world. And progressive taxation of land values, incomes and inheritances will easily pay the bills.

I wish to suggest also that municipal ownership of street railways, gas works, shoe factories, etc., is not at all essential to the plan. A city should provide full education for its youth, regardless of its policy in respect to public ownership, since the city, under proper legislation, could arrange with the owners and managers of private industries to employ the working high-school pupils on half-time, one group in the morning and another in the afternoon, under conditions calculated to secure the desired industrial training.

The Women's Educational Union of Boston has already been operating a similar arrangement for some time in connection with its salesmanship classes, the girls working half-time in the stores while taking the course in school. Enlightened employers are very willing to coöperate in well-considered efforts to increase the efficiency and the general economic and social value of employées.

Many of our agricultural colleges and other institutions of learning, especially the state universities of the West, afford the means of employment whereby young men and women may support themselves while getting an education. All that is necessary is the extension and improvement of methods already in use, so that the way to the high school and college may be open on such reasonable and attractive terms that the great mass of boys and girls will finish at least the high-school grades, instead of drop-

ping out before the end of the grammar course, as they do now.

The industrial, civic and social benefits of such a development of our educational resources are beyond estimate. It will multiply enlightenment; and the benefits of true education rise in geometric ratio. In the ideal city *education will become the leading industry*, instead of being a half-hearted side-issue, attaining but a small fraction of its due efficiency, as is the case to-day.

FRANK PARSONS.

Boston, Massachusetts.

THE RACE-TRACK EVIL AND THE NEWSPAPERS.

BY HON. JOHN D. WORKS.

THE PROPENSITY to gamble is one of the most subtle of evils and amongst the most degrading. It is not confined to any class of people but may be found assailing the honesty, integrity and purity of men and women of all classes. It makes of the public official a betrayer of his oath and the trust imposed in him as such, the trusted employé an embezzler, the private individual a thief and deceiver, the husband to forget his marriage vows and his duty to his children, and the wife to forsake husband, home and family for the gaming table and the race track. The feverish unrest it produces unfits men for business, saps their moral stamina and renders them unworthy, unreliable and dishonest.

The life of a gambler is one of constant deception. The desire to get something for nothing is itself opposed to right and justice and renders the victim of the gambling habit wholly unmindful of the rights of others. This propensity to prey unjustly upon others finds its way into what might otherwise be legitimate business, in stock transactions, the trusts in their various forms, and in speculation of all kinds as contradistinguished

from legitimate business for legitimate profits. In many cases the habit of gambling is as intense as the drink habit or the abnormal taste for drugs, that overcomes the will of its victim, making him its veritable slave until its mesmeric influence over him is overcome and destroyed. This very condition of bondage costs him his own self-respect. To others he may appear to be a respectable and respected citizen, but to himself he is debased, degraded and unworthy of respect or confidence.

It is not intended here, however, to deal with the psychological problems involved in this widespread and far-reaching evil, nor to consider it in its various forms, but to notice, briefly, the one phase of the habit engendered and sustained by the race track and its accessories, as conducted in these modern times, and the relation of the newspapers to this type of the deadly evil and the measure of their responsibility for its continuance and spread. The one great difference between race-track gambling and other species of gambling, the game of poker, for example, is its publicity. The racing of horses cannot be regarded

as in itself an evil." But in the present day the horse, the noblest of animals, is made the means of establishing and perpetuating a species of gambling of the most attractive kind and resulting in the most lamentable results. The glamour and excitement of the contest for victory in the race; the persuasive influence of the agents and emissaries of the bookmakers, the tone of respectability given to it by the attendance and participation in the betting of those who otherwise stand for respectability in the community, especially the showy rich, all tend to draw the unwary into the betting and fasten upon him the desire to gamble that makes him henceforth the habitué of the race track, and, eventually, makes of him a thief or embezzler and renders the ordinary means of gaining a livelihood altogether too slow and common place for him.

In every community where a race track has been established its evil influences are soon made apparent. The evidences of its effects are found in the inefficiency and dishonesty of employes, neglect of business by business men, and of official in public life, and is recorded, all too frequently, in the records of the criminal courts and evidenced by erstwhile honest public officials and trusted employes in the garb of the convicted felon. Sporadic outbreaks of indignation occur at intervals in the way of public meetings and appeals to the public authorities to suppress the evil. The newspapers join in the cry against race-track gambling, in local comment and sometimes editorially, and yet the newspapers are largely responsible for the success of the race track and its gambling adjuncts. They themselves have been directly responsible for the downfall of many through the temptation to bet on the races and have contributed largely to swell the roll of convicts in the penitentiaries of the country. What the race-track evil needs most to keep it alive and flourishing is publicity. It needs to be, it must be, advertised to be successful, and the same greed for gain that induces the attendant at the race track to bet on the horses induces the newspaper to advertise for money the performances at the track, giving both the coming events and the results of those which have already taken place, giving tips as to the favorites in coming races by which the unwary are misled, deceived and robbed of their money. In the very number of the newspaper in which appears the editorial denunciation of the race track as an evil and menace to the community and a demand for its suppression by the authorities, may be found not only the paid advertisements of the race-track managers but columns of gratuitous advertising inserted to make the paper popular with the sporting portion of the community and increase its list of subscribers. This so-called sporting news is made as attractive as the printer's ingenuity can make it, with flaming catch headlines and often published as a "sporting edition," on colored paper used to attract the attention of those who may be tempted to patronize the races. Often the newspaper that resorts to this unworthy means of satisfying its greed for money, little less reprehensible than the bookmaker who fleeces the unwary, or the professional race-track gambler who profits by his own rascality and the ignorance of his victims, is recognized as a "moral" newspaper "devoted to the best interests" of the community in which it is published. It so announces itself and its pretensions are accepted. Many times the announcements of religious services and comments on religious, beneficent and worthy enterprises for the elevation and betterment of humanity, may be found in close proximity to the race-track news, but with much less ostentation or effort to attract attention. Grasping avarice and consuming greed sap the honesty, morals and integrity of the newspaper and make it the sponsor and aider and abettor of the race-track evil just as these evil propensities take men and women to the race track and make gamblers and felons of them, and

they should be held strictly responsible for the large part they are taking in the spread of the evil. If the newspapers only had the moral courage to exclude from their columns any and all mention of race tracks or their performances, in the form of paid advertisement or otherwise, the crushing out of the evil would not be difficult. That alone would probably retire many if not all of them. This is too much to hope for in this day of the mania for money-getting. But if newspapers have not the moral courage to take this step their morals should be stimulated by a law making it a penal offense to publish any such matter either in a newspaper or in any other form, and the rigid and uncompromising enforcement of the law. But have the makers of our laws the moral courage to enact such laws and the public officials to enforce them? The influences that have established the race track with its gambling accompaniment are most powerful and persistent. They meet, and often overcome, any effort made to induce state legislatures to enact laws against the evil. Therefore any attempt, at the present time, to accomplish such legislation as above suggested would doubtless meet not only this influence but the influence of many of the newspapers that are participating in no small degree in the profits resulting from the continuance of the evil. But the law abiding, self-respecting citizens of this country should set their face against this great evil and act, and act decisively, in every legitimate

way that will tend to check its spread and eventually destroy it. Doubtless it is a matter of education in large part, but the first to be taught should be the newspapers, themselves claiming to be the great educators of the public. They have great influence in moulding public opinion and their efforts should be enlisted, if possible, against race-track gambling, but to be consistent they must exclude all advertisements or notices of the race track from their columns. It is one of the singular phases of our present every-day life that the managers and publishers of otherwise respectable newspapers should open their columns to such matter so fraught with positive injury to the community, and still more remarkable that respectable citizens and Christian people, including ministers of the gospel, should subscribe for and read their papers without a word of protest against this prostitution of the papers to the level of an open and avowed supporter of vice in one of its worst and most deadly forms.

Have we become so lacking in moral fiber, as a people, that such things give no offense? If so the better element in the nature of the American people should be aroused and made to exert itself against this great evil that is ruining so many of our young men and making criminals of them, and which, all too frequently, brings under the spell of its influence the women of the country as well.

JOHN D. WORKS.

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PROMETHEUS BOUND AND UNBOUND: A STUDY IN ADVANCING CIVILIZATION.

BY REV. F. H. GILE, A.M

I.

THE NOBLE tragedy of "Prometheus Bound" had its roots in a deep sense of unrighted and, for the present, unrightable wrongs in human society; and the true Man, in his divine rights, was clearly conceived to be enslaved thereby. Existing institutions founded by his own free spirit had turned to his own harm: he had called into being genii whom he could not control. Social conventions, laws and usages had come under the hated sway of Superstition, Jove, who had succeeded in impressing into his service Strength, Force and Vulcan (Art or Skill) and thus become an intolerable tyrant. So poor Man, the godlike, independent, aspiring Man, was chained, bound and helpless, in a black, dreary desert, tortured by smothered hopes, unfulfilled aspirations and the sight, from his lonely peak, of his world given over to wrong and outrage for innumerable ages. He had labored to advance his people in light and wisdom, but their ignorance, cowardice and servile submission to Superstition had defeated his hopes and bound him hand and foot to helpless suffering. All this was the fruit of his aspiring labors,—a bitter fruit, but such as all in advance of their age must pluck.

Strength and Force, the servile will of the majority of men, were Jove's willing agents. Vulcan (Art) was an unwilling agent in binding Man: he declares that his kinship and sympathy with him makes his task of riveting his fetters hard and reluctant. So, many an able man whose sympathies are with the ill-used reformer, yet dare not stand out against the powers that be.

Nature, Earth, Sky and Sea, agents

of God in normal condition, sympathize with Prometheus; but their sympathy only serves to increase the anger and oppression of Jove; as Ignorance, Bigotry, Oppression become always more intolerant and suppressive, in proportion to their apparent injustice, under the searchlight of Science or Reason. So Earth, Sky, Sea and Nature find that their greatest kindness to Prometheus is to keep away from or to visit him only stealthily to weep with him. He, on the other hand, is so comforted by their sympathy, which assures him that he is right and his course just, that he is more than willing to endure such additional torture as Jove may heap upon him on their account. He is a martyr to the great hope of the world: he knows that at the great Court of Eternal Justice he will be justified and his cause be made to prevail. Therefore he is prepared to bear each jot of suffering that Jove may impose, knowing that when the Day of Vindication shall come, all he has been made to bear shall be additional punishment for Jove.

Two ways of regaining his liberation are open to him: (1) To yield to Jove's sovereignty and do like other people about him, make a virtue of necessity and join the unthinking herd in their blind servility. Nature, in her self-sacrificing pity, urges him to do so. All his friends strive to change his resolution. All time-serving, all worldly-wise men, make the Reformer out a fool to attempt the impossible, to kick against the pricks. Adaptation to environment and circumstances is the sole effort of little souls. But Prometheus will listen to none of it since he knows he has done right in enlightening mortals and causing hopes, though blind, "to dwell in them: he

knows that sometime, whatever happens to him, good will come of it to them; and he is content to dare and suffer for their sakes.

(2) The other way of liberation lay in the dim future, a time when men in an improved environment, and actuated by nobler human qualities should win their own freedom from Superstition's thrall and set him free from the Bastille of unjust oppression. That will be true liberty, race-liberty. To yield to Jove would be the ruin of human hopes; to conquer Jove even by ages of waiting, anxious suffering would be the fulfillment of human hopes. And so great is Prometheus' nobility of mind and love of men that he is determined at all cost, to wait and suffer; for well he knows that his sufferings, a perpetual spectacle of sacrificing love, will hasten the glad day of human freedom.

So having made his divine choice, Prometheus resigns himself to his fate, knowing that the "Might of Necessity cannot be resisted." Fretful, anguish-stricken yet inflexible, unmoved by the prayers of Nature in her sublime pity, undaunted by the threats of Jove, he remains steadfast to his purpose. True, he cannot sometimes refrain from breaking out into pain-forced lamentation over his unmerited sufferings; and appeals to the nobler Powers of the universe to vindicate his innocence and righteousness and assist him to bear his solitary fate. "I know," he might have cried, "that my Vindicator liveth and that he shall stand at the latter day upon this earth."

Then come the Spirits of the moonlit sea and old Ocean herself, and urge and beseech him not to consider others to the torture of himself, but to yield to Jove. The Chorus, representing humanity in general, and Io, type of suffering humanity in particular, come to bring him tears and consolation and entreaty. But to all he turns a deaf ear, save to their consolations, and still adheres to his holy purpose. The spectacle of the beloved Prometheus suffering for them inspires

the Chorus to try to win somehow his liberation—the effects of his sacrificing love are beginning to appear. The sympathy of humanity is awakening, though oscillating and uncertain.

And now Jove, having heard that Prometheus has prophesied the downfall of his sovereignty, offers him his freedom if he will reveal the time and manner of his fall. But Jove cannot be trusted: to put the secret into his power would delay the end. So Prometheus remains silent, awaiting in patient suffering for the coming Day.

When? How? It was not in the prophet's power to say nor yet in ours. So in undimmed hope and unswerving purpose, Æschylus makes his god-man, his Christ, sweep from view in an awful catastrophe in which all Nature participated in dark confusion. So the veil of darkness was cast over the ever continuing struggle between Superstition and Freedom.

It is supposed that Æschylus wrote a sequel to "Prometheus Bound," to show how he should gain his liberation. But for his day and generation such a task could not have been successfully performed. If he ever conceived such a purpose he must have shrunk from it as an impossible attempt. It was highly appropriate for even the genius of an Æschylus to leave as he did, so far as his extant writings show, the sequel so dimly hoped for, a dark mystery for long-coming ages to resolve. With his aristocratic sympathies and affiliations he could not have given adequate solution to the problem he raised. The achievements of Æschylus, though lofty and of sublime simplicity, were limited to the expression of Desire and Hope of Man's final freedom. Other ages were to learn slowly to conceive the How, and others not yet come, the When of the fulfilment of this Desire of Hope.

I think that "Prometheus Bound" was inspired, as all great writings are, by the writer's own experiences. Æschylus lived in the great struggle between

Grecian freedom and Persian despotism; he also was an aristocrat chafing under the tyranny of the Athenian democracy; and, more than this, he was inclined to free-thinking, was even declared by Plato years afterward, a heretic. For the latter two circumstances he is supposed to have banished himself at least temporarily, and when at home must have lived a restrained, uncomfortable life. Out of the conditions surrounding him must have sprung a deep discontent and a mighty desire for freedom, intellectual and moral, and this impulse were quite enough to beget the semi-mystical thinly-veiled, allegorical tragedy of "Prometheus Bound." Little light, I conceive, is to be gained, as to his purpose, from antecedent mythical conceptions of Zeus and Prometheus; but rather, in such legends slightly changed, he found both the form and drapery needed for the Apocalyptic expression of his own deep life-thought. But though keenly alive to the slavery of his lot, beginning with desire and sustained by an unquenchable hope of the far-off coming liberty of Man, when he laid down his pen at the catastrophic close of "Prometheus Bound," it was with a virtual confession that he could conceive no fitting sequel. Whatever attempt he may have made, must, to his own mind and to his countrymen have appeared unworthy of his former work, and—it has not come down to us.

II.

The task that Æschylus could not perform fell to a modern poet actuated by much the same instincts, suffering bitter social ostracism, inflamed by the same desire, animated by the same hope; but the product of an additional twenty-four centuries of human progress—to conceive the possible and probable solution of the Æschylean problem.

Shelley's purpose, as expressed by himself, was to familiarize the highly-refined imagination of the more select classes of poetical readers with beautiful

idealisms of moral excellence; aware that, until the mind can love and achieve and trust and hope and endure, reasoned principles of moral conduct are seed cast upon the highway of life, which the unconscious passenger tramples into dust, although they would bear the harvest of his happiness. Or, translated into language applicable to the problem before us, he is conscious that no great reformation to society is possible until the individual be educated through the heart to feel the need of reform.

Æschylus could not unbind Prometheus, because he was an aristocrat and a Greek; his sympathies were not broad or deep enough. Shelley could give an approximate solution to the problem because his sympathies and love were as broad as humanity and deep as the well-springs of being. Even the defects in his own moral conduct were the blighted blossoms of this noble sympathy and love. He had, he said himself, "a passion for reforming the world," and left no phase of his social experience untouched by his reforming hand. Whatever else may be said of him, his love for man was sincere and his consistency unquestioned. He was a wild flower of Christianity which could not thrive in ecclesiastical conservatories but would have withered and died. Thus, while perhaps unconsciously retaining the essence of the Christian spirit, he looked upon Christian dogmatism and conventionality as the tyrannic Æschylean Jove, and set about delivering man from his thralldom. Nor was he very far wrong; for the thing the world had accepted and labeled Christianity was not the genuine article but a clumsy pagan substitute, and nearly all it promulgated and encouraged was derived from pagan superstition. The conventional usages, derived from bastard Christianity for the most part, are, to many noble minds, unnatural, unholy and tyrannous.

But the true Christian spirit contained a magic solvent of all oppression and suppressive tyranny, and though he

rejected the label, Shelley in all his onslaughts against superstition employed this magic solvent—Love. Love in individual relations would necessarily lead to larger intellectual and moral liberty—this much is certain. And if Shelley made any mistake it was not in the ideal aimed at but in the impulsive, impatient, youthful manner in which he set about his reforms—by angry demolition, as it were, instead of assisting society to a natural, healthful growth into larger, truer life. But at all events, he had found the key to the solution of the Æschylean problem.

Shelley began where Æschylus left off.

Prometheus, undaunted and more than ever hopeful after three thousand years of helpless torture (for he sees the end is nearing), is the same resolute opponent of Superstition's tyranny, the same loving, long-suffering friend of man. He has improved somewhat in character, according to modern standards, in the long interim. When we last saw him in Æschylus, he was stern and boastful, haughty and unforgiving, thirsting for revenge and believing that every added pain he bore would some day be additional torture to Jove. This was consonant with the olden ideal. When, however, we first meet him in the pages of Shelley he declares:

"I hate no more
As then, ere misery made me wise.
I am changed, so that aught evil wish
Is dead within, although no memory be
Of what is hate," . . .

No wish for revenge now inspires his fortitude, but only the pure love of men and the undying trust in the triumph of righteousness. Still no thought of yielding—now less than ever—for hope and faith, his guiding stars, are in the ascendant now and augur swiftly coming days. Jove's dominion is weakening and his subjects growing more dissatisfied as is shown by the opening lines of the poem:

"Monarchs of Gods and Demons and all Spirits—
But One—who throng those bright and rolling
worlds.

Which thou and I alone of living things
Behold with sleepless eyes! regard this earth
Made multitudinous with thy slaves whom thou
Requiest for knee-worship, prayer and praise,
And toil and betacombs of broken hearts,
With fear and self-contempt and barren hope."

And a great change, too, has taken place in the number and minds of Prometheus' sympathizers, for they are more numerous, more anxious and more outspoken. But they are terrified at the change in him fearful that at last he is in mildness about to yield to Jove. Now he who was once so haughty wishes "no living thing to suffer pain," trembles at his own curse hurled at the head of Jove in the long ago, and wishes it could be unsaid.

Then Earth utters her lament:

"Misery, oh, misery to me,
That Jove at length should vanquish thee!
Wail, howl aloud, Land and Sea—
The Earth's rent heart shall answer ye!
Howl, Spirits of the living and the dead!
Your refuge, your defence, lies fallen and vanquished."

First Echo—

"Lies fallen and vanquished?"

Second Echo—

"Fallen and vanquished!"

She and her echoes were unacquainted with the strength that comes from Love, not Hate. And Earth has not yet seen enough of it to have much confidence in it! But Ione saw deeper and cried:

"Fear not: 'tis but some passing spasm—
The Titan is unvanquished still,"—

though she did not understand the source of his strength.

Now begins for Prometheus an indefinite period of awful torture, torture that tries his soul to the uttermost, torture that horrifies all Nature and makes even Jove's ministers turn pale with grief and pity. Mercury holds out to him the hope that if he would only clasp Jove's throne in intercession;

"bend thy soul in prayer,"

he might "dwell among the Gods the while, lapped in voluptuous joy":

Prometheus replies:

"I would not quit
This bleak ravine, these unrepentant pains."

Mercury—

"Alas! I wonder at, yet pity thee."

Prometheus.—

"Pity the self-despising slaves of Heaven,
Not me within whose mind sits peace serene
As light in the sun, throned. How vain is talk!
Call up the fiends."

And yet in the midst of all his torment he has some resources suited to his happiness. And here we find most clearly Shelley's expression of his own experience. He was in Italy while writing this poem, driven there by what he considered injustice at home and by the demands of his health. He felt himself "an exile and, strongly impressed with the feeling that the majority of his countrymen regarded him with sentiments of aversion" on account of his liberal opinions, he "sheltered himself from such disgusting and painful thoughts in the calm retreats of poetry, and built up a world of his own—with the more pleasure, since he hoped to induce some one or two to believe that the world might become such, did mankind themselves consent."

So he paints Prometheus seeking enjoyment in the "Chorus of Spirits of the Mind." A few detached lines will show in what channels his mind was moving:

First Spirit—

"On a battle-trumpet's blast
I fled thither fast, fast, fast.
Mid the darkness upward cast,
From the dust of creeds outworn,
From the tyrant's banner torn,
Gathering round me onward borne,
There was mingled many a cry—
Freedom! Hope! Death! Victory!"

The second Spirit, said he,

"speeded hither on the sigh
Of one who gave an enemy
His plank, then plunged aside to die."

The third Spirit came from "a sage's bed": the fourth had slept "on a poet's lips." And all brought real comfort to the sufferer.

But the strongest source of peace is Love. An atmosphere of calm, peaceful love surrounds and pervades the poem. No more display of stormy pas-

sion, as in *Æschylus*, but a thickening atmosphere of loving sentiment and sympathy permeates all the poem save where Jove or his Fairies appear. But these cormorants cannot stand the atmosphere and vanish early from the scene leaving Love to reign supreme; and the Chorus sings:

"In the atmosphere we breathe,
As buds grow red when snow storms flee,
From Spring gathering up beneath,
Whose mild winds shake the elder-brake,
(And the wandering herdsmen know
That the white-thorn soon will blow)
Wisdom, Justice, Love and Peace,
When they struggle to increase,
Are to us as soft winds be
To shepherd-boys, the prophecy
Which begins and ends in thee."

The atmosphere of Love thickens; all the world's combined sympathies turn more and more to the divine-man in his unmerited suffering, and the doom of Jove approaches. We cannot follow the poem in detail: much of it is not strictly pertinent to the trend of the thought we have been following. One thing is needed to complete the picture of character of the victorious Son of Man, and that is Jove's own testimony when his hour had come and he realized that his doom was hopeless: he cried to his inflexible conductor to the realms of woe:

"Oh,
That thou wouldst make mine Enemy my judge,
Even where he hangs, seared by my long revenge,
On Caucasus! He would not doom me thus.
Gentle, and just and dreadless, is he not
The Monarch of the World?"

But Jove is dragged down, down to the darkness of Abysmal Night. Humanity, freed from fear of him, joyfully releases Prometheus from his age-long torture-chamber and exalt him to his rightful place as "Monarch of the World."

The poem closes with Shelley's conception of what the world freed from the shackles and burdens of Superstition, would be:

"This is the day which down the void abyss,
At the Earth-born's spell, yawns for Heaven's despotism,

And Conquest is dragged captive through the deep.
 Love, from its awful throne of patient power
 In the wise heart from the last giddy hour
 Of dread endurance, from the slippery steep,
 And narrow verge of crag-like agony, springs,
 And folds over the world its healing wings.
 Gentleness, Virtue, Wisdom and Endurance—
 These are the seals of that most firm assurance
 Which bars the pit over Destruction's strength;
 And, if with infirm hand Eternity,
 Mother of many acts and hours, should free
 The serpent that would clasp her with his length,
 These are the spells by which to réassume
 An empire o'er the disentangled doom.
 To suffer woes which hope thinks infinite;
 To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
 To defy power which seems omnipotent;
 To love and bear; to hope till hope creates
 From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
 Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;
 This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be
 Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free;
 This is alone Life, Joy, Empire and Victory!"

I have sought in this brief essay to point out the most probable interpretation of the meaning of Prometheus in the Æschylean thought. Of Shelley's meaning there can be no doubt; and, starting from his drama and running back through Æschylus we find the thread unbroken. Taking Æschylus alone, I see no difficulty in the interpretation; for Prometheus' own catalogue of what he had done for man, with the consequences to himself, show me conclusively that Æschylus meant to show the trials and hardships of all discoverers and reformers in the face of the ignorance, bigotry, conservatism and superstition of society. He could not speak his thought fully without danger to his life; he suffered and smarted under the scourge of the priesthood and withered under the tyranny of the whiffle-minded Athenian democracy, until his soul was sick of longing, striving and defeat. Like all great souls, misunderstood by his age, he looked to the future for vindication; and he merely put into the mouth of Prometheus his own trials and hopes.

But there is a still larger view of the Prometheus idea as developed by Æschylus and Shelley. It is a favorite idea of the prophets of antiquity all over the earth, that sometime a liberator of the

souls of men from all bondage and tyranny is coming. India, China, Persia, Egypt, Palestine, Scandinavia, Mexico and so on, have furnished their prophetic vision of the Coming One. Why not Greece? I believe we have it here. In the hope, faith, certainty of coming deliverance, Æschylus was a Christian before Christ. Shelley disgusted with the tangible, visible body of so-called Christianity, was yet a prophet of higher Christian truth and a fuller spiritual redemption.

The Logos Doctrine or Purpose of God in the creation of Man and in the progress of the world is another idea involved in these poems. According to this doctrine, there was planted in the first man born into the world the likeness of God or the germ of the highest spiritual manhood. This Logos or Man-Spirit constantly drives men on toward the realization of the purpose of creation the evolution of the highest type of being. It dwells in some more richly than in others and places them in advance of their age. It is a universal truth seen by Plato, no less clearly than by Isaiah, that when a man comes who is approximately perfect, i. e., relatively to his associates, they at once proceed to impale or crucify him. Æschylus also saw it and painted it for us in Prometheus, making Jove stand for the ignorance and bigotry of society.

And the last feature of these dramas I shall call attention to as marking them a part of universal religious thought or instinct, is the plain unwavering hope they contain and faith they exemplify in a coming kingdom of God among men. For this instinct is universal; except in the bigoted brains of a recreant Church that will not have it so because they do not want it so. The Sermon on the Mount is a universal sermon appealing to universal instinct and intended for universal application. Only the self-professed Christian Church dares or wills to call it unpractical. The native

instinct of the common human heart receives it gladly and believes in it. This Kingdom of Heaven was the battle-cry of Æschylus and Shelley, and the modern world will make it the slogan of victory over all human wrong and

oppression. It is the watchword of that higher liberty which knows no law because it needs no law—except the Law of Love!

F. H. GILE.

Boston, Mass.

THE AMERICAN MIDDLE CLASS.

BY ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE.

"It's strange to me," said Ignaty with a skeptical but embarrassed smile.

"What's strange?"

"This: at one end they beat you in the face; at the other they wash your feet. Is there a middle of any kind?"

The door of the room was flung open, and Nikolay, standing on the threshold, said:

"And in the middle stand the people who lick the hands of those who beat you in the face and suck the blood of those whose faces are beaten. That's the middle!"

Ignaty looked at him respectfully, and after a pause said: "That's it!"

(Maxim Gorky in *Mother*. Chapter XXVI.)

THE OLDER generation of readers will remember how Matthew Arnold, after indulging in the bitterest of Philippics upon the vulgarity and Philistinism of the English middle classes to which the vast majority of his admiring readers belonged, was wont to comfort them by solemnly and graciously assuring them that "they were the best stuff in this Nation." The American middle class has long cherished a similar comforting belief. Moralists have been unwearied in pointing out that they have escaped both the enervating influences of luxury and the degrading and debasing effects of poverty, so that they furnished a congenial soil for the growth of what our Civilization has agreed to call the cardinal virtues. There has been much truth in this adulation of the American middle class in which our preachers and Fourth-of-July orators have long delighted. Down to the Civil War America

was the paradise of the middle class. The great typical American achievements in history have been wrought by the middle class. In a sense the middle class was the American nation. The ideals and principles which the world labels as distinctively American are beyond doubt the ideals and principles of the American middle class *that was*.

But the world moves and history is a flowing stream. The sturdy and independent middle class that *was America* from 1776 to 1860 has well-nigh disappeared from the world's stage. Never before has history been made so rapidly and in the making its very factors have been transformed. After the Civil War down to the early eighties the urban middle class grew in numbers and wealth with the growth of manufacturing and the miraculous spread and development of commerce. But the history of America from 1884 to the present day is simply the history of the crushing and metamorphosis of the middle class. By 1884 the capitalist mode of production in America has come to stand squarely on its own feet. At this stage in industrial development, in the words of Karl Marx, "One capitalist always kills many." So it was in America. In the intense competition within the capitalist class the smaller capitalists went to the wall. Finally we reached a stage where even men with millions were threatened with

commercial extinction, and the Trust became a necessity. This is distinctly the age of the Trust. The Trust has brought with it a new middle class made up of a host of salaried employes and people dependent in one way or another upon these vast aggregations of capital. This new middle class is essentially parasitic. The old middle class has not entirely disappeared, but who would be bold enough to say it dominates the life of the nation as it did prior to 1860? But while survivals of it still exist here and there, psychologically it has been transformed. It exists merely by sufferance. Its members tremble when they open their daily papers. If their funds are invested in railway securities, the paper may tell them that the manipulations of a Harriman have reduced or cut off their income. If they are merchants the paper may tell them of competition by the large department stores which they cannot hope to be able to meet. What analogy is there between such a class and the sturdy men who made the American history we glory in? In no real sense can they be called independent. Psychologically there is little difference between these survivals of the old middle class and the new middle class characteristic of the Trust Era.

Hard is their position. If one has pity or sympathy to bestow they need it far more than does the sturdy working-class, the inevitable lords of To-morrow. Servility and tyranny are both essential to their existence. Servile they must be to the greater capitalists who can crush them by a word or a gesture; tyrants they must be to the poor upon whose backs they ride. It was Tolstoi who said "the rich were willing to do everything for the poor except get off their backs." This is true, but the only way the American middle class can get off the backs of the poor is by committing financial suicide and themselves becoming members of the working class, and it must be remembered that the conditions of working-class life would be far

more galling and unbearable to them than they are to the born proletarians. Within the frame-work of society, as it is, there is no escape for them from servility and tyranny. Inexorably are they doomed to be sycophants and vampires. "In the middle stand the people who lick the hands of those who beat you in the face and suck the blood of those whose faces are beaten. That's the middle!"

In the new America which you and I have to face class lines are just as vital a reality as they long have been in Europe. On the one hand we have a few thousands of shirkers of fabulous wealth, and on the other millions of workers living in poverty and threatened with pauperism. Between stand the Sycophants and Vampires.

But there is hope. They feel the ignominy of their position, and the trait that is most characteristic of them as a class is discontent. Is it surprising? What man with red blood in his veins could be contented knowing that he was economically compelled to lick the hands of those who beat the workers in the face and suck the blood of those whose faces are beaten? Let us be thankful that the American middle class, transformed as it is, has not yet reached that depth of degradation. The habits of thought, the ethics and ideals that the American middle class formed in the days of its vigor still persist in the middle class of to-day. Hence it writhes in discontent—too often futile and impotent discontent. It supports the immense literature of destructive criticism—the literature that has been aptly labeled "muck-rake" literature. Better yet, it is more and more coming to the support of the constructive literature of the coming era of Fellowship.

It is scarcely too much to say that the dominant note of the intellectual life of the middle class is still Idealism. It has persisted in refusing to recognize its own doom; it dauntlessly hopes and strives for better things. Hence it has

enthusiastically supported the myriads of ephemeral reform movements that have flitted across the American stage. But the best brains in the middle class are now seeing all too clearly that their class is doomed; that as a class they have no hope; that their only salvation is to abandon their class hopes and aspirations, and join the workers in their struggle to wipe out all class lines by absorbing all men in the Universal Brotherhood based on common ownership of the means of life. One of the best proofs that this process is actually going on is the increasing frequency with which we see the phrase "parlor socialist" in the columns of the daily newspapers. The parlor socialist has come, and come to stay; but as parlor socialists become more numerous they will attract less notice individually in the papers.

While the best elements in the middle class are tending to join forces with the workers in the socialist movement, the Capitalists, alarmed for the institution of private property, are endeavoring to frame programs and policies that will be acceptable to the farmers as the largest body of voters who have a direct economic interest in the conservation of private property. President Roosevelt is the great protagonist of this farsighted capitalist policy. It seems likely that this combination of intelligent capitalists and farmers will control the political power for some years to come. Opposed to them will be a small and negligible party of ultra-conservatism—the Bourbons of Capitalism—and the ever-swelling party of the workers—the Socialists. The middle class will divide; its parasitic part will join the party of the impotent Bourbons and furnish the majority of the few votes it will muster; its virile part will join the Socialists.

But nothing less than the necessity of escaping from a state of involuntary sycophancy and vampiredom could drive a man with the typical middle-class psychology into Socialism. His mental

habits rebel. The belief in the sacredness of private property dates back to a civilization based on handicraft when property was usually the reward of individual industry. This handicraft civilization gave rise to the Natural Rights philosophy. This belief in Natural Rights, including the right of private property, still persists in the middle class. The great capitalist who has grown rich by trampling on the property rights of his competitors has lost all respect for private property, though he is willing to pay hirelings well to preach its sacredness to those who do not possess it. For the great mass of the propertyless toilers the epigram of Proudhon, "Property, it is theft," has long been an axiom. The middle class is the only class in America in which the Family and the Home are still to be found. The men of the upper capitalist class are, to all intents and purposes, polygamists, while the ease and frequency of divorce has made marriage for the women of that class merely trial marriage. To those who know anything of the statistics of female and child labor it is a mockery to talk of the Home or Family of the Proletarian. Hence the middle class man is repelled by a movement which seeks to make women truly independent and the undisputed mistresses of their own minds and bodies.

Religion still persists in the middle class. The Church has no attractions for the Socialist workingman, who always looks with suspicion upon priest and clergyman as hirelings of his oppressors.

But in spite of all these obstacles the Idealism and the sturdiness and independence which many of the middle class still retain are driving them into the great movement for world-wide Fellowship. Competing with each other to the death, the very conditions of their lives make them heart-hungry for the comradeship and human solidarity which are the very essence of the Socialist movement.

The Socialist movement needs the

Idealism which the Parlor Socialists are bringing to it, and the workers will welcome them eagerly and trustingly. Will the Parlor Socialists prove worthy of this confidence? Probably not for the first few years of their Socialist activity. The mere acceptance of the Socialist goal has no power to work a miraculous change in one's whole psychological make-up. It is but natural that one who thinks he comes from a higher social altitude to join a movement of his inferiors should fancy himself called upon to be a teacher and a leader. But the man who has the courage to leave his own class in the first instance will pretty surely develop the higher and finer courage to humble himself and become a learner at the feet of those he came to teach. When once the Parlor Socialist has done this, he ceases to be a Parlor Socialist and becomes a Comrade of the 90,000,000 men and women who march behind the Red Flag of the International working class.

One cannot in an instant or a year rid oneself of the mental habits ingrained by a lifetime of sycophancy and vampiredom. To the middle-class man or woman joining the Socialist movement it might well

be said, "Except ye be born again, ye cannot become a worthy comrade of the working class." So long as the middle class Socialist feels that he has a message for the working class or that he is called upon to improve and broaden the tactics of the Socialist movement, his influence (if he has any) on the movement is likely to be harmful. But, just so soon as he changes his rôle from teacher to learner, literally limitless opportunities for useful service to his fellow men and women open out before him.

"In the middle stand the people who lick the hands of those who beat you in the face and suck the blood of those who are beaten," but the men and women who to-day are in the middle can, if they will, become valiant soldiers in the mighty army of workers which is fighting all over the world to make it impossible henceforth for anyone to be beaten in the face. To them goes out the cry of the workers:

"Come join in the only battle wherein no man can fail,
Where whose fadeth and dyeth his deeds shall still prevail."

ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE.
New Canaan, Connecticut.

THE MESSAGE OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

BY F. EDWIN ELWELL.

Note: Mr. F. Edwin Elwell, the famous sculptor, who is the author of the following paper, is not, we believe, himself a Christian Scientist, but he is a man of broad spiritual vision. He sees good in all earth's great religions, and even as a child he rejected the then popular theology which was so largely concerned with a personal devil who was regarded as the rival of Deity.—Editor of THE ARENA.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE is remodeling the religious thought of the day and doing a great work in relieving humanity from the awful fear that has resulted from the dogmas of the almost Christless church. Its work in this respect is not unlike that of the sculptor

who takes again the clay that has been used, but from which new forms arise and more beautiful images of the divine love of God.

It is difficult to conceive the immense value to the world of Mrs. Eddy's great work, embodying her new interpretation of the blessed gift of the Christ to man. The old ideal had grown as ponderous as the final ending of the Egyptian church, which went to decay before the dawn of Christianity because it had drifted away from the great ideal that had once been

a positive inspiration and which was embodied in the worship of the Virgin Mother of the Universe and her son Horus. Whenever man's spiritual vision becomes blinded by materialism or the vital soul of the people is lost in the rude cunning of man's baser passions and desires, then the world suffers until someone comes great enough to deserve the trust, to brush away the accretions of ages and reveal anew the truth to man.

We find spiritual verity in all the mighty Christian churches that have helped man upward. I love the Catholic church for the very reason that we find great good in the new church of Christ. The good that has been done by the Catholic church is not due to its powerful organization, but arises from the spiritual principle that has exerted a positive influence in spite of its objectionable features.

The old-time hell-fire bogey of the church has more and more repelled the thinking man and the lover of nature and of humanity, as the spiritual and intellectual vision of civilization has broadened. Early in life, while I lived in Concord, Massachusetts, I discarded this, to me, absurd and monstrous doctrine, and I could not help regarding with wonder not unmixed with amusement those who still held their breath in the presence of the Devil far more than in the presence of God.

The proposition that there is but one Force in the universe and that that Force is good, is as logical as that one and one make two or that the absence of light is darkness. A religion that appeals to the reason and makes man feel the existence of a living and loving God is one that brings heaven down to earth, and many of the so-called evils of the flesh disappear of their own nothingness. Nothing is so healthy and sane for man as this belief in the love of Almighty God, and that we have time to live lives of useful happiness, free from sin and sickness. The great martyrs died without pain, for their belief in the love of God saved them.

The more men study the action of hate,

greed, selfishness and sensualism on the physical organism, the more apparent it is that here are found secret wellsprings of disease, suffering and physical death. We are under the reign of spiritual law, and all violations of that law bring inharmony which sooner or later is reflected in what is called disease. Every infraction of spiritual law breaks the harmony between man and the Creator he images, interposes a seeming veil between the Father and His child, and clouds the spiritual vision or perception of the man out of *rapport* with Deity. We are what we think, and if we conceive of God as Good, loving, noble and true, then we shall mirror forth these attributes. To bring men and women into harmony with God, that they may reflect His life in lives of love and consecration to that which is highest and best, is the mission of Christian Science. It is bringing a positive realization of the intimate relation of God and man; making the children of the Common Father feel and understand that they are created in the image of the All-Father, the God who is all in all, who is omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent, who is spirit, not flesh and blood, and whose supreme expression is Love.

It is a very significant fact that the venomous attacks that have been made on Mrs. Eddy have had precisely the opposite effect from what her detractors desired. They have dwelt upon her early life and the circumstances of her sickness when young, of her poverty later, and on various incidents in her early life, in which innocent facts have too often been distorted, and gossip and idle tales, born largely of ignorance or prejudice, have been advanced in an effort to prejudice the public against her and the truth she has given to the world. But these attacks, as well as the recent attempt to deprive her of her property, have aroused the sense of fair play which is one of the noblest characteristics of American life and have led thousands of people hitherto ignorant of or indifferent

to Christian Science to investigate its teachings, and this investigation is being followed by a wonderful growth of the new-old faith.

Moreover, the evil attacks of Mrs. Eddy's detractors have thrown into bold and striking contrast the teachings and attitude of the founder of Christian Science. Mrs. Eddy has stood forth, venerable in years as measured by man,

yet strong in faith and courage and reflecting in a striking way the love that is the master note of life. Christian Science is proving a priceless treasure to civilization at a time when sordid greed and materialism are everywhere becoming insolently aggressive.

F. EDWIN ELWELL.

Weehawken, New Jersey.

THE EDITOR'S QUIET HOUR.

THE THEATER AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

1.

TO THE philosophic student of history awake to the deeper lessons of life and who earnestly desires to see his nation become a positive factor in promoting an upward-moving civilization, the awakening of the spiritual life of the people overshadows in importance all other issues; for history teaches no more solemn or important lesson than that the rise, true greatness and persistence of a race or civilization is in proportion to the general recognition of the unity of life and the inescapable obligations which the law of solidarity imposes upon men and nations.

In proportion as moral idealism, embracing justice and love, or the sentiments of brotherhood, prevails, a people rises and grows in enduring greatness. In proportion as egoism or selfishness becomes the dominant note in life, the vision which is the soul of a people, fades. History bears eloquent witness to the truth of the inspired seer's declaration, that "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

Peace, harmony, prosperity, development and abundant life for men and the State wait upon the recognition of the truth that the growth of the individual and the perennial youth of the nation depend upon the supremacy of the spiritual.

We have reached a stage in civilization that is crucial in character—we almost said that we are at the parting of the ways. Certain

it is that the materialism of the market to-day is arrogant, aggressive and assertive in its battle against the moral idealism upon which progress waits. Hence all agencies which appeal in a compelling way to the imagination or thought-world of the people should be called into the service of humanity.

It is not enough to depend on church, home and school for the development of that which is finest and best in life. These mighty forces are supremely important; but, unhappily, each has left to the others a work that all should have mutually recognized as a master duty—the development of character through cultivation of the eternal moral verities. And this failure makes it vitally important, if our nation is to escape the fate of Rome and of all other peoples who have turned from the vision to embrace the clod, that we should summon to our aid the great potential educational influences whose value has rarely been adequately recognized.

Victor Hugo, about a half a century ago, realized the new and high demand of civilization when he wrote:

"All power is duty. Should this power enter into repose in our age? Should duty shut its eyes? and is the moment come for art to disarm? Less than ever. . . . The human caravan has reached a high plateau; and, the horizon being vaster, art has more to do. This is all. To every widening of the horizon, an enlargement of conscience corresponds.

"We have not reached the goal. Concord condensed into felicity, civilization summed up in harmony—that is yet far off.

"Art for art's sake may be very fine, but art for progress is finer still."

The utilization of all forces that appeal to the imagination and reason, for the awakening of the spiritual life or the systematic education of the people along lines that make for lofty morality, sanity, peace and true greatness, will be the master work of the twentieth century.

II.

Among these influences that appeal to the imagination and give color to the thought-world of the people, the stage deserves far more consideration than it has received from modern civilization. It is a mighty educational influence that must make for weal or woe, because it appeals at once to the eye and ear; it stimulates the reason while it profoundly stirs the emotional nature.

The ancient Greeks more than any other civilized peoples seem to have appreciated the educational value of the theater and its compelling influence over the popular imagination. Wherever a Greek colony was planted, by the side of the barrack was to be found the theater.

In referring to this fact, Victor Hugo points out that "in the interest of civilization," Greece invariably in her small colonies, even in the remote outposts far from the throbbing heart of Attica, "by the side of the citadel had a theater."

The Greeks understood the potential influence which it exerted when the great plays of *Æschylus* and other masters were produced. They knew it would serve to "keep alive the flame of love for the fatherland."

"It threw around them," says Hugo, "the Greek spirit, it protected them from the influence of bad neighbors and from all temptations of being led astray. It preserved them from contact with Barbarism, it maintained them within the Hellenic circle. It was there as a warning. All those young offspring of Greece were, so to speak, placed under the care of *Æschylus*."

Among the great men of genius which the Europe of the nineteenth century produced, Richard Wagner and Victor Hugo are in many ways preëminent. Both possessed in a large degree the seeing eye of the true poet;

both were philosophers and humanitarians; and through the production of their own great creations, both had naturally made profound study of the effect of dramatic representation upon the popular mind.

And it is significant that they were both impressed with the potential value of the stage as a powerful educator—a mighty ally in the battle of the light with the darkness.

Wagner also placed his finger on one of the chief reasons why the stage and opera have so often proved a blight rather than a blessing. He pointed out that so long as the master passion of those who controlled the dramatic and operatic field was sordid greed for gold, the stage, instead of performing its true function as an enlightener and ennobler of brain and soul, would frequently be found exerting a degrading influence, by reason of productions that pandered to ignorance and to base appetites and desires. Feeling that only the emancipation of the drama from the deadly grip of soulless greed could make it the potent force it should be for the enlightenment of the people, he urged municipal and state-supported theaters.

Hugo said:

"The theater is a crucible of civilization. It is a place of human communion. All its phases need to be studied. It is in the theater that the public soul is formed."

The great Frenchman described at length the spectacle he had witnessed on holidays, when the theaters were thrown open free to the public and the great plays of Molière and other master works were being presented.

"The house," he tells us, "is crowded. . . . They pack together, crowd, amalgamate, combine and knead themselves in the theater—a living paste, which the poet is about to mould. The powerful thumb of Molière will presently make its mark on it. . . . The vast multitude looks, listens, loves; all consciences, deeply moved, throw out their internal fire; all eyes glisten. . . . The tumultuous crowd trembles, blushes, palpitates. . . . It is wanting in no kind of sympathy; it has in itself the whole keyboard, from passion to irony, from sarcasm to the sob. Its pity is more than pity, it is real mercy. God is felt in it. Suddenly the sublime passes, and the somber electricity of the deep instantly arouses all that mass of hearts; enthusiasm works its transfiguration. And now, is the enemy at the gates? is

the country in danger? Give the word to this populace, and it will reenact Thermopylae. What has produced this transformation? Poetry.

"The multitude—and in this lies their grandeur—are profoundly open to the ideal. When they come in contact with lofty art they are pleased, they palpitate. Not a detail escapes them. The crowd is one liquid and living expanse capable of vibration. A mob is a sensitive-plant. Contact with the beautiful stirs ecstatically the surface of multitudes—a sure sign that the deeps are sounded."

Now it is this great truth, which the Greeks as a people recognized and which modern profound students of human life, like Wagner and Hugo, have also realized—the potential value of the theater as an engine for moral development or spiritual awakening, that we believe will appeal with increasing force to practical men and women of conscience and discernment and lead to the utilization of the theater as one of the most powerful allies of true progress.

III.

To one awake to the value of modern educational theories, it may seem strange that the potential worth of the theater has been so little recognized; yet a little consideration of the facts involved will show that there are many reasons for this, chief among which may be mentioned:

(1) The old-time limited concept in regard to the scope of education.

(2) The rigid austerity and essentially narrow religious opinions of the dominant faith in the more progressive and civilized lands since the birth of Modern Times.

(3) The fact that the world has so long taken it for granted that the stage exists simply to amuse and entertain, and that it is morally negative when not positively immoral.

(4) The fact that the theater under these conditions has been largely abandoned to the management of men innocent of moral idealism and whose master aim has been to make the business yield as great a financial a return as possible, regardless of its influence on the imagination or thought-world of the actors and auditors.

In the first place, the dominant educational theories, until a comparatively recent day, were limited to drill work or intellectual training. Often education was so divorced

from practical life and character development, that a scholastic master might be the most impractical of men on the one hand and a moral pervert on the other. We are only beginning to realize that the only education worth the while is that which at once makes man useful, intelligent and high-minded.

In the second place, the license, worldliness and corruption of the church that rendered inevitable the great Protestant Reformation, led to a swing of the pendulum to the other extreme. An unreasoning narrowness and intolerance for art in all her splendid phases, and of literature in her lighter moods, as well as the drama, led many of the noblest minds in various lands to erect an artificial barrier between those who were supposed to be godly and those who found delight in things innocent in themselves and richly worth the while, such as painting, sculpture, romance and the drama. The Quakers, for example, at least the more strict of the faith, banished all pictures from their homes. A striking illustration of the austerity of these noble-minded people is found in the boyhood life of Benjamin West.

The lad, when he was six years of age, was surprised by his mother and sister with a picture he had drawn of the baby in the cradle. The natural pride and wonder of the mother, on account of the lad's achievement, soon gave place to a troubled heart. She feared he might have committed a sin in making the drawing. Now up to that moment the boy had never beheld a picture of any kind. His parents were, however, more liberal in their views than many Quakers of their day, and they did not prohibit the boy from following his natural bent. The progress he made was so remarkable that all saw that he was marvelously gifted; yet when the time came for him to decide whether or not he was to follow painting as a life-work, the case had to be brought before the congregation, and it was only after an earnest presentation of the case on the part of the parents and friends, who showed how painting Biblical pictures and noble scenes might do good, that the congregation decided that the lad might follow the profession of an artist, for which he was so splendidly endowed by nature and in which he became one of the greatest masters of his time.

The austerity of the Quakers was but little more than that of the Puritans or Covenanters, while touching the drama the voice

of the church in Protestant lands was practically a unit in discountenancing it as a powerful agency of the devil and a flourishing rival of the church.

Doubtless men of to-morrow will marvel that religious and moral leaders of civilization so long abandoned and fought something that all recognized exerted a great influence over the imagination of the people. It will be a source of wonder that for so many generations men failed to see that an institution that was thought to rival the church in its power over the people, and which certainly did appeal to the popular imagination in a powerful manner, might in the hands of men of lofty ideals be made an efficient aid to spiritual growth.

Another reason for the failure to appreciate the possible worth of the theater for elevating the ideals of the people is found in the fact that we see what we are looking for; but if the mind is focussed on one point, other things, possibly far more striking, are liable entirely to escape us, and for generations the main purpose of the theater has been the amusement of its patrons. Those who did not regard the theater as an agency of the devil, nevertheless saw in it merely something that yielded amusement, and failed to recognize how it might be utilized for advancing civilization; and thus the stage was largely abandoned to men of low ideals and sordid desires.

With the spread of the mania for gold in our land, the theater was quick to feel the moral enervation that the materialistic incoming tide exerted over society in all its ramifications. Finally the Theatrical Trust was formed by a few men who were typical representatives of the spirit of materialistic commercialism. It was not strange, therefore, that plays that pandered to sensual and debasing appetites and in which the stage carpenter was more in evidence than the man of letters, the poet or the teacher, largely held the boards; nor is it strange, under these circumstances, that when that fascinating drama that embodied one of the noblest sermons on lessons in ethics of modern times, "A Message from Mars," was presented to these managers, they promptly refused to consider it, declaring that the people did not want that kind of stuff.

Fortunately for the people, the author found an English actor with faith enough in the moral idealism of the people to risk its

presentation in London, with the result that it instantly scored a pronounced success and after a long and prosperous run over the water, came to America, where its success was even greater than in England, thus strikingly illustrating how the low ideals of the masters of the Theatrical Trust had led them to under-estimate the moral idealism of our theater-going public. No one could see "A Message from Mars" without being made better for what he saw and heard. It was a powerful sermon against mankind's besetting sin—selfishness; but it was far more effective than a pulpit discourse, especially in its influence over the imagination of the masses, because it addressed the eye as well as the ear; it appealed to the heart or feeling while it satisfied the reason in its demand for justice.

And we cannot too strongly emphasize the potential value of the theater in its influence over the popular imagination, by virtue of its message to the reason when it is off guard and thus unprejudiced and receptive. It appeals to the emotions—those wellsprings of profound feeling. It photographs pictures on the mental retina that long live in the memory, and it addresses the audience in the most effective possible manner, by summoning the eye to reinforce the ear in the reception of ideas and images presented. Even those who cannot follow arguments readily understand the facts involved in a vivid picture as an act on the stage. And when the eye helps the understanding at every step, and at the same time the imagination is reinforced by a powerful appeal to the emotional nature, it is evident that the auditor cannot escape the subtle and compelling influence of the drama, especially if the play is well presented so as not to offend the esthetic or artistic instincts of the beholder.

Many instances have come under our observation, of the power of the play over the imagination of man. Two typical examples must serve to illustrate this fact.

Several years ago a boy into whose hard, bleak and sterile life little came to feed the imagination, was favored from time to time with a ticket to the theater when some great historical play was being presented or when a healthy drama was on the boards. For many days after the youth had attended the theater he lived in the scenes he had beheld. On several occasions he came to us with questions that opened the way to teaching him

many things he would not willingly have learned if he had not had his imagination awakened. Thus for example, he had witnessed John McCullough play "Julius Caesar." Some days later he came to us to ask if the things really occurred which he had beheld, and if Caesar, Antony, Brutus and Cassius actually lived and had acted and thought as they did on the stage. This afforded the opportunity to interest the boy in Roman history. It, indeed, started him in a study which we doubt if he could have been induced to take up, had not the door of history been opened by the vivid pictures presented to his imagination in this play.

On another occasion he came to us to know if we believed the hero acted right in a certain crisis, and if certain things were the best that he could have done under the circumstances; and this afforded an opportunity to impress some ethical truths that we could not have effectively presented had not the boy come with eager inquiry stimulated by thoughts aroused by the play.

Watching the effect of the stage on this plastic mind, and seeing how the boy lived for days in the thought-world created in his mind by the plays, first directed our attention to the potential value of the theater as an engine for moral as well as intellectual development.

The second illustration we desire to cite as an example of the influence of the drama, has to do with the play of "Young Mrs. Winthrop." Many years ago we witnessed that charming play in company with a well-known educator. After seeing it, our friend said:

"I would give a great deal if some friends of mine who have drifted apart, and others who are drifting from each other, could see that drama."

A few years later we were discussing the potential value of the theater with a lady from a Western city, when she said:

"Did you ever see 'Young Mrs. Winthrop' played? Well," she continued, "let me tell you something that will interest you in con-

nection with that play. When it was produced in our city, over two years ago, two friends of mine, a husband and wife who had quarrelled and separated, (we think she said that divorce proceedings had been instituted; if not, they were about to be commenced) were both at the theater when the play was acted. After it was over, the husband went to the wife, who was weeping, and asked to have a talk with her. Together they went to her home. A full reconciliation followed, and to-day there is not a happier home in our city than theirs."

These illustrations serve to emphasize the thought we would impress.

To us it is a promising sign of a change that shall make the theater a positive force for the higher education of the people, that during the last few years a number of very notable plays of positive worth have appeared, and for the most part have been highly successful. "The Middleman," "The Man of the Hour," and Charles Klein's "The Lion and the Mouse" and "Daughters of Men," are typical examples of plays which must impress thoughtful people with the value of the stage and the importance of recognizing and making the drama one of the great factors for social righteousness.

We of to-day have a great responsibility resting upon us. No man lives to himself, and in a period like ours, when the forces of materialistic commercialism are so aggressively battling with moral idealism, it is vitally important that we summon to the cause of spiritual growth or true progress every agency that appeals to the reason, heart and imagination.

To-morrow is big with possibilities for humanity if we do our duty. Therefore, in the language of Victor Hugo, "Let us devote ourselves to the good, to the true, to the just. . . . Here is the truth: to sing the ideal, to love humanity, to believe in progress, to pray toward the infinite."

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Massachusetts.

POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.



Walker, in International Syndicate.

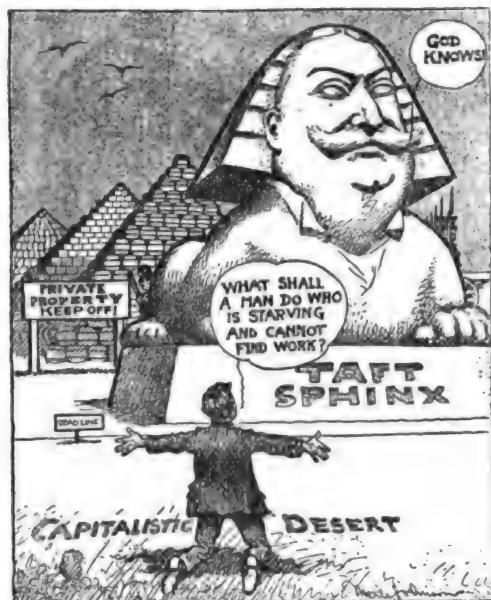
THE POLITICAL "MERRY WIDOW WALTZ."



From Ulk, Berlin.

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE TRUST-KINGS.

THE BEAIGEED (Rockefeller, Morgan and Harriman):
"There is no break in the walls. We have built them too solidly."



Johnson, in Wilshire's Magazine.

CONSULTING THE ORACLE.



Bradley, in Chicago Daily News.

THE VENTRILOQUIST.
A Bit of Continuous Vaudeville.



Spencer, in the Commoner, Lincoln, Neb.

THE WATER CURE.

He has prospered so prodigiously with water saturated stocks that he will not be satisfied until the currency is treated the same way.



Savage, in Chicago Socialist.

TWO "STRAYS."



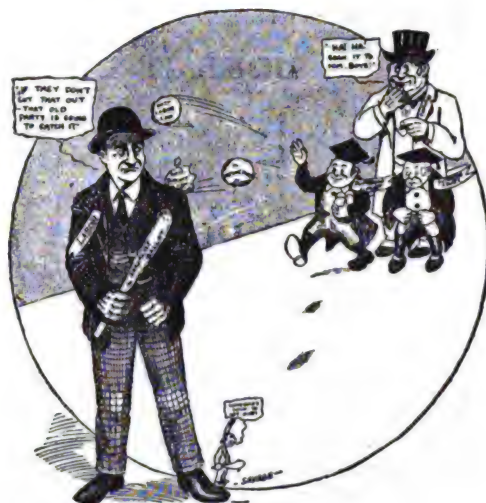
Donahay, in Cleveland Plain Dealer.

GOT HIM STARTED.



Brewerton, in the Atlanta Journal.

"COME ON IN, THE WATER'S FINE!"



Savage, in Chicago Socialist.

TOO MUCH FUN.



Boston American.

(Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst).

HIGH FINANCIERS APPLAUD HANDY-MAN ALDRICH'S SPEECH DEFENDING HIS BILL.



Carpenter, in Denver News.

PANIC IN THE REPUBLICAN ROAD SHOW—THE FULL DINNER PAIL EXPLODES.

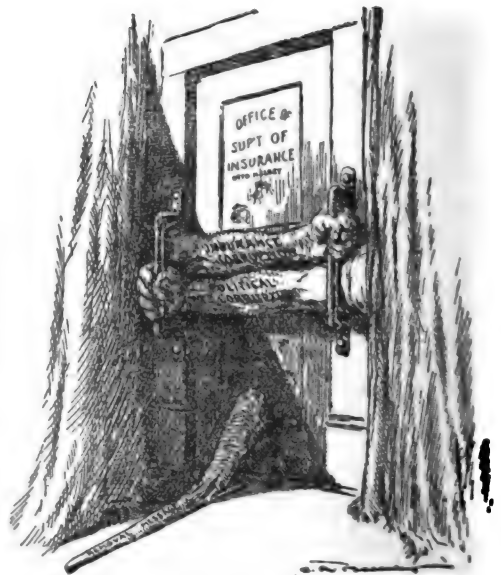


Walker, in International Syndicate.

POOR JOHN.

MR. STANDARD OIL—I hope this will relieve in a small way your financial stringency.

Early in March John D. Rockefeller will receive \$3,750,000 in oil dividends, making a total of \$6,250,000 in six months.—News Item.



Macauley, in New York World.

PROTECTED.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

AN APPEAL TO FRIENDS OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

The Foe Within The Gates.

THE AMERICAN people are facing one of the most critical periods in the history of popular government. It is indeed doubtful whether during the darkest days of the Revolution or of the Civil War, the life of free institutions was in such deadly peril as to-day; because in the earlier struggle the foe was from over-sea and the Americans were united and thoroughly awake to the magnitude of the peril. During the Civil War the Northern States were also practically a unit and able to act as a unit in carrying forward the work of the national government. Then also the friends of the Union were fully alive to the peril that confronted them.

Now the enemies of popular government are not only of the nation's own household, but they are posing as her chief friends and protectors and they are reinforced in city, state and national government. They have at their beck and call a large number of the most powerful daily papers of the land. They have retained an army of the most brilliant intellectual prostitutes that the bar of any nation has ever produced. Their hold on the national resources or the wealth of the country is so great, through ownership of the railways, the telegraph, telephone and express companies, and almost all other public utilities, and control of the banks, insurance companies and the great trusts and monopolies, that they can instantly control millions upon millions of dollars to maintain a position of defiance against the law of the land, to manufacture public sentiment against any incorruptible statesman, be he President of the United States or leader of the opposition, to control party machinery by vast corruption funds contributed to campaign committees and for elevating their handy-men to places of trust, while discrediting and driving into retirement all persons who cannot be bribed, seduced or frightened from resolute defence of the principles of free government and the rights of the people.

How Popular Government is Being Overthrown.

The master secret of the growing powerlessness of the people in their efforts to secure

effective legislation to protect themselves from the great law-defying and moral criminals, is found in the power wielded by the money-controlled party machines in thwarting the popular will and securing enough handy-men of the campaign-contributing corporations to defeat, emasculate or by means of jokers render unconstitutional all measures that would prove a real menace to the criminal rich who are becoming a compact organized class as effective for their practical mastership of government and the people's resources as were the great feudal lords of the Middle Ages; and with the steady advance of corporate power in the control of the party machinery of the dominant parties and its hold on the great papers of both parties, it has grown more and more brazen and insolent in its attitude toward the people and all popular leaders of any party who consistently seek to curb the criminal aggressions of corporate wealth and to destroy corrupt practices in connection with government. The recent systematic attempt made from the Atlantic to the Pacific by the feudalism of privileged wealth and the Wall Street gamblers and high financiers, through the great newspapers of both parties which they control and through various other opinion-forming agencies, to discredit President Roosevelt and weaken his influence after he delivered his message of January 31st, is but one of several illustrations of how this new power that is overthrowing popular rule summons to its assistance its army of retainers, handy-men and serfs to discredit or destroy any one, no matter how high his station, who attempts to destroy lawlessness, corrupt practices and gross injustice—evil conditions that are absolutely overthrowing popular government.

Further illustrations of how the feudalism of wealth and the party machines are overthrowing popular government are found in the nullification of the will of the people or the overthrow of honest elections in various great cities, as, for example, in Philadelphia, when, after it had been overwhelmingly proved for years that the corrupt political boss and his machine, backed by privilege-seeking wealth, had been guilty of ballot-box stuffing, political intimidation, padding elec-

tion lists and other crimes against the ballot, such was the power of the feudalism of wealth behind the criminals that instead of the evildoers being sent to the penitentiary, they are again the political autocrats of the city.

Again, Mr. Charles E. Russell has recently shown in a masterly manner almost incredible election frauds in New York City and elsewhere where the bosses and money-controlled machines are backed by the great privilege-seeking feudalism of corporate wealth. And the revelations that have come to light in Philadelphia, New York and other great cities are not exceptional. Before the advent of Mr. Folk, St. Louis was in quite as apparently hopelessly corrupt a condition as the two great eastern cities; while recent revelations in Denver and other western cities show the same defiance of popular government all along the line, when the great public-service corporations and privilege-seeking interests have united with the political bosses for the control and operation of the party machines. Everywhere is found the same spectacle of plunder of the community and spoliation of the people, together with the luxuriant growth of corrupt conditions that are absolutely destructive of popular government.

Still further, every attempt to curb corruption in great public and quasi-public enterprises and to bring about reforms that all thinking people admit to be necessary, are defeated by the power of the political bosses who do the bidding of the great malefactors. One case in point will be sufficient to illustrate this fact.

The three great insurance companies whose corrupt practices were so clearly established at the insurance investigation that the New York Legislature was forced to pass a law which was framed, or at least approved, by Mr. Hughes, the present governor, to prevent the high financiers from making the strong boxes of these companies their citadels of power and resource while playing the, to them, immensely popular game of high finance at the expense of honest industry and sound business methods, are to-day under their present management indulging in the same carnival of law-defiance that so amazed the world when exposed a short time since. But the Republican party refuses to remove the recreant superintendent of insurance, who is permitting this brazen defiance of law by the great criminals of Wall Street. We

say the Republican party is responsible for this, because the Republican party is the majority party in the New York Legislature, and, as has been clearly pointed out, if Mr. Hughes, the admitted master of New York politics to-day and the Governor of the commonwealth, should have insisted upon the removal of the superintendent being made a caucus measure, he would have been removed. The corrupt Democratic bosses and their henchmen in the Legislature, however, are equally guilty, inasmuch as a large number of them, under the leadership of the notorious Pat McCarren, have zealously worked to uphold the discredited superintendent and thus protect the great criminals.

Governor Hughes, before the presidential bee attracted his attention, tried to force the retirement of Superintendent Kelsey; but after the malodorous Boss Odell had come out as his special champion—Odell, the friend of Harriman—Mr. Hughes failed to use the weapon which the friends of honest government urged him to use—namely, to boldly demand as leader of the Republican party of the state that the removal of the superintendent be made a caucus measure, notwithstanding the fact that he had in his possession such amazing revelations that the party would have been absolutely compelled to have obeyed his request or court annihilation, for these revelations, officially made, brought to light, the almost incredible fact that the old abuses were even thus early again rampant in all three of these insurance companies. They showed that the loans to the Harriman interests from the funds of the Mutual Life of New York now amount to \$56,328,500. Turning from the Mutual Life to the Equitable Life, one finds a similar condition. "Thomas F. Ryan's control of the Equitable has produced results," says the *New York World* in an editorial broadside published on January 31st, "as disastrous to its policy-holders as Harriman's control of the Mutual."

The *World* then shows how the Equitable Company under the Ryan-Morton mismanagement has defied the law, and it continues: "One of the results of this violation by the Equitable of the insurance law is to put its surplus at Thomas F. Ryan's disposal."

The *World* then gives a list of assets of the Equitable, of which \$14,575,900 are in bonds of such corporations as the Interurban Rapid Transit Company, the Metropolitan Street

Railway Company, the Seaboard Air Line Railroad, and other Ryan interests; while \$27,048,517 are in the stocks of the Equitable Trust Company, Mercantile Trust Company, Lawyers' Title Insurance and Trust Company, and the National Bank of Commerce, making a total of \$41,624,417. And continuing, the *World* says:

"Also like Harriman with the Mutual, Ryan has further used the Equitable's money through the Equitable and Mercantile Trust Companies and the National Bank of Commerce. Part of this money through indirect channels helped pay the unearned dividends on the Metropolitan stock in the spring of 1907, when Mr. Ryan was unloading preparatory to the traction bankruptcy. In acquiring its Inter-Met. stock the Equitable violated sections 16 and 100 of the insurance law. The Equitable also acquired stock of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad and the Mercantile Safe Deposit Company in violation of law."

What the great high financiers, Harriman and Ryan, are doing with the funds of the Mutual and Equitable Insurance Companies, J. Pierpont Morgan is doing with the the New York Life's bonds, and these insurance companies are allowing this money to be used by the high financiers, all in defiance of the clear provisions of the law. The Republican machine and such disreputable bosses and corporation handy-men as Pat McCarren, who claim to be Democrats, are uniting in preventing the removal of the superintendent of insurance and the enforcement of the laws. And so it ever is when the party machine gains power. The corrupt corporations, trust magnates and high financiers control the bosses, and through liberal contributions and deals gain absolute mastery of the money-controlled political machine. In this way they are rendering free government a farce and are accomplishing the results of class-rule as effectively as if the master interests constituted an autocratic chief operating through bureaus or an aristocratic ruling class.

The Two Great Perils That Confront us.

This condition has brought us face to face with two perils the gravity of which it would be impossible to over-estimate. If the criminal rich and party bosses continue their high-handed game at politics, if the great criminals who are the master spirits of railway corpo-

rations, trusts and monopolies are to continue to brazenly defy the law; if the people are to continue to plead in vain for radical and effective relief from cruel extortion and shameful injustice, they will become so exasperated at the systematic thwarting of the ends of justice and the public weal that at length we may well expect revolts or revolution. Either an unspeakably corrupt despotism operating under the form of republican rule, or a violent revolt will be the result of present conditions, if radical changes are not speedily brought about. There is no escaping one of these supreme catastrophes. The feudalism of privileged wealth is fully awake to the situation and is actively preparing for the complete domination or rule of the people—political mastership complemented by lawless and irresponsible business mastership.

The Only Peaceful Method for Restoration of Popular Government.

But, happily for free institutions, there is offered a peaceable, constitutional and eminently practical method for restoring the government to the people and breaking the power of political corruptionists on the one hand and that of the great bands of law-breakers and moral criminals who are the power behind the bosses and party machines which have been the master influence in debauching American politics. Direct-Legislation through the Initiative and Referendum has proved perfectly practicable and successful wherever it has been introduced by measures that have been framed by friends of free government. In Switzerland it has proved so practical and so efficient that no serious thought by the people would for a moment be entertained looking toward changing this form of procedure.

Professor Frank Parsons, after an exhaustive personal investigation in Switzerland during which he interviewed leading representative citizens in every walk of life, recently stated that "did not find one man who wished to go back to the old plan of legislation by elected delegates without the opportunity of appeal to the people."

The Initiative and Referendum have served to preserve to Europe, in Switzerland, the freest, purest and most ideally democratic government known to history.

In Oregon Direct-Legislation has destroyed the corrupt lobby, broken the power of the political bosses and deprived the great cor-

porations of the mastership of government which they had so long enjoyed. The fact that it has proved so efficacious and that it has given the state of Oregon the best, purest and most democratic government enjoyed by any American commonwealth, and the further fact that Oregon has been a great Republican state, has led the master bosses and chief handy-men of the feudalism of privileged wealth and the corporation chiefs, of the East no less than of the West, to realize that unless the people can be again dethroned in Oregon, the Republic will soon be recaptured by the people without bloodshed, and the strong arm of corrupt wealth will be shorn of its strength or its power to further rob the millions and debauch their government.

Moreover, the great high financiers, the master gamblers of Wall Street, and the public-service corporation chiefs who have set their hearts on the complete control of government, realize that so long as Oregon maintains a truly popular government, the plot for complete overthrow of free institutions and mastership by the few who control the great sources of national wealth will be imperilled. They have therefore set out deliberately and systematically to overthrow popular rule in Oregon and to reenthroned machine government.

The Campaign Against Popular Rule in Oregon.

Evidences point to a deep-laid plot from without to attack and overthrow the free government of Oregon. We have good reason to believe that this plot against free government in Oregon was formulated by the master spirits of the "interests" or predatory wealth, and the machine bosses in the East, long before any systematic attempt was made to recapture the state for the money-controlled machine. In support of this opinion we submit some interesting and significant facts.

Over a year ago the *Boston Transcript*, which, since Mr. O'Brien has assumed management, has become a paper that should be dear to the heart of feudalism of privileged wealth, published a most amazingly mendacious editorial leader representing the Referendum as proving a failure in Oregon. It abounded in falsehoods which every one cognizant of the facts of Oregon politics knew to be untrue. This editorial represented the *Portland Oregonian* as deserting the cause of Direct-Legislation, and gave what

seemed a circumstantial statement to show that the Referendum was a failure in the great Pacific commonwealth. Copies of the *Transcript* were sent to the *Portland Oregonian*, and that paper forthwith published an editorial entitled "Strange News from Boston," in which it said:

"From far-off Boston comes the information that Oregon is sick of the Initiative and Referendum and will soon repeal it. The *Boston Transcript* gives us this information, which may be said to be new though not true."

Mr. W. S. U'Ren, one of the leading publicists and lawyers of Oregon and one of the master spirits of the Direct-Legislation movement of that state, replied in detail to the *Transcript's* editorial, showing it to be a tissue of misstatements.

Almost simultaneously with the appearance of this reckless editorial in the *Transcript*, the press dispatches for plutocratic and machine-governed papers from the Atlantic to the Pacific published articles of the same general tenor as the *Transcript's*, showing a systematic attempt to mislead the public and also revealing what was in the minds of the enemies of democratic republican government.

In the light of recent events it would appear that some pioneers in the East had determined that the *Oregonian* was to desert Direct-Legislation, a year before that paper found out that fact, for the *Transcript's* editorial which called forth the *Oregonian's* reply entitled "Strange News from Boston," was published over a year ago, and now comes the news of the *Oregonian* being won over to the interests represented by the corporations and the political bosses. At least, such is indicated, as will be seen from an article which we reproduce later in this editorial, which was published in a recent issue of the *Portland Journal*, of Portland, Oregon.

Now if, as we believe from the many indications of which the above is one, a plot has been concocted by the public-service corporations, the Wall-Street gamblers and high financiers who are bent on complete mastership of government, and the great bosses and masters of the money-controlled machines, to defeat the primary law and Direct-Legislation, in Oregon, then it is needless to say that money will flow into Oregon like the waters over Niagara. The law-defying cor-

porations and the great gamblers of Wall Street fear nothing so much as Direct-Legislation, because anything that will take the power of government from their handy-men or the machine bosses will imperil their power to corrupt government, rob the people and enjoy immunity while defying the law. So long as the corporations have the Boss Durhams, Coxes, McCarrens, Murphys, Fitzgeralds, Lodges, Penroses, Aldriches and their ilk as masters of the political machines, they can laugh at the people, because the latter possess only the shadow of popular sovereignty; the substance is possessed by the masters of the money-controlled machines.

The Situation in Oregon.

If our surmises are correct, the people of Oregon have a far greater battle on their hands than they yet imagine. They have no time to lose in sounding the alarm and rallying to the cause of free government in order to protect themselves from the most insidious, unscrupulous and merciless despotism of modern times—the despotism of law-defying corporations backed by corrupt political machines and an army of shrewd, powerful and alert legal handy-men.

From the article which we publish below from the *Portland Journal*, and from a letter just received from a leading attorney of Oregon, who has been one of the most indefatigable friends of popular rule, it is evident that the enemies of free institutions are already doing most efficient work.

The Portland Journal on The Coming Struggle.

We invite the serious attention of all our readers to the following article from the *Portland Journal* of February 12th:

“The political sky of Oregon is full of omens. It is impossible to mistake their meaning. They indicate that the coming struggle is to be one of the most remarkable in the history of Oregon. It will be remarkable for its alignments, and remarkable for its issues. It will not be a contest of men, but of measures. For the moment party lines will be sundered, and the alignments be strictly on principle. It will present features in the rending of parties that will not be unlike those of war times. It will be to the plain people in its effects on their interests and privileges the most important contest in the political history of the state.

“The issues are to arise from unusual causes, and will present striking features. A small but powerful group of men in Oregon has no confidence in the masses. It holds them to be a jungle of incompetency and ignorance. It thinks them too illiterate to take part in law-making through the initiative. It believes them too ignorant to exercise the right of veto by the referendum. It regards them as unfit to take part in the selection of senator, and insists that the legislature ought to do it. It looks upon them as incompetent to nominate men for office through the primary law, and wants that function performed by conventions of delegates. In the conferring of these privileges upon the plain people, it thinks a grave mistake was made, and wants them taken away. It not only wants them taken away, but proposes to do so if political trickery and concert of movement can do it.

“The *Oregonian* is to aid in the movement. It is already leading the fight. It attacks and caricatures the initiative. It condemns the primary law. It spurns Statement No. 1, and ridicules it in cartoons. It insists that the people should not have the right to veto by use of the referendum.

“Its allies will be the self-sufficient few who think the masses incompetent and unsafe. Others will be the corporations, whose special privileges of non-taxation have been curtailed by laws passed by the people through the initiative. The friends of Senator Fulton seem likely to be another ally. But a most important group in the aggregation will be the politicians and dethroned bosses, whose rule of the people and domination of public affairs were broken by the initiative, the referendum and the various provisions of the primary law. This is the crowd that will have to be fought. It is a desperate and forceful alliance and the people may as well understand first as last that it will be a fierce and furious contest.

“The danger is that the attack will be made from ambush. The enemy dare not expose its plans by an open fight. Subterfuge, deception and the methods known to deepest-dyed political trickery will be its battle assets. Its objective point will be the legislature. It wants to control, and by every hazard, proposes to control, that body. If it can do that, its victory is nearly won. With a legislature to do its bidding, by passage of laws and amendments to laws,

by a constitutional convention, and by other devices and arts known to political trickery, it can sweep away almost every one of the new popular lights that have been conferred upon the people. The masses may think this a note of over-alarm, but it is not. It is immediately imminent, and terribly true. This will be plain to all later on.

"Apathy among the masses is the chief danger. It is always dangerous. It is by the apathy of the voter that the great crimes of legislation and administration are committed against the masses. The latter sleep while nefarious schemes of what Mr. Roosevelt calls 'crimes of cunning by rich male-factors' are hatched. They are asleep to-day, while this new enemy of popular rights is forming for action.

"The first battle will take place at the primary election in April, and the struggle will be over legislative candidates. The pledges of those candidates will be the test of victory or defeat. If every legislative candidate nominated is pledged to every provision of the primary law, it will be a rout for the enemy of popular rights. If pledged to defend for the people the right to make laws through the initiative the right to select senator through Statement No. 1, the right to nominate officers through the primary law, and the right to veto laws and appropriations by the referendum, a victory will have been won by the masses. If legislative candidates are not so pledged, the people will have been defeated in the first struggle, and will have another battle to fight in June. These are the issues, the struggle is on, and the outcome will be momentous to the common people of the state."

A personal letter from the leader to whom we have referred above, written from Portland and dated February 14th, contains some additional facts. Our correspondent says:

"We are facing a peculiar situation in Oregon at the present time—a situation which is truly described in an article lately appearing in the *Portland Journal* entitled 'The Coming Struggle,' a copy of which I enclose herewith. I once before wrote to you quite fully describing the manner in which the Initiative and Referendum law in this state was adopted by so large a majority, and I also explained to you that I thought the time would come when all the dethroned politicians and special interests of various kinds

would unite for an assault upon our whole system of Direct-Legislation. Well, that time seems about to have arrived. The workings of the Direct-Primary and Direct-Legislation have put numerous political bosses and machine tools on the retired list, and this numerous clamorous host, added to certain special interests, are uniting their capital, brains and influence to prevent any further forward movement for democracy, and they also wish, if possible, to overthrow every vestige of our popular enactments so far secured and return to the old-style boss system. They have apparently secured the *Oregonian* for their side, as well as many other journals of the outside counties. Statement Number One is the burning issue now before the voters. This is simply a question as to whether the legislature will vote the people's choice for United States Senator or not."

There are several measures to be voted on under the Initiative at the June election, among which are the following: (1) the Recall; (2) bill to instruct the legislature to vote for the popular choice for United States Senator; (3) corrupt practice act; (4) preferential voting requiring concurring majority for the election of any single officer, and proportional representation for election of members to the legislature.

That the people are overwhelmingly in favor of Direct-Legislation and the direct primary is the general consensus of opinion, but that, as the *Portland Journal* observes, "subterfuge, deception and the methods known to deepest-dyed political trickery" will be resorted to, is equally certain. Moreover, the vast amount of money that will doubtless be placed at the disposal of the handy-men of the corporations and the political bosses will make formidable what would otherwise be an insignificant opposition.

That every paper that can be influenced, either by threat and coercion or by the numerous methods of persuasion in which the corporations and high financiers are past masters, will be whipped into line for the corporations, goes without saying.

Let the people of Oregon awake. The enemy is not merely the handful within the gates, but the great unprincipled and financially powerful horde that is destroying popular government throughout the Union; a relatively small but enormously rich band which acts in concert, is perfectly organized,

and whose control over the political boss and the money-controlled machine is practically complete; whose control over the press is far greater than is imagined; and whose influence over multitudinous other agencies for reaching and misleading the people is only second to its grip on the press.

To American Patriots.

The above facts merely hint at the gravity of the situation that confronts our people, and the situation is rendered doubly serious from the fact that the friends of freedom are but poorly organized, and they have not at their command the finances to meet the enemy with a proper campaign of education. All to-day that is needed is a sufficient amount of money to properly sow every state with literature and in certain quarters to place efficient organizers in the field to bring together patriotic citizens and awaken the masses to the peril of the present. We

believe that only by prompt action will it be possible to avert the complete mastership of the machine by the law-defying and oppressive corporations. But by prompt action on the part of patriots the government may early be rescued from this deadliest of perils and the cause of democracy be given an impregnable position. A great national league should be formed, and men of means who possess a particle of the spirit that made heroes of the men of Valley Forge should contribute to a propaganda fund and to the expense of placing one or two efficient organizers in the field.

Friends of justice and human rights and lovers of freedom with peace, or a steady and peacefully-evolving democracy, we appeal to you to awake, unite, organize, and inaugurate an educational propaganda for rousing the people to the true situation and showing them how peacefully to emancipate themselves from corruption and oppression.

THE CHURCH, PRIVILEGED WEALTH AND SOCIAL JUSTICE.


The Clergy and The Battle for Civic Righteousness.

REFORMERS frequently and with just cause regard the clergy, especially of the great churches in our cities, as either allies of privileged wealth or as too timid to be a positive factor in the mighty battle of popular government and social justice against entrenched privilege and incorporated greed.

The position of the minister, especially in the great metropolitan churches, is particularly trying if he is a man of God with the instincts of a prophet of righteousness, instead of a self-seeking opportunist; for the bribes given to the churches, missionary societies and religious colleges by the law-breakers have long since produced a deadly effect on the conscience of the churches, and in the cities almost every wealthy congregation has among its pew-holders liberal contributors who are the beneficiaries of acquired but unearned wealth or are master spirits in corporations whose methods are immoral and frequently frankly lawless. For the minister of such a church to stand for social justice and equality of opportunities and of rights, is to place his bread and butter in jeopardy,

for there is no class of persons so intolerant of the truth as those who wish to pose as highly respectable pillars of church and society while continuing to be the beneficiaries of wealth gained by indirection, by immoral acts, injustice and often by evasion or defiance of law. The minister who will prophesy smooth things and berate the Pharisees of two thousand years ago becomes very popular, but the fearless and incorruptible prophet of God who insists on following in the footsteps of the Great Nazarene soon finds himself *non persona grata* with the men whose wealth is depended on to pay the clergyman's salary. Under these conditions the position of the minister is exceedingly trying, and perhaps, considering the frailty of human nature, it is not especially astonishing that there are so many men who in the presence of social wrongs and moral corruption which are eating out the life of free institutions, are afraid to cry aloud and spare not.

There are to-day, however, as there have ever been, here and there strong, brave and splendid souls who are holding aloft the torch of justice and human rights and who display the same superb moral courage that lifted the

Great Nazarene so high above the religious leaders of his day. 

Nothing affords us more pleasure than to be able to note the ranging of great divines on the side of morality, justice, law and human rights. We have felt it our unpleasant duty on several occasions to strongly criticize clergymen who are so lost to the teachings and spirit of the Great Nazarene and so beholden to political bosses and corrupt corporation interests that they affront the public with shameful defences of men and practices that have justly aroused the righteous indignation of lovers of civic morality and justice from ocean to ocean. We believe that the Christian church has suffered far less from all the attacks of those who have openly assailed her during recent years than she has from the public addresses and printed utterances during the past twelve months of such men as the Rev. Henry A. Buchtel, who is the present governor of Colorado by grace of the malodorous Boss Evans and the associated villainies or corporate interests of that state, and Chancellor Day of the Syracuse University, who has been aptly termed the Standard Oil's Man Friday. Mr. Buchtel as a eulogist of Guggenheim and Evans, and Chancellor Day as a defender of the lawless Standard Oil Company, are, in our judgment, not only master influences in discrediting Christianity with friends of pure government, of law and order, but in so far as they influence other minds, they necessarily foster low political, civic and business ideals by being the champions of men and interests they defend.

Happily for the church and for public morality, there are evidences of a general awakening on the part of leading clergymen to the importance of boldly imitating the great Founder of Christianity, who in the presence of the gamblers and money-changers in the Temple, denounced the corrupt order and drove those who sought to make the Temple a source of gain, from its sacred precincts. In America and in the Old World there are unmistakable signs of a spiritual awakening on the part of the clergy, and it is especially hopeful to note that even in such cities as New York and London, the prophet voices are ringing clear and strong. A notable case in point is that of the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, minister of the Church of the Messiah, the strongest Unitarian church in New York City.

A Leading Metropolitan Clergyman's Brave Stand for Pure Government.

Late in January Mr. Holmes delivered a plain talk before the Unitarian Club of New York City. The *Sun*, one of the most efficient watch-dogs of Wall-Street interests, made his remarks the subject of a satirical editorial, to which Mr. Holmes replied in a letter marked by superb moral courage and revealing the possession of a clear mental concept of fundamental economic and political problems and practical remedies for the same rarely found in the pulpit. So fine and true are his words that we quote a large part of his letter, not only because of the truths it contains, but to show that to-day in the great money-mad metropolis at least one pastor of a rich and powerful church dares to speak living truths in a manner worthy of the great prophets of olden times.

"You say: 'He stated there were two or three men who owned the street railways of New York and were robbing the people of the right to adequate and decent transportation.' (You omitted the two adjectives 'adequate' and 'decent,' but never mind!) 'He did not mention the names of these gentlemen,' you continue in your report, 'although he declared that their doings ought to be denounced in the pulpit.' That is exactly what I said. I regard the history of the street railways of New York as one of the foulest scandals that ever polluted the record of a city's life. A gang of thoroughly unscrupulous men, under the shelter of a public franchise, has swooped down upon this city and plundered it, just as a band of pirates, under such freebooters as Morgan and Blackbeard, used in the old days to descend upon a helpless merchantman and strip her from stem to stern. These men, when all euphemistic terms have been cast aside, are thieves; and their deeds constitute, from the moral point of view, nothing but open robbery! And yet you ridicule me for asserting that the men guilty of these misdeeds should be denounced in Christian pulpits! Where, I may ask in the name of that God whom I have been taught to worship as a God of justice, should these men be denounced if not in Christian pulpits? I am so misguided as to think that that is just the place; and I have therefore denounced them freely in my pulpit at the Church of the Messiah in the past, and I shall continue to denounce them and all men like them in

the future. I should consider myself recreant to my trust as a Christian minister did I keep silence in the face of such iniquity. You say that I did not give the names of these gentlemen in my address. You are again right—I did not! It was hardly necessary, since my audience consisted of men and women of average intelligence, who occasionally read the newspapers!

"Again you say: 'He informed his hearers that there was a small group of persons in complete control of the coal mines. He called these mines "our mines," although he did not disclose the basis of the public claim to ownership in which he evidently thought he had a share. Our impression was that the coal lands had been actually purchased and paid for by private and corporate owners, who had the same right to sell the products thereof as the farmer has to sell his milk.' Here again you are entirely accurate in your report of my remarks. I am of course perfectly well aware of the fact, to which you think it necessary to call my attention, that 'these coal mines had been actually purchased and paid for by private and corporate owners,' and hence, in the strictly legal sense, are the property of these private and corporate owners and not 'our' property. But I believe, sir, in all humility, although this will undoubtedly sound strange to your ears, that there is one standpoint, which at all times, and under all conditions, transcends the merely legal standpoint, and that is the moral standpoint! And it was strictly from this moral standpoint that I was speaking on Wednesday night. I am one of those—possibly misguided—persons who believe that there are certain things which society has no moral right to hand over to the tender mercies of private individuals, and that among these things are coal mines, oil lands, forest tracts, public franchises of all kinds, whether railroad, telegraph or gas franchises, and so on. I regard it as an unspeakable iniquity that the supply of coal for our Eastern States should be in the hands of 'divine right' Baer and his associates and that the public should be held up every winter by these money-crazed men and forced to 'pay the price.' There are certain things which belong of right not to any individual, however rich or powerful he may be, but to society at large; and no statute law of any kind can annul this inalienable social right. It was in this sense of course that I spoke of the mines as 'ours.'

My attitude toward the private ownership of all public necessities and utilities is exactly that of the old anti-slavery leaders toward the private ownership of slaves. The slaves 'had been actually purchased and paid for by private owners,' as you say the mines have been. But this did not alter the fact that from the moral point of view no white man had any right to own a black man. And just as that fact is universally admitted to-day and all property rights in black men are permanently abolished, so is the time surely coming when the moral wrong of having public necessities and public utilities in private hands for the exploitation of the many by the few will be recognized and all property rights in mines, forests, railroads, etc., be abolished. This is the great problem of our day, just as the abolition of slavery was the great problem of half a century and more ago. And just as it remains an everlasting blot upon the record of the Christian churches of America that they assumed an attitude of indifference and oftentimes hostility toward this great crusade for the liberties of a race, so is it to-day a burning shame that the churches as a whole are standing indifferent and oftentimes hostile to the present crusade for the emancipation of an entire people. You were never wiser than when you said in your editorial, 'The right way is to act—act in the living present.' That is exactly what some of us are trying to do in our humble way as regards the social and industrial iniquities of our time, even though we offend now and then those men and newspapers who would prefer to have everybody remain inert and quiescent, that existing conditions may know no alteration.

"In closing may I thank you for including me among 'some dissatisfied clergymen'? I am dissatisfied—dissatisfied at the hideous social conditions of our day and generation and dissatisfied at the spectacle of the Church of Christ standing deaf, dumb and blind before it all. A few more dissatisfied clergymen and we might be a bit nearer the realization of that Kingdom of God which Jesus of Nazareth endeavored to establish upon the earth, if I remember rightly something like two thousand years ago!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Church of the Messiah, Park Avenue and
Thirty-fourth Street.

New York, January 27.

Mr. Holmes' Plea for The Child Slaves of America.

Mr. Holmes' aggressive stand for Christian morality suggests the splendid spirit of the old prophets of Israel, whose outspoken words are an inspiration to-day, even as they were when uttered thousands of years ago. His is the same spirit as that of Martin Luther when the corruption and opportunism of the church led him to brave the greatest organized power of Western civilization; the spirit of Wesley when he fired the imagination of the people of England at a time when the church was slumbering and materialism had paralyzed the moral energies of society; the spirit of Channing and Parker in the presence of African slavery.

On February 9th Mr. Holmes raised his voice against child labor in a powerful sermon on "The Bitter Cry of the Children." For this service also the clergyman composed the following hymn embodying the prayer of the workers for the deliverance of the children from the Moloch of present-day sordid greed:

"O God, whose justice is a rod
That smites our human greed,
Whose mercy is a healing balm
For hearts that break and bleed;
We cry to thee, O Lord, for strength
To right the wrongs of earth,
To lift the yokes, to break the bonds,
That make a curse of birth.

"We pray for all thy little ones,
Who toil in mine and mill,
Whose bitter cries of agony
No clanking wheels can still;
Whose eyes peer blind in rooms of night,
By sunlight rays unlit;
Who choke and sob in poisoned dust
Of factory and pit.

"O Father, are these children thine
All bent and scarred and maimed,
With little hands all gnarled and torn,
With feet all bruised and lamed;
With lips that never frame a smile,
With cheeks seared deep with pain,
With eyes bedimmed and swollen red
By tears that fall like rain?

"These little ones, our Father, thine—
Who never play and sing,
Who ne'er with shouts of gladsome mirth
Make woods and pastures ring;
Who know all manhood's toil and grief,
E'er manhood's strength is won,
Who taste the bitterness of life,
When life is scarce begun?

"O Lord, lay bare thy mighty arm,
Unloose thy vengeance' flood,
Smite with thy wrath the lustful greed
That feeds on children's blood;

And in thy mercy, from their bonds
These little ones release,
And give them air and sun and play,
And love and joy and peace.

The Bishop of London on Dives and Lazarus.

From this impressive example of a true follower of the Great Nazarene, battling for civic morality and justice for the weak, we turn to a different picture—the spectacle of a distinguished English churchman viewing the misery of the victims of social injustice from a very comfortable vantage ground.

The Bishop of London has recently visited the United States as the guest of J. Pierpont Morgan of secret-bond deal and ship-trust fame. Mr. Morgan, as is his wont when entertaining notables, treated the good bishop right royally and gave him the opportunity of studying American life and problems from the vantage-ground of the great financier's touring car. He was also given the use of a Roman Catholic millionaire railroad president's palatial private car, that he might travel luxuriously and be enabled to see what royal good hosts are the great chiefs of the industrial autocracy and high finance of America.

That the man of God was duly impressed is indicated by a recent article which appeared in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*. Naturally enough, in the presence of so much great wealth and being treated with the consideration of a prince of the church by the great predatory chiefs of Wall-Street finance, the bishop could not escape instituting some comparisons between these exploiters and the millions of exploited, and especially the seething masses who are struggling in the slough of extreme poverty. But the reverend gentleman does not believe in imitating the Great Nazarene in the presence of the Pharisees of our day. It would certainly be in bad form to say anything that would hurt the feelings of the high financier and the multi-millionaire railway magnate; so instead of turning to the great prophets and seers of the ages who have been the pioneers of righteousness and way-showers of social justice, the bishop, good soul, elects to be a prophet of smooth things. Doubtless he regards as in bad taste his Lord and Master's treatment of those who compassed land and sea for proselytes, who made long prayers and enlarged their phylacteries, who builded synagogues and were great sticklers for the

forms and rites of a theology from which the soul had fled, while all the time they were devouring widows' houses and for a pretense making long prayers. Far different from the spirit and tenor of the Master's "woes" are the words uttered by the Bishop of London. They will in no wise hurt the sensitive feelings of the financiers and corporation magnates to whom the bishop is beholden for the courtesies bestowed. In the presence of the vast wealth of the exploiting Wall-Street financiers and beneficiaries of special privileges, the pious divine says:

"Have you ever thought why there are rich and poor at all? That is a question you often muse on in your crowded American cities, one I often have to face in London. I reconcile my belief in God and his love for the wretched millions on the East Side of New York, in East London and other great cities, teeming millions of the unfortunate seemingly abandoned by both God and men, with this: The rich minority have in trust for all others."

After reading the above, does any sane man wonder that the churches are being emptied of the thoughtful wealth-creators. Think for a moment of the kind of men who are to-day the custodians, largely through devious methods and indirection, of the great wealth of this country. Think of the long train of crime and lawlessness following in the wake of many of their careers. Think of their merciless oppression of the masses, their corruption of legislators, their exploitation of the people, their gambling with loaded dice. Think of John D. Rockefeller, Henry H. Rogers, John D. Archbold; the McCalls, the McCurdys. Think of Thomas F. Ryan, who presumably is the millionaire Catholic railroad magnate of whom the bishop speaks; and lastly, think of J. Pierpont Morgan and the secret bond deal and ship-trust scandals. Think of the recent exposures of the multi-millionaire custodians of the great wealth of the nation as brought out under sworn testimony in the various investigations of insurance companies, railways and other public-service corporations, oil, beef and other merciless trusts. Think of these men and their works, and then revert to the bishop's words and try to imagine them as the Almighty's trustees for the dispensing of charity for the poor. Could it be possible to conceive of anything more blasphemous than is necessarily implied by the good

bishop's words? And our virtuous prelate next comes forward with a remedial suggestion. He says:

"I would propose an international competition between New York and London in the matter of looking after the poor."

The editor of the *New York Journal* very ably suggests that it is not the soup-house and the free distribution of woolen jackets that will solve the problem, but that if the pious man "could arrange a way to make the 'rich minority,' with its special privileges, get off the backs of the poor people, it would be quite simple to attend to the rest."

And here is the heart of the whole matter. It is justice, simple justice, and not charity that the world's workers demand. The intelligence of the age is too great to be longer misled by such absurd twaddle as the bishop indulges in; for the people know that the abnormal fortunes with us are, as a rule, largely, when not chiefly due to indirection, to special privileges, to gambling with stacked cards, to law-evasion, law-breaking and corrupt practices. The revelations of the last ten years have awakened the American people to a realization of the real situation and have made perfectly clear the character of the great predatory chiefs and high financiers of America—so clear, indeed, that the people are in no danger of laying any stress on the bishop's pleasing theory of our rich men being the representatives of the Almighty—His favored trustees.

The Rev. E. J. Campbell on Christ's Attitude in Regard to Social Righteousness.

Happily for the cause of true religion, as we have before observed, there are great divines who are bravely treading in the pathway of the Founder of Christianity and holding aloft the torch of social righteousness. In striking contrast to the pitiful twaddle of the Bishop of London, we have just noticed the splendid stand of the gifted minister of the Church of the Messiah of New York. Equally strong and clear are the words of the Rev. R. J. Campbell, the distinguished and eloquent minister of the City Temple of London, which have recently been given to the public in a new volume of *Christianity and the Social Order*. In this work the author in speaking of Jesus' attitude toward great material riches or gain and the rich and powerful Pharisees, says:

"Observing, also, as He could not fail to do, the corrupting influence of the possession of wealth upon the moral nature Jesus condemned utterly the desire for its acquisition.

"Ne does not say that the possession of riches is an absolute disqualification for membership in the coming Kingdom, but he holds that at best they are a hindrance, for they tend to put a barrier of separation between man and man; the ideal social order would therefore be one in which there would be no question either of poverty or riches. Moreover, Jesus is severe upon the typical rich man, for, not without reason, He saw in him the oppressor of the poor. In the parable of Dives and Lazarus He does not specify any particular offence of which the rich man had been guilty, but He sends him to Hades (Luke 16: 19-31).

"He declared it to be easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God. His general attitude on this point was not modified in the least by the fact that He had one or two rich adherents, such as Joseph of Arimathea. These were exceptions; there is only too much probability that the strictures of Jesus upon the holders of wealth were more than justified at the time.

"But it was upon the covetous and grasping religious aristocracy that His denunciations fell most heavily. In all the literature of invective I know nothing more scathing than His attack on this order as recorded in Matthew 23."

Mr. Campbell quotes some of Christ's more terrible denunciations of the rich, powerful, self-righteous and corrupt Pharisees, and then adds:

"Strong language this! One wonders what the religious press of this country would say about it nowadays. For the people thus denounced have their representatives in the Christian churches of this much-favored land of ours. But what chiefly impresses me about the use of this language is that it gives us an entirely different idea of Jesus from that which is usually held up for Christian adoration and imitation. Here was a being aflame with sympathy for the masses

and indignation for their oppressors. It is no use saying that He was not alive to the social wrongs of the age, for He was, and and this language proves it. It shows what brought Him to His death; it shows, too, why the orthodox hated and feared Him. Not that he pandered to the multitude; He never did that. But with His whole soul He loathed the self-complacency of the ordinary religionists who were content to be on the side of privilege without lifting a finger to help the unprivileged, and yet talked about righteousness! What would Jesus say if He were to appear in our midst again to-day? Can there be much doubt about the matter? Are we still doing the same thing—talking about righteousness as though it could be separated from social justice? Of course we are, and the hollow sham will have to come to an end."

It is refreshing indeed to find strong, fine, noble and brave clergymen like Rev. John Haynes Holmes and Rev. R. J. Campbell daring to follow in the footsteps of the Great Nazarene, in spite of the frowns and denunciations of the rich men who are so comfortably riding on the backs of the people and who find such men as Chancellor Day, Rev. Dr. Buchtel and the Bishop of London most useful.

And speaking of the great toiling millions who are carrying the privileged ones on their backs, some questions naturally suggest themselves: Who pays for the palatial private car and its cost of maintenance, which presumably, Mr. Ryan placed at the service of the good bishop? Who, indeed, but the wealth-creators of America? How many autos could Mr. Morgan buy out of the millions he acquired through the Cleveland secret-bond deal—millions more than he could have acquired had the public been permitted to bid for the bonds, as was advocated by the great New York papers, such as the *Herald* and *World*?

These are questions the bishop evidently did not consider, and quite probably they are questions he would not be willing to entertain. But happily these and kindred questions are being very seriously considered at the present time by the American people,

WAS ABRAHAM LINCOLN A PARTY MAN?

**Secretary Taft's Misrepresentation of The
Martyred President.**

IN RECENT years one of the most efficient weapons of the corrupt bosses and the privilege-seeking trusts and monopolies who stand behind, has been the fetich of party regularity. The privilege-seeking corruptionists, intent on looting a community by securing franchises worth millions upon millions of dollars, make a secret arrangement with corrupt bosses of one or both of the dominant parties for the favors desired. These bosses see that men who are either the handy-men of the "interests" or who are absolutely subservient to the bosses are nominated, or at least a sufficient number nominated and elected to give them a control in the legislative bodies. When decent citizens, outraged at the corruption and brazen defiance of the public interests on the part of the legislators and city officials, threaten to bolt, the party organs immediately raise the cry of party regularity, and prominent politicians, like Secretaries Root and Taft, rush to the front in defence of this fetich. They sneer at sincere reformers and by such phrases as "parlor socialists" seek to discredit high-minded upholders of genuine democratic or republican government. Sometimes these sophists, presuming on the ignorance of or blind, unreasoning acceptance on the part of the people of anything that the leaders may utter, claim as upholders of the fetich of party regularity men whose lives no less than their utterances brand such statements as inexcusably unwarranted and false.

A notable example of this kind of attempt to mislead the people on the assumption of their ignorance, was offered by Secretary Taft in his Lincoln Day address in Michigan, when he strove to make out that Lincoln was, first of all, a party man and, had he lived, he would have docilely tramped along the tortuous pathway made by the elephant in recent years as it followed the provender held out by Wall-Street high financiers and the corporation chiefs, stopping to turn aside only now and then when its masters and providers were willing that it should play hide and seek in order to divert and deceive the people.

"Mr. Taft," says the Springfield *Republican*, "*strove gallantly to make it appear that Lincoln would have approved not only the distinguishing policies of the present Administration, but of the preceding one; and it would follow with equal logic that Lincoln would have approved everything that the Republican party had done since his death.*"

As a matter of fact, as the *Republican* points out, the party record during the Reconstruction period, was entirely at variance with the wise and broad statesmanship of Lincoln. On this point it observes:

"So far as Lincoln left his impress upon public policy, the indications are that he must have opposed the congressional plan of reconstruction. Lincoln's plan of restoring to the Union the States of the Confederacy was flatly opposed to the plan later forced into operation by the congressional Republican leaders; and this fact alone renders decidedly inept the hypothesis that all of the distinguishing features of Republican policies from his death to the present hour would have surely commanded Lincoln's enthusiastic approval. If there is anything that both South and North have lamented, among the direful consequences of his assassination, it is the loss of his great influence for moderation, conciliation and sanity in dealing with the Southern question in its new and most menacing social and political aspect after a military conquest."

No one can study Lincoln's political life, and, indeed, the whole tenor of his life from boyhood till the hour of his untimely taking off, and escape the conclusion that the alliance of the Republican party since the days of Mark Hanna's ascendancy, with the Wall-Street high financiers and the captains of the feudalism of privileged wealth and the corrupt bosses of the money-controlled machine, would have unutterably been abhorrent to him, and that he would have been first and foremost in denunciation of courses such as that of Messrs. Hanna and Cortelyou in obtaining vast contributions for political campaigns from corporation chiefs and high

financiers whose interests were diametrically opposed to those of the people and whose money had been the most corrupting and sinister influence in present-day politics.

Lincoln's Arraignment of Party Subserviency.

Coming down, however, to Mr. Taft's specific claim as a worshiper at the fetish of party regularity, happily for the memory of the great American Commoner no less than for the cause of good government, we have an explicit statement on party subserviency that constitutes a most complete refutation of Secretary Taft's calumny.

In 1856 Mr. Lincoln, in denouncing the party subserviency of the Democratic party, which at that time occupied a position in government very similar to that of the Republican party to-day, and which was then seeking, even as Secretary Taft and his party bosses are now seeking, to hold the masses by the shibboleth of party regularity, said:

"The party lash and the fear of ridicule will overawe justice and liberty, for it is a singular fact, but none the less a fact, and well known by the most common experience, that men will do things under the terror of the party lash that they would not, on any account or for any con-

sideration, do otherwise. . . . Orders came from Washington commanding an approval of the measure; the party lash was applied, and it was brought up again in caucus and passed by a large majority. . . . Here is where the greatest danger lies—that, while we profess to be a government of laws and reason, law will give way to violence on demand of this awful and crushing power."

Mr. Taft's attempt to misrepresent the great Commoner and friend of all the oppressed or victims of injustice, is characteristic of present-day opportunist politicians whose mental ability is not companioned by conscientious scruples. These men twist and turn things to the advantage of their cause, without any due regard to the verities involved. Mr. Taft in his famous injunction ruling against organized labor, when he was a Federal judge, insured the eternal gratitude of the great railway magnates by reading into a statute a meaning never dreamed of by the framers of the statute or other statesmen. This exhibition of ingenious and vicious sophistry is only one of several that might be cited from his political record which are on a par with his misrepresentation of President Lincoln, and which have marked him as a man generous in fair words for the people and prodigal in fair deeds for plutocracy and party machinery.

RENEWED ACTIVITY OF THE MODERN DICK TURPINS.

The Recent Raise in Express Rates by The American and National Express Companies.

THE RECENT raise in the express rates made by the American and National Express Companies means the confiscation of millions more dollars from the American wealth-creators by these irresponsible privileged monopolies whose avarice is only bounded by their ability to extort money from the people. The advance in the tariff rates for these two companies raises the minimum rate from fifteen cents to twenty-five cents per package.

We have long had occasion to send a number of packages, six or eight a month, to one of the suburbs that fringe Boston which is reached only by the National Express Com-

pany. The rate in the past has been fifteen cents per package. Now the minimum rate is twenty-five cents per package. This means an increase of from sixty to eighty cents a month on the personal packages which we send to this suburb. At the minimum amount, six packages, this means an increase of over seven dollars a year in tariff. We cite this illustration merely to show what this enormous increase in rate means.

It will require no special imagination on the part of the reader to realize the enormous aggregate of increased wealth that this arbitrary raise in rates will bring into the coffers of the two corporations in question. Millions upon millions of dollars will thus be extracted within the next twelve months from the pockets of the American wealth-producers

and consumers, at a time when business is depressed, when labor is seeking work, and when all enterprises not enjoying special privileges are suffering as a result of the recent Wall-Street gamblers' panic. It is needless to say that this additional levy of millions upon millions of dollars from the American people would not have been possible had we been enjoying a parcels post—something which England has long enjoyed, something which almost all the enlightened and liberal nations of earth enjoy; and the American people would long ago have been in the enjoyment of this right had it not been for the power which the great express companies and their confederates, the railways, have been able to exert in government, partly by keeping their handy-men in office, and partly by influencing legislators in other ways. So long as United States Senators and Congressmen are permitted to accept bribes from the express companies in the way of free transportation for everything they wish to send, the American people will continue to be robbed by these predatory bands and to be deprived of the advantages which other civilized nations have long enjoyed through more efficient postal service.

More than this: with every raise such as has just been made, the companies will be enabled to set aside vast sums of money to pay for lawyers who are ever ready to prostitute their mental power for the service of the enemies of the Republic and the people in general, and for newspapers and handy-men in government; while a further sum can be easily added to the campaign contributions for debauching the electorate and destroying free and just government.

The people can have little hope for relief, for clean government or just and efficient government, so long as heavy stockholders, political bosses and the handy-men of public-service corporations are found in the United States and Congress—men like Platt and Depew, Lodge and Crane, Bailey and Penrose.

How much longer are the American people going to tolerate this pauperizing of the millions for the abnormal enrichment of the few and this corrupting and destroying of free government by princely campaign contributions, by systematic upholding of unscrupulous bosses, and by various forms of bribery, such as free transportation and free express service, as well as legal retainers given to statesmen whose oath is given for the

carrying forward of the interests of the people, but whose vote is always found on the side of privileged wealth in the people's struggle for its abolition?

Twenty-Four Millions to Stockholders of a Single Express Company.

In this connection we invite the attention of our readers to the following article from *Postal Progress*, the organ of the Postal Progress League, in its issue of last July.

The article appears under the heading, "Two Hundred Per Cent. Dividend. Adams Express Stockholders to Get Twenty-four Millions in Four Per Cent. Bonds."

"This announcement, so interesting to the stockholders of the Adams Express Company, is yet more interesting to the human live stock, or, if you please, bondsmen—men, women and children—whose earnings to the amount of \$24,000,000, are to be taken for the conversion of these Twenty-four million dollars of paper bonds into gold.

"In the determination of this enormous highway tax, the taxpayers have had no share. It represents no service rendered them in the past or to be rendered them in the future. It is simply a repetition of the old highwayman's demand: 'Stand and Deliver. Your Money or Your Life.'

"Happily, however, there is a possible escape from these modern highwaymen. The American Public have a Post Office. It has been in existence for over a hundred years and since 1863 these have been its characteristics:

"Rates determined by the representatives of the ratepayers in Congress assembled.

"Rates regardless of distance.

"Rates regardless of the volume of business.

"Rates regardless of the character of the matter transported.

"Up to the limits of the modern Post Office there are no possible discriminations either as to persons, places or things. Up to the limits of its service the humblest citizen on the most out-of-the-way rural route in this republic has the guarantee of the National Government that he shall get his supplies and send off his produce at the same uniform rate as the biggest corporation in our greatest metropolis. For over forty years the Post Office has been engaged in the handling of merchandise and to-day on one class of merchandise, magazines and newspapers sent out by publishers and news-

dealers, its rates are but one cent a pound and this on packets unlimited by law either as to their bulk or their weight. What the Post Office is now doing for the publishers, that it can do for the rest of us.

"The end of the Post Office is public Service.

"The End of the Express Company is Public Plunder.

"The proper response to this Express decree of public plunder will be a public demand for the assumption of the entire express business by the public-service Post Office."

MR. BRYAN AND THE SENEGAMBIAN IN THE NEW YORK WORLD'S WOODPILE.

MR. BRYAN seems to have Mr. Pulitzer on the hip. We have noticed that almost invariably where a person is found opposing public ownership of natural monopolies, he is generally either directly a beneficiary of the general spoliation of the public for the enrichment of the few, or is in the employ of the spoilers or in other ways beholden to corporate interests, so that his first allegiance is not to the public weal.

The *World* and its co-partners who pushed forward the plutocratic program four years ago, who was so successful not only in securing the nomination of the *World's* candidate, but also the overwhelming wreck or defeat of the Democratic party, are now, apparently encouraged by their success four years ago, again busily engaged in the same work. They are trying to divide and paralyze the Democratic party so as to prevent the election of any man who would carry forward radical reform measures in the interests of the public weal and to prevent the further exploitation of the people by the criminal rich. The obvious plan is, first, to divide the Jeffersonian or progressive Democrats so as to prevent them from concentrating on Mr. Bryan. Then, if it is found impossible for the plutocracy to nominate one of its own faithful handy-men, an effort would be made to center on some other Democrat who would not be objectionable to the corporate interests and who could be depended upon not to wage aggressive warfare in the interests of the people.

The *World* is again leading the campaign for the distraction and division of the Democratic party, and as the first move in its campaign at the present time, as it was before, is an effort to discredit Mr. Bryan. Hence its vicious, persistent and shamefully unjust

misrepresentations of the great Commoner.

The feudalism of privileged wealth and the criminal rich of Wall Street are thoroughly alarmed. They know that the people are aroused and are in no mood to be trifled with. They fear the election of some incorruptible statesman who will be loyal to the interests of the people, and they feel it to be of paramount importance to paralyze the power of the Democratic party. No paper in America is doing more efficient work in this direction than the *New York World*. In *The Commoner* for January 10th, Mr. Bryan made a reference to "the *New York World* and the special interests it represents." Immediately the *World* sent the following telegram to Mr. Bryan:

"New York, January 10.—Hon. W. J. Bryan, Lincoln, Nebraska: Always eager to print all the news the *World* respectfully invites and urges you to furnish it with the list of special interests you say in *The Commoner* it represents. Any answer you may send is prepaid *World*."

Mr. Bryan called the *World's* bluff in the following reply:

"January 11, 1908.—*New York World*, New York City, N. Y.: Your telegram asking me to name the special interests your paper represents received. I understand Mr. Joseph Pulitzer is practically sole owner of the *World* and as railroad regulation and the elimination of private monopolies are pending issues I can answer your inquiry more fully if the *World* will state editorially what pecuniary interest, if any, Mr. Pulitzer or the *World* has in railroad stocks or bonds and what in corporations commonly known as trusts.
W. J. BRYAN."

Although from the *World's* telegram it was intimated that Mr. Bryan's letter would be given the publicity the *World* prates so much about, the dispatch was not allowed to meet the eyes of the *World's* readers.

On February 4th Mr. Bryan was in New York, and the editor of the *World* sent a reporter to interview him. He consented only on condition that his statement should be printed in full. This was finally agreed to and Mr. Bryan repeated the substance of his telegram, insisting that if Mr. Pulitzer was financially interested in stocks and bonds of railways and corporations generally known as trusts, his readers ought to know that fact when he assumes to advise the Democratic party. The *World* reporter then asked:

"Would ownership of railroad stocks or bonds disqualify any one from advising on public questions?"

And Mr. Bryan replied:

"His ownership of stocks and bonds of railroads or predatory corporations would not disqualify him for discussing questions, but if the public knows just what his financial interests are, it can better judge what weight to give to his editorials."

The *World* on February 6th dodged Mr. Bryan's question, and in a very Pulitzeresque manner sought to divert attention from the important question propounded by the Great Commoner, by asking a number of other questions. All it had to say in reply to Mr. Bryan's question about Mr. Pulitzer's holding of interests in public-service corporations and trusts was the following:

"In the midst of a campaign involving a question of democratic life or death, we cannot stop to bandy personalities with even so eminent and distinguished an opponent as he."

To this Mr. Bryan has the following to say in an editorial in *The Commoner* of February 14th:

"Mr. Bryan's statement concerning the relative unimportance of persons is just as true now as it was in 1896. Mr. Bryan well understands that the bitter attacks made upon him by the New York *World* are not due to any personal ill-will entertained for him by any one in authority in the *World's* office. Indeed in *The Commoner* editorial to which the *World* took exception this statement was made:

"The New York *World* is not a Democratic paper. Its advice to Democrats

cannot be relied upon. Its proprietor, nor its editors, has not the slightest reason for personal unfriendliness toward Mr. Bryan. Their antipathy to the editor of *The Commoner* lies deeper than anything of a personal character can go. The purpose of the *World* and the men who follow its leadership is not to build up the Democratic party nor to advance the public interests; it is rather to see to it that as a result of the election of 1908 the Democratic party shall not become the medium through which a long-suffering people shall find relief."

"When it was intimated that the New York *World* was more concerned in the special interests than in the Democratic party the *World* demanded to know what special interests the *World* spoke for. And then when Mr. Bryan replied that the public would be in better position to say where the heart of the New York *World* is if its owner would explain to the public the location of the *World's* treasure the *World* says that it 'cannot stop to bandy personalities' with Mr. Bryan!

"This is not a question of personalities. The *World* assumes to give advice to the Democratic party and to the American people as to the character of the policies they shall adopt and the sort of men they shall select for the administration of public affairs. The people to whom the *World* tenders advice have the right to be informed concerning the motives of Mr. Pulitzer's great newspaper. It has long been a mystery to many people who have admired the excellent work which the New York *World* has done against certain cliques bent upon the exploitation of local government in New York City and state why the *World* has been so sensitive whenever effective railroad regulation was proposed and so strangely indifferent to great public evils involving certain other great concerns.

"In the absence of personal ill-will toward Mr. Bryan on the part of the *World*—as claimed by the *World* and admitted by Mr. Bryan—how may we account for the *World's* persistent misrepresentation of Mr. Bryan and its vindictive assaults upon him? Grant all that the *World* claims for itself in the way of devotion to the public interests and it must be admitted that the same high purpose that prompted it to rush to the defence of the public would restrain it from indulging

in deliberate misrepresentation of an individual.

"The mystery may be solved when the *World* shows the extent of its owner's financial interest in the great concerns from whose impositions the American people are seeking relief.

"If the owner of the *World* expects the American people to accept the advice which his paper is now giving in such abundance, if he expects the people to regard the *World's* present day activity in Democratic circles

as being due to its owner's extraordinary stock of patriotism, let Mr. Pulitzer show the people that so far as concerns investments in corporations that are to be regulated Mr. Pulitzer—the man who fixes the *World's* policy—is free from that pecuniary interest which, in common knowledge of human conduct, might reasonably be presumed to have a controlling effect upon his attitude.

"'Publicity! Publicity! Publicity!' That has for years been the Pulitzer cry. Let the light be turned upon the Pulitzer investments."

NEW ZEALAND STILL FORGING AHEAD.

NEW Zealand under Prime Minister Ward is steadily carrying forward the splendid democratic program so successfully inaugurated by Minister Ballance and vigorously carried on by the late Richard Seddon; a program which at all times keeps as the master thought of the government the development, happiness and prosperity of all the people, through conditions that make for equality of opportunities and of rights.

Recently the New Zealand government has further amended her land laws with a view to reducing the evils of land monopoly and rendering the land as available as possible for actual settlers. The recently-enacted legislation makes it unlawful for any person to acquire an interest in any land beyond a total of five thousand acres for land of the third class; two thousand acres for land that comes under the head of what is known as the second class; and 640 acres for land in the first class.

Another important progressive economic enactment has been the setting aside of several millions of acres of the crown lands to provide money for popular education and old-age pensions.

If our government were a government of the people, by the people and for the people, instead of a government of Wall-Street high financiers, of corporation and trust magnates, through political bosses and party machines, for the enrichment of privileged classes and predatory bands, the American people would not to-day be the victims of plunderers who through watered stock and various other devices are extorting untold millions annually from the pockets of the wealth creators, by

extortionate charges made by railways, express companies, telegraph and telephone companies. This vast sum of money confiscated annually from the millions of wealth-creators and consumers by the prime corruptors of government and the irresponsible farmers of the people's wealth, would, if checked, greatly diminish the ever and rapidly-widening gulf between the wealth-creating millions and the great gamblers and monopolistic chiefs—the Harrimans, the Ryans, the Morgans and their ilk; while the reasonable and legitimate revenue yielded by the railway, telegraph, telephone and express companies, if installed by the government or taken over on a basis of fair valuation or valuation unincumbered by water, would supply above the cost for first-class service a sum that would go far toward securing an old-age pension for every industrious American who had faithfully toiled to create wealth and whose circumstances were not easy when he reached the limit of, say sixty-five years.

When will the American people awaken to the fact that the politicians and the editors and proprietors of newspapers which uphold the Wall-Street régime and bulwark the rapidly-growing lawless and arrogant oligarchy of privileged wealth are really the handy-men of the gamblers and high financiers who are working for their masters and against the interests of the people? When once the masses realize this, America will set her face toward just and free government, even as in the early nineties New Zealand set her face toward true democracy based on justice for all and the conservation of the best interests of each citizen.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the National Federation for People's Rule.

A VERY conservative initiative and referendum bill was passed by the Ohio Senate, twenty-five to eleven, February 4th, providing for the submission of a constitutional amendment to the people. The amendment will apply only to statute law, permitting a ten per cent. initiative and a five per cent. referendum. At least sixty per cent. of the voters must vote upon any measure submitted in order for the result to be binding. A majority of votes cast decides. The Governor cannot veto but the legislature can repeal a measure upon which the people have voted. The bill is not satisfactory to the friends of direct-legislation, and the Lucas County Referendum League has formally protested against it. The objections to the bill are as follows:

"First—Subsequent legislatures may, without a referendum, repeal a law passed or enact a law defeated by referendum.

"Second—The courts may declare any law unconstitutional, but the people are given no power by means of suitable referendum to amend the constitution to meet their needs.

"Third—The greatest and most vital objection to the bill is that it requires sixty per cent. of all the votes cast at the election to be cast upon every referendum proposition. The effect of this will be that sixty per cent. of all the votes will have to be cast in favor of every proposition, because those opposed to any proposition will know enough not to vote at all."

The league recommends that the resolution be amended as follows:

"First—So as to forbid legislatures from annulling the result of a referendum without another referendum.

"Second—So as to permit constitutional amendments to be submitted after proper petition to cure the consequences of courts holding necessary laws unconstitutional.

"Third—That a referendum proposition be declared to be carried at an election at which it receives a majority of the entire

vote cast thereon, and in no case compelling such majority to exceed the number necessary to elect a majority of members to the legislature."

THE RESULT of the Michigan constitutional convention has not been very satisfactory to any but the corporate and corrupting interests of the state. The people wanted direct-legislation, home-rule and municipal ownership, and elected delegates who they had reason to believe would incorporate these provisions in the new constitution. A distinct majority of the delegates were specifically pledged to direct-legislation, but the lobbies did their work all too well, compromise after compromise was forced upon the faithful friends of majority-rule until the measure finally adopted is but the lifeless ghost of direct-legislation, and the people throughout the state are freely expressing their disgust with the measure. The fight was made on an effort to get the initiative on Constitutional Amendments. A ten per cent. petition was demanded, and the legislature is given power, even in the fact of such a petition, to refuse to submit the initiated amendment to the people. It took the mysterious "changing" of four votes by the whiskey and fraudine lobby to finally force in this last provision, and so kill the measure. The farce will be written into the constitution, but the people know they have been "buncoed," and their desire for direct-legislation has been whetted by the fight.

IN NEVADA the bill for the arming of mercenaries in behalf of the mine-owners has become a law. January 29th it was signed by the Governor. But it is to be submitted to a vote of all the people of the state. This is one of the first results of Nevada's referendum system. Ten per cent. of the registered voters can call for a direct ballot, and the will of the majority will become the law of the land. The few men elected to the legislature are no longer the ruling power.

The wage-earners of Nevada are to be congratulated upon their right to appeal to the people's sense of justice.

OKLAHOMA still leads in the right direction. The Governor has appointed a committee of four Democrats and four Republicans with himself as chairman to travel over the country, visiting state after state with a view to inducing the state legislatures to join in the call for the submission to the people of an amendment to the United States constitution providing for the direct election of United States Senators. The salary of members of the commission is one dollar each, the state paying travelling expenses.

HON. L. A. UELAND, author of the North Dakota Constitutional Amendment, is doing good service on the lecture platform in that state. In preparing the people for their vote on that question at the coming election. The Valley City *Times-Record* says: "Could the people of North Dakota all hear Mr. Ueland's address, it would convert ninety per cent. of them to the cause of direct-legislation, the greatest question before the American people to-day.

CHARTER-REVISION is in the air in Boston. The exposure of municipal rottenness by the finance commission has made many citizens believe that the fundamental trouble was not with the personnel of the city government altogether, but largely with the system of government itself. The new Mayor has proposed a charter revision, against which the Central Labor Union has declared itself, because it contains no provision for direct legislation. The *Herald* is doing very creditable work in advertising the Des Moines charter.

THE Boston *Traveler* has petitioned the legislature to permit the people of that state to vote on an advisory referendum on the question, "Is it desirable that the present rates of tariff duty should be materially reduced, and that food, fuel and raw materials be put on the free list and that the Senators and Congressmen from Massachusetts be instructed to favor the passage of a bill for this purpose?" Of course there is not the ghost of a chance that the misrepresentative government will permit the people such an expression of the public opinion.

PETITIONS for the submission of two direct-legislation amendments to the charter of Seattle have been signed by the required fifteen per cent. of the voters. The first provides for the submission of an amendment providing for a municipal system of direct-legislation. The second is to require that the franchise ordinances be submitted to the people.

OVER two thousand signatures have been secured to petitions calling for a vote on charter amendments, providing for initiative and referendum clauses in the city charter of Seattle to be voted on March 3rd.

THE Initiative and Referendum League of Portland, Oregon, is conducting a "No seat, no fare" campaign against the street-car company of that city.

THE Illinois legislature has passed a direct-primary law applying to 686 elective offices.

MR. LEE F. LYBARGER of Philadelphia is doing great service for direct-legislation on the lecture platform.

A LARGE number of the citizens of Emporia, Virginia, have petitioned the legislature for changes in the charter, making the city officials more directly responsible to the voters.

THE Vermont Anti-Labor League has voted to demand the referendum of the question of Prohibition.

THE Ohio legislature has passed a bill referring to the people a constitutional amendment changing the basis of laying tax levies.

THE Republican Congressional Committee of Clarksburg, West Virginia, introduced an innovation in Republican politics February 10th by deciding that the nominee for Congress this year should be elected by popular vote at a primary election April 9th.

LINCOLN STEFFENS has published in the March *American Magazine* a most appreciative write-up of U'Ren of Oregon, the father of the referendum in America.

MRS. ELLEN H. E. PRICE of Swarthmore

College made a notable address before the Philadelphia Women's Suffrage Society January 30th in which she made a most effective argument for people's rule.

THE PEOPLE of Pittsburg take a referendum vote April 11th on a large bonding proposition for a new city hall.

THE Farmers' Unions of Oklahoma are demanding that the legislature submit to a referendum vote the question whether the state school lands shall be sold. The members of the Unions pledge themselves to oppose the sale of the state's land in every possible way.

A NEW civil service reform anti-spoils system bill has been passed in New Jersey carrying a referendum clause for counties and municipalities.

TWO ASPECTS of the liquor question are likely to be submitted to popular vote at the coming spring election in Chicago. The liquor men want an "advisory referendum" to test public sentiment on the matter of Sunday closing, and the temperance people want to avail themselves of the new local-option law to learn how many people in Chicago are willing to vote for no license. The results of both referendums will be more than interesting, for they will probably be obeyed and executed by ordinances. It requires a petition of twenty-five per cent. to put either question on the "little ballot."

THE More-Daylight Club of Detroit has asked the City Council for a referendum on the question of adopting Eastern Standard Time at the April election.

THE CITIZENS of River Forest, Illinois, voted on January 18th on a street-car ordinance providing for a five-cent fare to Chicago. The village trustees when they were elected to office promised to refer any traction ordinance to a referendum vote before passing it.

THE PEOPLE of Hackensack, New Jersey, voted in an election on a site for a proposed high school, February 14th.

APPLICATIONS from the legislatures of Iowa, Nevada and Wisconsin for a constitutional convention by which the election of

United States Senators by direct vote might be secured, were received at Washington January 20th.

WHAT the Atlanta *Constitution* calls an ideal illustration of the doctrine of referendum was furnished in a recent trip of the Governor and High School Board through every county of that state (Georgia). This board is to locate a high school in every county and appropriate \$2,000 a year for its support. The trip was made for the purpose of finding out what the people wanted.

A PETITION invoking the initiative in favor of extending the power of the Port of Portland Commission was signed by 2,351 voters and filed with the Oregon Secretary of State in time to get the questions on the ballot for the spring elections. Astoria also demands a vote on the question of spending money for river improvements.

WILKENSBURG and Bellevue, suburbs of Pittsburg, will vote on June 21st on the proposition of annexation.

EX-GOVERNOR GARVIN's bill for the constitutional initiative is again before the Rhode Island legislature for its annual frost.

THE California State Federation of Labor passed a resolution at its recent convention calling upon the legislature to submit to the voters an amendment to the Constitution providing for the initiative and referendum.

EX-SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY Lealie M. Shaw in criticism of Mr. Bryan says: "No wonder that the twice-defeated candidate for the Presidency favors the initiative and referendum. Under such a system we would have gone at one time to a limitless issue of irredeemable fiat money, and later to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Either would have wrought irreparable ruin. Truly a representative government is preferred to a pure democracy." This illustrates fairly the utter ignorance of the great majority of the public men on this question.

WE MAY as well note in passing that Mr. Hughes took particular pains to disown direct-legislation.

A BILL to submit state prohibition and

county dispensaries to the voters of South Carolina at a special election on July 14th has recently been passed by the legislature. The vote will determine whether state prohibition shall be substituted for the county dispensary law for which the state has for some time been famous.

THE PEOPLE of Batavia, New York, took a referendum vote on local improvements in March.

THE Charter-Revision Committee of Los Angeles is taking the Initiative and Referendum and Recall for granted. Direct-Legislation has worked so well in this progressive city that there is not the slightest chance of putting through a new charter without it.

THE FIGHT in Milwaukee over a municipal lighting plant comes near to being a continuous performance. With bids ready to be opened for the construction of a gas plant, the council has finally voted to submit an ordinance to the people in April establishing an electric-light plant also.

AN OREGON initiative bill bearing fourteen thousand signatures has been filed regulating the fishing operations on the Columbia River.

A BILL providing for a constitutional amendment establishing the Initiative and Referendum on the constitution, in statutes and in local affairs, was introduced in the Maryland Senate January 29th by Senator Campbell of Baltimore.

THE Kansas legislature has passed a new direct-primary law.

THE Iowa Supreme Court has upheld the Des Moines charter as constitutional in all particulars.

THE Massachusetts legislature gave its annual hearing to the friends of majority-rule. The constitutional amendment as usual received scant attention. The Public-Opinion bill, deprived of every vestige of radicalism, and "safeguarded" in every possible way, was supported by Representative Robert Luce and Robert Treat Paine, Jr., chairman of the League. The corporations' lobby, however, did not take the pains to appear against the bill, as the Speaker of the House, who is their own man, had stacked the committee against it.

TWO INTERESTING and valuable pamphlets have been prepared by Margaret A. Schaffner and issued by the Wisconsin library commission for the Legislative Reference Bureau, one of the most progressive and important of recent political institutions. These pamphlets are: The Recall, and the Initiative and Referendum. She first gives an outline of the methods of enactment and salient features of the Recall with a very comprehensive list of references, also a brief statement of the laws establishing it, the places where it is established, and the judicial decisions bearing upon it. The second gives a summary of the history of the Initiative and Referendum in this and other countries and a synopsis of the laws and judicial decisions. The legal and literary references in these pamphlets while naturally incomplete are of great value and the cause of purer democracy has been done a distinct service in these publications.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP NEWS

BY BRUNO BECKHARD.

Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

Municipal Lighting in St. Louis.

THE city of St. Louis, according to a recent report in the *Municipal Journal and Engineer*, is operating four small municipal electric-lighting plants, three of them with a capacity of about 800,000 kilowatt

hours per year. The fourth, used by the water department in its plants (also municipal) and to operate seven miles of municipal railway, has a very much larger capacity. Besides these four successful plants, two others are being installed. The fifth, which

is now operating in a small way pending further equipment, is located at the Industrial School, and will light, besides that institution, the workhouse and several stations of the fire department. One plant is located in the new city hall and lights that building, the old city hall, new Central District police station, four courts, court house, the jail and several engine houses. Another is located at the insane asylum (the only city institution of the kind in the country), and besides that building lights the poor house and female hospital (all immense buildings) and several engine houses. Another is located at the new city hospital, now comprising seven of a total of fourteen large buildings, which are eventually to constitute the institution, and also lights stations of the fire department. Police stations in different parts of the city are also lighted where convenient. The sixth plant is now being installed at the quarantine hospital, an extensive but isolated institution outside the city proper.

So successful has been the operation of the various small plants that agitation was started for a large plant to light the city streets and parks, with the result that \$140,000 a year has been ordered set aside to meet the expenses of building such a plant.

The city was practically driven to municipal ownership, for prior to 1901, the lighting company having a complete monopoly, the city was forced to pay for the lighting of all its public buildings at the rate of thirteen cents per kilowatt hour. An ordinance was prepared by the Board of Public improvements and passed by the assembly authorizing the construction of two plants, one at the new city hall and one at the insane asylum. The lighting company fought the measure in the assembly, but failing to stop it there, threatened to cut off the current at the expiration of its contract, allowing only three months in which to put the two plants into operation. This argument so impressed the mayor that he vetoed the ordinance. When the contract was let again, however, the lighting company came down in its price from 13 cents to 6½ cents. But when that contract had expired the company raised its price to 7½ cents. The municipal-ownership ordinance was reintroduced, passed in the assembly, signed by the mayor (the same that had vetoed it before) and the plants were put into operation in July, 1903. The following

contract with the lighting company for the other municipal buildings dropped the price to five cents, and in 1904 it again dropped, this time to 4½ cents, at which figure it still stands. The two city plants not only served to bring the lighting company to terms but proved a financial success, for they were able to make current at a cost of two cents per kilowatt hour. The city-hall plant, under Chief Engineer Joseph W. Wood, paid for itself in twenty-three months, the value of the current being rated at the competitive price of 4½ cents, besides which all additions and improvements to the plant were counted a expense and paid for as maintenance.

In the city-hall plant, Mr. Wood says, the total expense of 3.07 cents included running the boilers for heating the buildings, which before the plant for making light was installed, cost three times the present cost of light, or about two-thirds of the total present cost of operating the whole plant.

Total output of plant in kilowatts.....	808,132	
Value, at 4 1-2 (contract price).....		\$36,415.90
Total expense of operating plant including heating plant in connection and current for elevators.....	\$31,877.66	
Interest and depreciation at 5 per cent, each.....	\$5,000.00	
Net earnings for year ending October 31, 1907.....		\$9,538.24

The expenses include three shifts of men at good salaries. The table shows a net earning, or in other words, a net saving, from the city-hall plant in one year, aggregating \$9,538.24, or more than one-fourth what the same amount of current would cost; not at the price the city would probably be paying for current had not the municipal plants been installed but at the price created by the competition of the municipal with the private plants. It is also unnecessary to charge the city five per cent. for the use of money which really belongs to the plant, the plant having, as stated, paid for itself two years ago, including repairs and betterments. The city is therefore paying itself \$25,000 a year for interest on the plant and the same amount for depreciation and betterments, both of the latter already taken up in the expense account. In that way the real net earnings would be \$14,538.24 even after counting the heating plant as part of the lighting expense as in the foregoing table. The interest is also unnecessarily high because the city has several million dollars on deposit in the banks

at three per cent., and is paying only 3.65 per cent. on its improvement bonds.

The following table leaves out the cost of operating the heating and ventilating systems, basing the estimate of their part of the expenses on their cost previous to the installation of the lighting plant:

Value of output at competitive prices.....	\$36,415.90
Entire expense of generating current.....	\$6,762.98
Net earnings at same rate as contract.....	\$29,652.92
Interest and depreciation at 5 per cent. each.....	\$5,000.00
Net earnings less interest and depreciation.....	\$24,652.92

This table, which is based on accurate detailed records, shows the actual cost of current to be 1.445 cents per kilowatt hour. The net saving in one year, of \$29,652.92 is nearly five-sixths of the value of the current used.

Net a Hypothetical Case.

AT A RECENT election the citizens of Camden, New Jersey, expressed themselves in favor of a municipal lighting plant, although the vote is not binding on the council. The council has ordered the city engineer to prepare estimates of the cost of erecting a plant. Meanwhile the president of the "Public Service Corporation" asks the council to give him a new five years' contract. He now charges the city \$109.50 per arc light, but in the new contract he asks only \$80, and offers to supply lights for the rest of his present contract (more than a year) at the reduced figure. In other words the corporation can make a profit out of a contract whereby it furnishes light for 27 per cent. less than it is now charging the city. The difference in cost to the city for the lighting during the rest of the present contract alone is about \$27,000. Conversely, supposing that half of the population of Camden pays taxes, the present rate imposes an additional burden of over fifty cents per capita. Public-service corporations do not generally tell the city council quite so plainly that they, the corporation, have overcharged the city nearly thirty-seven per cent. Camden is fortunate in getting the facts at first hand.

Income of English Cities.

IN AN investigation by the British Government as to the sources of income of about 1,100 towns and cities it was found that 31 per cent. of the revenue came from the various enterprises owned by the municipi-

palities. In 1902 the taxes of the residents of these cities and towns were reduced by \$75,359,750. The public get better services for less money, and there are fewer private corporations to corrupt public officials. It makes some difference who asks: Is municipal ownership worth while?

Webster City, Iowa

WEBSTER CITY installed its own water works in 1880, and, finding this a success, has developed other branches of municipal activity. The water rates at present are twenty cents for residences and a scale as low as five cents for business purposes. The electric plant furnishes light and power at prices ranging from ten to five cents, at lower rates than any other city in the state. The rates in Omaha are a half as high again. The municipal heating plant supplies steam heat for most of the business section and some of the residence districts. The only franchise activity not in the hands of the city is the telephone exchange.

Cincinnati's Railroads.

CINCINNATI built and owns the Cincinnati Southern Railway. The road not only pays the annual interest, \$720,353, on its construction bonds, but also annual profits upwards of \$387,000. Of this latter sum, a large part goes to the City Sinking Fund and goes to pay off debts that would otherwise have to be met by taxation, while \$160,000 goes to redeem the railway bonds. If the present rate of redemption is maintained until 1950 the city will clear \$1,200,000 a year, and will by that time own absolutely and permanently an ever-increasingly valuable piece of property. In building the railway, moreover, the city found it possible to be more economical than either of the private corporations that own the two competing roads.

Gloucester, Massachusetts.

THE Water Commission of Gloucester has contracted for a \$1,500 building, to be used chiefly for the storage of the large amount of supplies which the department constantly has in stock. Part of the building will be used as a blacksmith shop, and part of it for a pipe shop where the cement lining of the service pipes can be done.

Springfield, Ohio.

THE REPORT of the Springfield water

works shows that the amount of water pumped last year averaged 4,048,716 gallons daily, an increase of two per cent. over the amount pumped the previous year. The coal consumption was 12,235 pounds daily, a decrease of six per cent. The average cost per million gallons was reduced to \$3.40.

Carthage, Missouri.

THE MUNICIPAL lighting plant of Carthage made a net revenue of \$1,618 last year in addition to paying all running expenses and furnishing the city with about \$7,000 worth of light free.

New York's Public Baths.

A NEW public bath was put into operation in New York in January. The building occupies the block on the east side of Avenue A between Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Streets, and in addition to a 65-foot tiled swimming-pool, contains two large waiting-rooms and 152 dressing-rooms and shower-baths. Every one is required to take a shower-bath before using the swimming-pool. The building is equipped with all sanitary improvements, noticeable among which is the gutter which surrounds the pool and which prevents the water splashed upon the floor from running back into the pool.

Somerville, Massachusetts.

Water bills were issued as follows:	
Total (annual, additional and metered) water charges.....	\$233,187.37
The account has credit for the amount received from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, distribution of entrance fees, water supplied outside the district, and water furnished water companies.....	
	800.30
	<u>\$233,987.67</u>
Abatements made on the above charges.....	\$6,324.08
Refunds made on the above charges.....	443.00
	<u>6,767.08</u>
Income from sale of water.....	\$327,230.64
Amount received from water service assessments.....	\$3,929.80
Amount received from costs.....	45.00
Amount received from labor and materials sold.....	3,105.01
	<u>\$234,300.45</u>
Total income from water works.	

This amount was used as follows:

For water-works purposes:	
Water-works maintenance.....	\$26,941.29
Water-works extension.....	19,195.86
Abatements on water charges of previous year.....	5.10
Miscellaneous accounts.....	4,155.48
Interest on water-loan bonds.....	3,325.00
Maturing water loan bonds.....	6,000.00
Metropolitan water-works assessment.....	97,160.08
	<u>\$157,392.81</u>

For other municipal purposes:	
Sewers, maintenance.....	\$12,000.00
Interest on sewer-loan bonds.....	8,827.50
Maturing sewer-loan bonds.....	18,000.00
Fire department.....	24,500.00
Suppression of gypsy and brown-tail moths.....	1,000.00
Reduction of funded debt.....	10,792.96
Unexpended balance of water-works funds carried to credit of Excess and Deficiency account.....	1,787.18
	<u>\$76,907.64</u>
	<u>\$234,300.45</u>

In addition to the appropriations from water income to other municipal purposes enumerated above, water has been furnished without charge to all the city departments that have required its use. The value of this water is estimated at \$12,000.

Fort William and Port Arthur, Canada.

THE "TWIN CITIES" of Fort William and Port Arthur are probably the leading exponents of municipal ownership in America to-day, and their citizens are already looking forward to the time when the city, instead of collecting taxes, will distribute dividends.

Fort William owns its water works, electric-lighting and telephone systems, a theater and a dance hall. Port Arthur owns the street-railway systems of both cities, its water works, lights, telephone, and 1,500 acres of valuable lake-front land which it is holding for the future encouragement of industrial development. The only privately-held franchise in the two cities is in the hands of the Bell Telephone Company, but that corporation has only one instrument out of every eight, and, with the passing of the ordinance requiring all wires to be put underground, will probably withdraw.

Both cities generate their electricity by water power. The plant of Fort William alone is capable of generating enough current for a city of 2,000,000 inhabitants. The street-railway line in 1907 cleared \$32,000. The net profit for four years under municipal ownership is \$90,898.38, one-fifth of the entire cost of the road. Were this profit distributed in dividends it would mean three dollars to each inhabitant of both cities, or thirty dollars to each taxpayer in Port Arthur. The cars are operated by policemen.

Canadian telephone rates generally range between twenty-five and fifty dollars a year. These municipal systems charge only twelve dollars a year for a residence telephone, and twenty-four dollars for commercial service.

In four years the net earnings of the two systems have been about \$9,000.

The municipal theater and dance hall in Fort William are both in the city hall. The theater, which has tended to raise the standard and lower the cost of the performances given, pays the city six per cent. on the investment.

From the net earnings of its public utilities in the last four years Port Arthur has had

about \$100,000. This has reduced the tax rate six mills on the dollar. The most noticeable result of municipal ownership, however, has been the improvement in the government of the cities. Party politics have disappeared, and municipal office, instead of being a possible chance to make something has become a definite opportunity to do something, an honor well worth striving for.

BRUNO BECKHARD.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

By ROBERT TYSON.

Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

Progress in Oregon.

IN PREVIOUS issues of this department I have noted from time to time the progress of the movement to get a vote of the people of Oregon on Proportional Representation next June. The Proportional Representation Initiative petition has been sufficiently signed, and now the People's Power League asks the electors of Oregon to vote for a constitutional amendment which will permit the enactment of a Proportional Representation law in the future, and which in the meantime provides that each voter shall have one vote only; thus introducing at once the Single-Vote feature into the multiple electoral districts that Oregon now possesses.

About 7,500 signatures are required in order to get a question on the official ballot. The actual number of signatures obtained for the Proportional Representation Initiative was 9,912. This surplus of over two thousand signatures ensures that the question of Proportional Representation will be submitted to the voters of Oregon next June.

Mr. W. S. U'Ren of Oregon City writes:

"The People's Power League has filed its quartette of petitions and the 'copy' for the explanations. The old party politicians are thoroughly alarmed in Oregon, and we are going to have a red-hot campaign. I expect soon to be 'out on the stump.' The prospects seem very good for the success of the four measures of the People's Power League (one of which is Proportional Representation). As soon as the secretary of state gets out the pamphlet with the arguments

on our measure I will send you some copies."

I have also received a letter from Mr. H. Denlinger, of 1445 Garfield Avenue, Portland, Oregon, a gentleman who has been active in getting signatures for the Proportional Representation petition. Among other things he says:

"Very many of the people I have seen asked me for literature, and I have agreed to see them again. As an indication of the amount of work that must be done, I will say that not one man in a hundred that I approached seemed to know anything about Proportional Representation. Copies of the Proportional Representation amendment will be sent to every registered voter in the state, together with the arguments, but a great deal of special work is needed. We ought to distribute some simple elementary literature in pamphlets, which would state the general principle with a simple illustration. I expect to prepare something of this kind myself."

It is evident from the foregoing that there is ample scope in Oregon for the activity of proportionalists. Those who have either time or money to spare, or who have any suggestions to make, would do well to communicate with one of the two gentlemen named.

Extend Work in England.

AT A RECENT meeting of the English Proportional Representation Society, held in London, about twelve hundred dollars was subscribed towards the following objects:

- (1). The foundation of a journal.

(2). The organization of the central office on a permanent basis.

(3). The arrangement of meetings and lectures.

(4). The establishment wherever possible of affiliated societies.

In addition to the sum named, there was a guarantee of five hundred dollars a year for 1909 and 1910.

The first issue of the new journal has appeared, and Secretary Humphreys has kindly sent me some copies. Its title is *Representation*, and it is a neat publication of eight pages, with cover, the inside pages of which contain explanations under the appropriate headings of "Our Aims" and "Our Methods." Under the latter heading is given a description of the Hare single transferable vote. The former is so brief and so well put that I reproduce it here, as follows:

"OUR AIMS."

"(1). To reproduce the opinions of the electors in Parliament and other public bodies in their true proportions.

"(2). To secure that the majority of electors shall rule and all considerable minorities shall be heard.

"(3). To give electors a wider freedom in the choice of representatives.

"(4). To give representatives greater independence from the financial and other pressure of small sections of constituents.

"(5). To ensure to parties representation by their ablest and most trusted members."

News and Notes.

I take the following paragraphs from the new English journal, *Representation*:

"The Municipal Representation Bill, on which the House of Lords' Committee reported not unfavorably last session, will be reintroduced early next session by Lord Courtney in the House of Lords. The new bill will, in its electoral provisions, be practically the same as that which was discussed last year, but the machinery for the adoption of the proportional system will be altered in accordance with the recommendations of the Lords' Committee. It will be remembered that the bill proposes to allow municipal corporations to adopt the proportional system for municipal elections.

"Another bill which will be of interest to advocates of electoral reform is Mr. J. M.

Robertson's Parliamentary Elections Bill. This bill proposes to introduce the system usually known as the 'Second Ballot,' by means of the use of the transferable or, as it is sometimes called in this connection, the 'alternative' or 'preferential' vote. Thus in a single-member constituency where more than two candidates stand, the elector can place the figures 2, 3 and so on against his second, third and further choices. Then, if on counting the votes no candidate has more than half the total of votes cast, the candidates lowest on the poll are eliminated one after the other and their votes transferred to the other candidates, if any, whom their supporters have marked as next in order of preference. This goes on until some one candidate has more than half the votes. This system has been in operation in Queensland since 1892, and has just been introduced into Western Australia by an act passed in December, 1907.

"Advocates of Proportional Representation will view this bill with mixed feelings. Some will consider that it is a step backward, inasmuch as it will do away with such occasional representation of local minorities as three-cornered contests sometimes produce. Further, it will perfect the system of single-member constituencies, which is always and everywhere the enemy. Others will be inclined to say that the introduction of the machinery of the transferable vote is a step in the right direction, as it familiarizes the voters with an integral part of the Hare system. In any event we may be allowed to hope that the bill will so far succeed in the private members' ballot as to be discussed in a second-reading debate. There is never a discussion on electoral machinery without a convert to Proportional Representation.

"If Prince Bulow contemplates a change in the existing Prussian electoral system, he might do worse than examine the proportional representation recently introduced into Wurtemberg. Of the first elections *Der Beobachter*, a leading journal of Stuttgart, reported: 'The new electoral system, which only a short time ago was unknown to the electors, worked without a hitch in the whole country, just as it worked a few weeks ago in Stuttgart. The first feeling is one of surprise. The number of votes was enormous; the candidates were numerous and the ballot papers from the different districts were in various forms, and yet the whole.

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...ate, from the district officials to the employees of the government offices, who collected the results, worked with promptitude and ease. The next feeling is one of pleasure after complete success of this first experiment in proportional representation on a large scale in the German Empire.'

"We see by the *Municipal Journal* of January 17, 1908, that an agreement has been arrived at between the Government and some of the opposition parties for a bill

providing for universal manhood and womanhood suffrage in local elections coupled with proportional representation. It is noteworthy that this remarkable step in the direction of democracy should have been made by agreement between the political parties. Universal suffrage accompanied by just representation of every interest is very different from a state of things in which representation is monopolized by any one party or class."

ROBERT TYSON.

NEWS OF INDUSTRIAL COÖPERATION.

BY HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

New England Still Co-operates.

THE COOPERATIVE movement which started in the New England States in 1845 with the establishment of a workingmen's coöperative union in Boston and which spread so widely and rapidly during the next thirty or forty years, has generally been supposed to have died out, and the experiences undergone in Massachusetts, especially, have been pointed out as the definite failure of coöperative enterprise. While it is true that the Western states have far outstripped the East in the wide-spread establishment of coöperative stores, elevators, creameries and productive organizations, still New England has not fallen so far behind as is generally believed.

There are at present twenty-two coöperative creameries in active operation in Massachusetts, which are conducted by the farmers themselves and which are proving successful business organizations. There are more than sixty stores and distributive companies. There are three coöperative colonies and a few coöperative telephone companies in the more sparsely settled districts in the western portion of the state. There is a wide-spread sentiment among the Massachusetts granges in favor of the establishment of coöperative stores under the management of the grange, and this is being done to some extent by granges in other parts of New England, notably the Houlton Grange of Houlton, Maine, whose last year's business amounted to something over \$100,000. The coöperative

bank movement has reached its highest development in Massachusetts and has been a material aid to the working people, especially in buying their own homes.

Fellowship Farm.

OF THE colonies the one which seems to promise the greatest success was organized during the past year by a number of Boston people, who desired greater economic independence and the right to call a little plot of ground their own. They found a farm of seventy-five acres of arable land which could be purchased for \$8,000. This farm is situated in Westwood, one of the most typical of the old towns of Massachusetts, with its one broad road bordered by arching elms, on either side of which the little white farm houses with their long lines of attached buildings, nestle in peaceful seclusion. The forty men and women who formed the organization paid in \$1,000, which was necessary to secure the title deed to the farm, an average of \$25 for each member. Some paid more and some less, according to the location of the acre determined upon. The remaining \$7,000 is to be paid within ten years. Each member pays a monthly installment of \$2.50, and this amount includes principal, interest and taxes. Forty acres of land are divided up among the members, one acre to each, the remaining thirty-five acres being left for common use such as woodland, pasturage, parking, etc. After payment of \$300, the full amount from

each member, a warranty deed is given him for his acre.

Fellowship Farm has been in existence for more than a year now, and a number of little houses have been erected on the little plots of ground. The buildings which were on the farm have been turned to the use of the colony. They have a large printing plant, and publish the little magazine *Ariel* of which George Elmer Littlefield, the leading member of the colony, is editor.

The Homecrofters.

ANOTHER progressive land-holding organization in Watertown, a city of 9,000 inhabitants on the Charles River seven miles west of Boston, is known as the Homecrofters. The hope of Mr. George H. Maxwell, the originator of the movement, is to get people away from the crowded city and on little farms of their own. The Homecrofters publish a monthly magazine, *The Talisman*, operate a printing plant at Gildhall, and publish books.

The Maynard Store.

ONE OF the most progressive stores in Massachusetts is in Maynard, a manufacturing town of less than 10,000 inhabitants. This store is one of the most prosperous coöperative stores in the United States, and its record will stand comparison, all things taken into consideration, with the English coöperatives. The Riverside Coöperative Association was organized in 1878, twenty-nine years ago, and during that time they have paid out nearly \$70,000 in dividends to their stockholders. The Association owns one of the finest buildings in the town, valued at \$11,000. There is in this building, besides the store, a large and pleasant "Coöperative Hall" in which their gatherings are held, and which is rented for various festivities. The business of the association shows appreciable increase from year to year, the last six months' sales amounting to \$42,000 as against \$38,000 for the same period last year, and the paid-up share capital is \$14,870 this year, an increase of \$650 over last year. Nearly \$10,000 worth of stock is carried, and annual business amounts to almost \$85,000. Interest is paid on the capital and dividends on purchases—which this year amounts to eight per cent. The report for the six months ending December 31, 1907, shows sales of \$42,055; rentals of

\$508; paid to sinking fund, \$900; depreciation, \$127, and dividends to members of \$3,000. They deal in groceries and shoes, and own some real estate aside from that which they occupy. Semi-annual stockholders' meetings are held at which reports are presented and officers elected.

Telephones in Vermont.

IN THE central part of Vermont there are a number of coöperative telephones, and though they had a small and insignificant beginning a few years ago, the movement has now spread until the farmers have several thousand miles of line. In the fall of 1899 the first line was built from Corinth to West Corinth, a distance of three miles, by six men each of whom built a half-mile of line and bought his own telephone. This plan has generally been followed by the other companies who have established coöperative lines. The initial cost is about \$40, unless the farmer does not have to buy his own poles, which reduces the expense to approximately \$25 or \$30. The cost of maintenance is about \$3 a year.

The company which controls the telephone lines about Corinth is incorporated under the laws of Vermont under the name of the Corinth Coöperative Telephone Company. Their capitalization has been increased from \$10,000 to \$50,000 which represents about 1,000 miles of line and 2,000 stockholders.

The president, Mr. C. L. Speare, who was the originator of the first line, reports that many other companies stretching up and down the Connecticut Valley, connecting hundreds of isolated farmers and farmers' families with each other have been organized. His company as well as most of the others, has been running trunk lines, for more speedy business between switches. They have lines in four counties passing through Barre and Montpelier. When a man becomes a member he signs the company's by-laws and agreements and pays in eight dollars, furnishes sixteen cedar, hemlock or tamarack poles that cost from twenty-five cents to one dollar each, and then gives a day's work in putting up his half-mile of the line. After this he pays sixteen dollars for a telephone and one dollar for setting it in his house, and thereafter pays his assessment of three or four dollars a year.

Mr. Speare says of it: "It has proved the greatest benefit to the farmers and all country

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of this part of Vermont that has ever come to them. It is thoroughly coöperative and there is no idea of money-making in it."

Besides the system of which Mr. Speare speaks, the people of the village of Randolph and surrounding country also have a coöperative company, which is known as the Orange County Telephone Company. The success of this line started a few years ago, is largely due to the energetic and active work of G. R. Andrews of Northfield, the president, whose house in Northfield serves as a central exchange. It was constructed on the same plan as the line of the Corinth company, and has hundreds of farmers as stockholders who get the coöperative service. This line is connected with about 8,000 phones in eastern Vermont, and is still growing, having a large number of members in villages and cities as well as on the farms.

Maine Farmers Telephone.

IN MAINE, too, there are a number of coöperative companies organized by the farmers in the northern central portion of the state, where the New England division of the Bell Company does not extend. They are generally incorporated under the title of the Telephone and Telegraph Company, and branches are established in Norway, Sweden, Paris, Stoneham and North and Center Lovell. They purchase their wires and phones in common, and all of these independent lines can connect with each other.

The organization of the one in Center Lovell is typical and interesting, showing as it does the progressive common interest among the organizers. The reason in this instance for the establishment of the coöperative line was the refusal of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company to run their lines north of Center Lovell, a little town about fifteen miles north of Fryeburg. The farmers held a meeting in the town hall and voted to organize a company. In order to become a stockholder one must purchase two shares of stock at five dollars each, and purchase a telephone which costs about twelve dollars. There were to be no further costs. By this arrangement there were twenty-eight on one line and there was no central station. Later this was changed to two lines, fourteen members on each line, each subscriber was assessed an additional two dollars, and a central was established. Non-members have to pay ten cents a call.

At the end of the first three months a profit of five dollars was reported. This company was organized at the beginning of 1906.

One of the rules of the company is that "No Graphophone concerts will be allowed on this line," it having previously been the custom for any member who possessed a graphophone to give his friends the benefit of the concerts to the detriment of the general service.

This movement is becoming more and more general throughout Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, and it is one of the encouragements of the times, indicative as it is of an increased good-fellowship among the farmers.

Mississippi Farmers Union.

GEORGE R. HIGHTOWER of Mississippi has resigned his seat in the Senate in order to take the presidency of the Mississippi division of the Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union of America. In his statement to the members of the Union and the people of the state, after appealing for the coöperation of all the citizens, he said:

"Sixty-five thousand members [in Mississippi] are now paid up and in good standing. I want every union man and woman to constitute himself or herself a special committee of one upon membership and begin the work right now to swell that number to 150,000 by January 1, 1909. Every Mississippian who loves his state should agitate and encourage such diversification of crops as will make the state absolutely self-sustaining. This diversification should be so general as to reduce the acreage of cotton very considerably. With these two objects attained, an effort will be made to finance all of the distressed cotton of the crop of 1908. I shall a little later ask certain citizens of this state to coöperate with us in this effort. A systematic effort will be made to install a number of gin-compresses during the year, thus preparing cotton at the gin for shipment direct to the spinner. To this end I respectfully urge upon the management of the state penitentiary farms to install these presses to handle the state's large cotton crop. The question of cotton bagging to take the place of jute will receive careful consideration, and in this we solicit the support and coöperation of the planters, ginners and all parties interested in our great money crop, cotton. The building of union warehouses at every important shipping point in the state is necessary to

the success of the movement to improve the system of handling the staple. We hope that during the summer a plan can be evolved whereby it will be possible to federate these warehouses with the view of facilitating the handling of cotton."

Indiana Dairymen.

MEMBERS of the Indiana State Dairymen's Protective Association are about to organize a coöperative milk-distributing plant and creamery for themselves and others engaged in the production of dairy products for the Indianapolis market. Stock is being sold at fifty dollars a share, and the company is to be incorporated as soon as sufficient stock is subscribed to insure the success of the enterprise.

Georgia Negroes Organizing.

SOME of the leading negroes of Atlanta, Georgia, are organizing branches of the Coöperative Union among the negroes of Georgia. Their intention is to have the negroes so thoroughly organized that in a short time an effective strike may be ordered all over the state unless better wages are paid. An organizer, a white man, has been mobbed by white men in three different Georgian towns for distributing circulars among the negroes.

A New York Store.

A NUMBER of socialists have started a coöperative store in the Bronx, New York City. The store is located at 490 Wendover Avenue.

Finance Without a Frensy.

THE Whitestone Coöperative Savings Association of Flushing, Long Island, has been in existence more than sixteen years, and during that time has invested approximately \$300,000 of its shareholders' money, and has never suffered the loss of a single dollar. Shares of investing members amounting to more than \$6,000 have matured and been paid, and those shareholders have received in each instance \$200 for \$132 paid in.

Erie Railway Employees.

EMPLOYEES of the Erie Railroad are establishing the Erie Railroad Employees Buying Association, a coöperative organization with a capital stock of \$50,000. Shares sell for one dollar, each shareholder has one vote, and though there is no limit put on the number of shares a member may hold, none but Erie employes may take stock, and upon leaving the employ of the railroad, shares are to be surrendered and money with interest is to be refunded. As soon as \$3,000 is subscribed a grocery department in the association is to be formed. HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

THE BATTLE OF PRIVILEGE AGAINST DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.*

A BOOK STUDY.

By B. O. FLOWER.

I.

"**T**HE MAGNET" is the most virile and graphic pen-picture of modern high finance that has recently appeared. Its author is a prominent lawyer of Wilmington, Delaware. He has made an exhaustive study of Wall Street's masters of millions,—that unique group of ill-famed gamblers whose

intellectual cunning and daring are only surpassed by their moral turpitude and innocence of the sentiments of justice and honor which are the foundation of sound business, of national greatness and individual worth. These anarchists of wealth, whose defiance of law has kept pace with their systematic efforts to debauch government and replace incorruptible statesmen with political bosses and corporation henchmen, and whose great and sinister fortunes are largely the result of

*"The Magnet." By Alfred O. Crosier. Cloth. Pp. 496. Price, \$1.50. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

gambling with stacked cards, Mr. Crozier presents in a pitilessly realistic and truthful manner.

The author has made a painstaking and exhaustive study of Wall Street. He has taken his readers behind the scenes and revealed to them the secret machinery by which the people have for years been progressively despoiled while the government in city, state and nation has been corrupted for the evil ends and immense wealth of the few. His study of Wall Street has enabled him to discern the present plot of the conspirators in their desperate attempt to gain complete control of the currency of the nation, which would enable them to hold the business interests of America in the hollow of their hands and thus render it possible for them also completely to control government and shape its action to their lawless ends.

A signal service was recently rendered the cause of good government when at the meeting of the Civic Federation last December Mr. Crozier was able to checkmate a movement that bore every mark of being one of the many preconcerted plans of the conspirators to aid in the furtherance of the present plot against the nation's finance. All signs indicated that the Civic Federation was to be made to endorse the scheme for elastic currency, or some one of the three bills which Wall Street is trying to engineer through the present Congress, any one of which would give the spoilers a strangle-hold on the people's currency. The conspirators against the nation's prosperity are thoroughly alarmed at the awakening of the great American people to their peril. They know that unless they can get some cunningly-devised measure through Congress, which would give them the control of the nation's finance, while the Lodges and the Cranes, the Aldriches, Penroses, Depews, Platts and their ilk are standing guard in the Senate, the aroused electorate may drive the money-changers and their handy-men out of the temple of legislation and restore the government to the people. Hence their desperate effort at the present time to compass their deep-laid plan. Now at the meeting of the Civic Federation a number of smooth talkers, whose plausibility and sophistry are so admirably calculated to chloroform the nation, had been advocating Wall Street's plan for currency legislation. All was going well, when Mr. Crozier arose and uncovered the plot so clearly and con-

vincingly as to spread consternation in the camp of the conspirators and prevent the work they had evidently expected to compass. The New York *World* declared that Mr. Crozier dropped a bomb "into the placid councils of the Civic Federation." Belmont, Banker Herrick of Ohio, Isaac N. Seligman, Henry Phipps and Mr. Speyer had everything going precisely to their liking, when Mr. Crozier's unmasking of the plot checkmated the game.

We cite this incident to indicate the kind of man who has written this most important politico-economic novel of the year, a novel that is at once as historically faithful as it is graphic and attention-arresting in character.

Mr. Lawson in his vivid unmasking of Wall Street gave the world a story of infamy of which he was particularly well qualified to speak, having long been one of the active participators in the gambling deals; but his picture of the panic-makers was no more powerful or vivid than is Mr. Crozier's, while the latter has an incomparably clearer grasp of the fundamentals of finance than Mr. Lawson.

The Magnet is a book that should be bought, read and circulated by every patriotic American between now and the coming election. This we say in spite of the author's amazing protection views and in spite of his failure to realize that the more the government seeks to regulate criminal corporations, the more those corporations will debauch politics for the sake of the enormous revenue that can be wrested from the people so long as they control the regulating force of government and are able to continue their career of lawlessness.

II.

Most social and economic or political romances have little more than the skeleton of a story on which to hang the message and arguments of the author, who, as a rule, is so absorbed in his serious discussion that the romance as such is wooden and of little interest. Such, however, is not the case with *The Magnet*. True, there are long discussions devoted chiefly to Wall Street and swift finance, to the present plot to get control of the currency through the passage of one of the three bills now before Congress, and also to specific phases of the warfare of the master rogues against the government's effort to secure justice for the people in

regard to railway traffic. But apart from these discussions there is a strong and highly interesting love romance that will hold the interest of the general reader, even though he may know little and care less about the great vital politico-economic problems that should be of most serious concern to every worthy citizen.

The novel opens with the discussion by certain great high financiers of a plan for further acquiring the wealth of the people through seductive schemes so long practiced by Wall Street. The two high financiers in question, however, have found the public rather slow of late to enter their traps, and they are perplexed as to just how to proceed to inflame the cupidity and the gambling spirit of the nation. They believe that if they can succeed in getting the American people to believe that they can get something for nothing, a fortune for a pittance, they can soon lure millions and hundreds of millions of dollars into Wall Street; and knowing as they do that they can so frame the game that little of the money will go back to the people, they are ready to resort to almost any expediency to educate the gambling instincts of the nation until the millions are ready to become their victims. They have been discussing the situation in a secluded spot in a park, but it happens that an impecunious professional gambler, who has beaten a hasty retreat from a western mining camp because his partner had been caught and killed in an attempt to get the money of the innocents by virtue of a wheel worked by secret springs, is within hearing distance of the Wall-Street financiers. He is a past master at playing with loaded dice and stacked cards. He has long been engaged in exciting the cupidity of the people in different sections with alluring tales of easy wealth, until the hypnotized victims came under the gambler's spell, and he now offers to show these two high financiers how they can easily acquire millions upon millions, playing a "sure thing" game in Wall Street. In unfolding his ideas of how the masters of the machine can make the wealth-creators of the land a nation of gamblers and in so doing relieve them of their millions, without the slightest risk of losing in the game, this western professional crook, Barney by name, says:

"It strikes me that you have a machine which can be made to induce everybody in America to gamble to their finish, once you

get them going. Why, gents," he cried, waxing enthusiastic as the certainty of it dawned upon him, "It beats faro, monte, the shell game and the wheel-of-fortune to a standstill! Sometimes a player will watch you so close in them that you have to let him win or risk gunplay. Then again, the brake may go back on you, and you stop the machine on the wrong number so the player rakes in your coin. But in your game you can't be beat. You don't even let him see the cards or the machine he plays with, and he wouldn't understand it if he did. He must always take your word that the play was fair and that you won his money honorably."

Moved to action by the force of his own perceptions, Barney was now striding back and forth before the bench, frowning over a puzzling point, and breaking into broad smiles as it cleared before his mental vision.

"We used to be satisfied to run our game for nothing, so long as we won the stakes," he continued. "But you charge for running him through your own amalgamating machine when you know that the best fire-assay will fail to show any value left in the tailings."

Sterling, to whom mining parlance was not new, laughed heartily at this. King joined him a trifle vaguely. But Barney was too intent on his subject to be diverted.

"Your graft is all right and your deck is a cinch. What you want is a way to interest the people in it. Do it this way, gents—"

"Frame up things folks are interested in and think they know all about. Advertise these things in the papers. Bait your hook with 'em, and your haul will beat that of a sucker-net dipped below the dam in the first spring freshet. String together a lot of railroads under some big name, then 'list the stock' as you call it. Folks are riding on the railroads and shipping over them. They kick about the high freights, so they'll want to play even by getting in on your side to rake in part of the dividends. Then, bunch a lot of factories that have been chasing each other with scalping knives. Show 'em it'll pay better to stand together and scalp the people, and you get a good rake-off for teaching these industries to play the game. Then list their combination in your machine and get them playing. You'll soon have all the money, own the properties, and have them all running for your benefit. Whenever you discover a new lot of people with money, find

out what they are most interested in, capitalize and list it, print quotations so that they can watch the fluctuations each day, and it's dollars to doughnuts that their wings will be singed with the heat from the hot-boxes of your mill within a month."

The love romance with which the book is largely concerned begins with the second chapter. Indeed, Chapter One should have been published as a prologue to the tale, for the characters with which it is concerned have disappeared when the romance of Helen Morton commences. Here we are introduced to the son of the man who was the master of the Street, the great gambling king and head of high finance in the opening chapter.

Young Morley Sterling since the death of his father has been the new Wall-Street master. He is fabulously rich, but the gambler's madness, the insanity of avarice, has possessed his soul. He has one ambition, and that is to be the richest man in the world and through wealth to become the most powerful of human beings. It is the old, old lust of the materialist, who, misled by the seeming, imagines that power, place, pleasure and the possession of wealth, even though unblest by moral idealism, can yield happiness, peace or true greatness.

Now Morley Sterling has been engaged to Helen Morton, the beautiful and gifted daughter of one of the greatest and bravest clergymen of New York City, and at the outset we meet these young persons engaged in an intimate conversation such as lovers wrapped up in each other are wont to enjoy. Soon the conversation turns on a subject that for days has been uppermost in Morley Sterling's mind. He has been preparing for the greatest "killing," to use the term of Wall Street, that the gambling world has ever known. He has succeeded in deceiving every one, so that when he speaks the word the bottom will fall out of the market and millions upon millions of dollars will be diverted into his pocket from thousands of ruined men. He knows that banks will be broken, that a trail of suicides will follow; but what is that to him? He will be the richest man in America and in a position to become the richest man in the world. Believing that Helen will be interested in his success, and with his mind calloused by a life marked by moral obliquity that passes for virtue with the great Wall-Street gamblers,

he unfolds his plan to his fiancée. She is amazed and shows her interest and credulity. These only serve to lead to him to a full and explicit description of Wall Street and how its masters play the game with loaded dice. The following extract from this conversation furnishes some vivid glimpses of America's great Monte Carlo, the most demoralizing center of moral death in the New World. Mr. Crozier has made a careful study of the subject he discusses and his writing is that of an expert.

"What do they mean by 'Wall Street,' Morley?" asked Helen Morton of her lover, and he replied:

"Wall Street, my dear Helen, is a name used indiscriminately both to designate the game of swift finance and the machine with which it is played."

"Swift finance? Machine? I fear I am dull, Morley. I don't understand." And her expressive face confirmed her puzzlement.

Sterling smiled, and set himself to the pleasant task of enlightening her.

"The Wall-Street machine is the embodiment of that inscrutable and mysterious power which executes the financial will of its invisible master, undetected, with predetermination and with infallible accuracy. The essence of this power is associated mental affinities bound together by the common desire to get rich quickly—at the expense of others if they can, but of each other if they must."

"Do you mean only a few men?" she queried. "I should think they would quickly exhaust each other's resources."

Sterling laughed. "Oh, the desire to get rich quickly pervades the whole country. Everybody wants to do so easily. But only a few who are really on the inside understand just what is to happen. Many who consider themselves a part of the machine discover too late that they are only within it and enmeshed by its rapacious organs of digestion. In fact, the greed of its organized appetite is such that it often feeds upon itself; and most of its other organs and members are ultimately swallowed up in its all-devouring maw. But, strange as it may seem, no sooner is one swallowed than two immediately spring in his place, until its innumerable and itching tentacles stretch out and into banks, trust and insurance institutions, public offices and private homes, throughout the country, enticing thousands

from the path of sound business, honor and happiness into the quicksands of speculation, ending almost invariably in utter ruin—and frequently in despair and death.”

“O Morley, that is awful!” exclaimed Helen. “Are you sure it is so bad?”

“Now don’t think I am preaching a sermon or overdrawing the thing, my dear girl,” he said, answering her words and look of horror. “I am simply giving cold facts known by every man in the profession. Finance is a profession, you know, like surgery or engineering. And streamlets of wealth cannot be diverted into one great river without injury to their natural channels. Such disagreeable things will happen. Men will sometimes lose their money in a bad investment, or their lives in a railroad wreck. Men are free moral agents. And if they *will* gamble for excitement and the hope of profit, Wall Street simply affords them the easiest opportunity and takes their losses as profits for its pains. It usually applies a speedy cure for the mania by depriving the gamblers of their means for keeping up the hallucination that they have any chance to finally win.”

“Why don’t the people let Wall Street alone? What makes them gamble in its securities?”

“Because Wall Street has its commercial drummers the same as other business organizations, only we call them *tips*. Tips get the business. They are the closers. And those paid to circulate market tips are the cappers, the bunco steerers, who round up the purchasers. Speculation would be cut in half, but for these irresponsible, indefinite, unreliable, yet all-persuasive tips. A man getting a tip, even from a stranger, will hug it passionately as he dives into his jeans for his money. He invests as promptly on this waif ‘hunch’ as though betting on the sure thing at three-card monte, when he supposes the dealer does not see the confederate (posing as another innocent player) mark the winning card by slyly turning up its corner and then win several bets. The attention of the excited victim is diverted by this success, and he fails to see the dealer, as he leap-frogs the cards back and forth, deftly turn down the corner of the marked card and turn up the corner of a blank. The victim bets and loses. But, he thinks he has been careless or made some mistake, so he bets again with like results. And when

the dealer, and his co-conspirators, think the man’s pile exhausted, they decamp before the other realizes that he simply has bought a little knowledge of the other fellow’s game. Just so with the man who yields to the seductive tip, always put into circulation to induce the public to take the losing side of the trade. A stray tip covertly launched (which may have come through many mouths, changed in form and substance each time repeated) will so stimulate a man’s imagination and excite his cupidity that, even after he has lost his money on it, he will hunt out and thank the one who gave it, begging for another ‘straight tip.’”

Quite unconsciously, Sterling with his last words strengthened Miss Morton’s resolve to hold her judgment of him in abeyance. Certainly she would never give him cause to think her a “trifling maiden” deliberately making a “durn fool” of him. But this did not divert her attention from his absorbing exposition of Wall Street, as he continued.

“Many effective means are used to accomplish what the boys call a ‘killing’ in stocks, quite aside from passing dividends and defaulting interest and circulating tips. Tales of impending disaster are printed in the papers as news, though often paid for at so much per line. Or sometimes the independent and patriotic owners of these molders of public sentiment are let in on the ‘short side of the market just before the inevitable drop which such articles are sure to cause. But by far the most powerful and dominating means of dropping quotation prices on a given stock is to withdraw the pool support of it.”

“A pool! What is a pool, Morley?” was Helen’s query. Most of the Wall-Street idioms were explained by their context, as Sterling used them. But this one puzzled her.

“Every large issue of securities is managed and controlled by a group of big financiers acting in concert,” he answered. “And this is called a pool. One of their number is designated to manage the transaction, although he frequently consults the others. This leaves the others free to manage pools of other stocks. In what is called a ‘blind pool’ only the manager, to whose discretion the others trust, knows the manipulations to be practised with the money of pool. Of course pool arrangements are kept secret. Not even the brokers who execute the orders on the floor of the Exchange know whether

quotation prices on a given stock are that day to be boosted to the swallows' nests under the eaves, or dropped into the coal cellar. Nor do they know who shapes the game they work, nor who own the pools they serve and enrich, for they receive their orders by circuitous routes."

"Is not the natural law of supply and demand effective in Wall Street as elsewhere?" Helen interrupted. "As you tell it, the purchasers in this game of finance seem nothing but puppets."

"Yes," agreed Sterling, "supply and demand are supposed, the world over, to be the one infallible and omnipotent regulator of prices. But that is put in complete suspense by the power of these pools. So vast have their combined resources become, so perfect is the coöperating machinery for working their will, that it is believed in Wall Street that they could easily suspend the law of gravity. And they would do so, substituting their own will as the universal magnet, were they certain other worlds are peopled with beings willing to exchange their material possessions for the immaterial delights of watching the fluctuations of a celestial stock market. To capitalize Jupiter, Saturn and Venus, bind them together into a holding company or trust, and dilute them with the Milky Way, would be (with the aid of the incorporation laws of New Jersey) mere child's play for the financiers of the pools. And within a month they would so illuminate and glorify this phantom of their creative genius with the wonderful colors of the Aurora Borealis (incorporated) that all the departed souls since the dawn of man would be chasing it through space as the New Jerusalem."

This was too much for Helen Morton, shocked and pained though she was, and she burst into hearty laughter. Sterling joined her, pleased with his own wit and with her as an intelligent and absorbed auditor.

"Now, dearest Helen," he explained, "it is because I control the men who control all these pools, that I speak with such perfect confidence as to what will happen in the realm of rapid finance to-morrow. Therefore, although in your sweet presence I desire to appear with becoming modesty, I cannot tell you the whole truth, the essential facts about Wall Street as it is to-day, without adding one thing more: *I am its master.*"

This conversation proves a rude awakening to the girl, who almost immediately after it occurs goes up the Hudson with her father

and mother for a few weeks' sojourn at a vacant cottage belonging to a friend. Here Helen is rescued from death during a runaway by a young man who proves to be the newly-appointed United States Senator from New York, John Hays. Hays is upright, incorruptible and a statesman with high ideals, even though at times his vision is not as acute as it should be. The acquaintance that results from this rescue of Helen by Senator Hays is followed by the great Wall-Street "killing" that Morley Sterling had planned with such consummate skill. Numbers of men in trusted positions find themselves bankrupt and their banks and trust companies insolvent. Some of the bankrupt gamblers commit suicide, some flee, and some seek to lay the blame of their breach of trust on innocent shoulders. One of the victims of this last-named class is young Charles Morton, Helen's only brother. John Hays defends the boy and by the aid of a detective, who was an old childhood playmate of Hays, the accused youth escapes punishment when all hope seems vain.

Later a great battle opens in Washington. Morley Sterling wants to get hold of the nation's finance; an elastic currency is the cry. The publicity bureaus of the Wall-Street gamblers, and the multitudinous mouth-pieces of the "interests" throughout the country, have succeeded in deceiving the nation and making the people believe that their prosperity is dependent upon the banking bills introduced by henchmen of the gamblers who pose as champions of business interests and national prosperity.

The plot of the Wall-Street interests which Mr. Crozier so ably exposed in last month's *ARENA*, is dwelt upon at length in *The Magnet*, as well as a plot which the corporation chiefs try to engineer through Congress to increase their hold on the great arteries of trade. John Hays fights the conspirators, who in turn seek to make him the victim of a dastardly plot and later strive to bribe him. He becomes the double object of Morley Sterling's intense hate; for besides thwarting the financier in his plot to rob and wreck the government of the people, Hays wins Helen's heart and hand.

There is much action and interest in the romance, which is not devoid of highly dramatic scenes. As has before been pointed out, there are from time to time very able discussions on serious political and economic issues and vivid pictures of the doings of the

feudalism of privileged wealth. Mr. Crozier is peculiarly happy in his pen-pictures of Wall Street and the master spirits whose lawless action has only been matched by their systematic gambling.

When, however, he comes to suggesting remedies, he is far less happy than when describing conditions. His diagnosis is for the most part a masterpiece; his prescribed treatment at times is of a halting, half-way character that could not fail to prove disappointing in results. For example, few who have studied the question deeply enough to appreciate the situation, imagine that governmental control would solve the problem, knowing as they do that corporations like the great railway and other public-service companies, which offer unlimited opportunity for wealth if their masters are permitted by government to use their great monopolistic power for the oppression of America's wealth-creators and consumers, by watering stock, charging all the traffic will bear, making secret rates with confederate trusts and monopolies, and using the stock for gambling purposes, have the stake of fabulous and ever-increasing wealth as the lure and will stop at nothing to gain control of government, for that control means the acquisition of wealth that will make the privileged few all-powerful—the masters at once of government, of the nation's business, and of industry and its products. Only through popular ownership, by which the master high financiers and law-defiers will have no longer an incentive to prostitute government, can we deliver the people from one of the gravest evils that free institutions are at present battling with.

Again, Mr. Crozier's views on protection are most amazing. He represents the great master of Wall Street as strongly advocating free trade, for selfish purposes. This position is to us inexplicable in the light of facts as they exist. The late Mr. Havermeyer, long the master spirit in the sugar trust, was certainly entitled to speak as an expert on the tariff, and he never uttered a truer word than when he admitted that the tariff was the mother of the trusts. There are certain great causes of inequality and injustice in our land to-day that are basic in character. Monopoly in land, monopoly in public utilities, the special privileges granted by the tariff, and special privileges enjoyed by the banking class are all fountain-heads of taxing

power that have been used oppressively, not to say mercilessly, in building up the present-day feudalism of privileged and predatory wealth. The idea that the great master spirit of Wall Street wants free trade so as to make possible lower wages is as amazing as it is fallacious. The working man has been long overworked as a fence for the tariff barns, precisely as the "widows and orphans" are always used as a fence for the stock-watering high financiers and gamblers when redress for the people's wrongs is sought from extortion and oppression. The increased wage of the worker due to the tariff is small indeed in comparison with the increased profit that the monopolists are able to wring from the people. Take the steel trust for an example. Where a comparatively few among labor's hosts receive a little benefit in the form of higher wages,—benefits, however, which were it not for the power of organized labor would doubtless be even smaller than are enjoyed,—the entire American people have to pay a fearful tribute to furnish dividends on the millions upon millions of watered stock and princely salaries for a favored few. Englishmen get the trust products laid down in London at from six to eleven dollars per ton less than Americans have to pay in order that princely dividends may be paid on water and that enormous salaries may be paid to men like Schwab and Corey. Every man and woman in America is directly or indirectly robbed to pay these unjust taxes.

No; high protection, monopoly in public utilities, monopoly in land and the great storehouses of the nation's wealth, which the Common Father has provided for His common children, and monopoly in money,—these are the fountain-heads of injustice and inequality against which the people must wage unceasing battle if they would be free and enjoy equality of opportunities and of rights.

In spite of these defects, which we think are greatly to be regretted in so strong, virile and able work, *The Magnet* is, in our judgment, the most important politico-economic novel of the present year and a book that every American voter should read before the next election. Never have Wall Street and its unholy works been more graphically and truthfully set forth than in *The Magnet*.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Massachusetts.

"THE INWARD LIGHT."*

A BOOK STUDY.

B. O. FLOWER.

IN MR. HALL, Buddhism has an interpreter whose rare insight is only equalled by his charm of style, which can only be compared to the melody of Mendelssohn's music. To peruse this work is like revelling in a prose poem of rare beauty. Most writers who attempt to set forth the theological views of other peoples, especially views so essentially different from the concepts of the Western world as are those of Buddhism, weary the general reader with a maze of abstruse and metaphysical speculations which fail to give any sharp, clear, photographic idea of what the millions of the East who follow the teachings of the great Buddha really believe. Not so with our author. He is by nature a poet and a mystic; a man of interior vision and strong intellectual grasp. He evidently has been charmed by and completely won over to the teachings of the East, and to him it is a labor of love to unfold to the Western world the message that has long been the light of Asia.

In the opening chapter Mr. Hall considers "The Secret of the East" and notes what he conceives to be the radical difference between the East and the West in the presence of religion or those great problems that touch life's profoundest depths and extend into infinity.

"What," he asks, "is that great and vital principle that underlies all Eastern faiths? What is that truth that finds so varied and so different an expression in Hinduism, Shintoism, Buddhism and many another religion, in the philosophies of Lao-tze and Confucius? What is the understanding of the world that is acceptable alike to prince and peasants, to philosopher and laborer, to soldier and recluse; that is the basis of all truth? The West has sought it always. It has recognized that from the East came light, that in the East there rose a fountain of the spirit that dried up never. The West has sought, but has not found.

*"The Inward Light." By H. Fielding Hall. Cloth. Pp. 328. Price, \$1.75 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

"It has never looked deep enough. It has mistaken things, taking the non-essential for the essential, the form for that which it encloses, the temporary for the eternal. It has borrowed and then has found that what it took away was but a dead thing and that the life was left behind.

"The East has ever been and is religious, not in part of its life but in the whole of it. It has held that religion is not of one day but of all time, not of time only but of eternity, not of eternity only but of every moment. To its mind religion embraces everything, not man's soul only but his body, all of him; and not man alone but the whole universe; not some virtue but all virtues, all that is good and all that is evil. It is not therefore a theory, a teaching, a method, nor an ideal, a dogma, a thought; for these, however great, however true, must always be narrow, cannot hold but a little part of the truth. They are finite, whereas religion is infinite. It is none of these. Religion is a way of looking at life and at the universe, it is a way to see and understand.

"But to the West it is not so, and when it has gone to the East and asked for truth, it meant by truth a moral, or a virtue, or an ideal, or a dogma. It has sought the clothes in which truth shows itself and not the truth. Therefore despite all the books written of Eastern forms of faith none have been understood. The writers have explained nothing because they saw nothing, felt nothing, knew nothing. More especially is this true of Buddhism, that latest expression of an all-world view."

The general introductory chapter is followed by the elucidation of the chief religious concepts of the East, especially as they are taught by Buddhism. The volume is written as a series of sketches—we almost said stories—for indeed there is an incident with human interest that is a starting point or is used as an objective illustration for the special subjects with which the various chapters are concerned.

The scribe of the volume is represented as being an Englishman in Burmah. He has been thrown from his horse and is found by the natives with a broken limb. He is taken to a near-by Buddhist monastery. Here he convalesces in an atmosphere so full of peace and love that he declines to be removed to the English quarters some distance beyond, even after his friends have come to take him away. And here in this monastic retreat it is that the sage explains to him the great religious concepts of Buddhism. We think it is safe to say that nowhere in literature can there be found a work at once so fascinating and lucid as this volume, which will give the general reader a clear and vivid panoramic picture of Buddhism and the reasons for its great distinguishing tenets. To appreciate the beauty of the author's style, the lucidity with which he presents his thought, and the simple sincerity that gives added charm to every page, it will only be necessary to peruse the following paragraphs from the chapter entitled "The Wind," which deals with the sphinx of sphinxes, the riddle of life—"the fate of the man-child." The discussion opens with this highly poetic little prelude:

"They sat and watched the night veiling the world in sleep. The darkness stretched into eternity and the stars wheeled upwards in a grand procession. Orion blazed above them and the Pleiad cluster hung like a pearl upon the bosom of the night. There was a deep stillness, for the winds were hushed, a stillness not of death but of a great life that slept and dreamed.

"Suddenly from the village down below there came a sound, a cry that pierced the stillness like a pain, and on the cry there came a music. It rose and fell upon the night; now keen with the shrilling of a flute, and brazen with the clang of cymbals, now sad and slow with the sound of strings. Then it failed into the throb of drums that beat—that beat—that beat a measured sadness of monotonous refrain; and the flutes cried again.

"The peacefulness of the night was broken, the dark that had been so clear became opaque, the distances closed in. The finiteness of things became more manifest. For in the music was a harshness and a discord that drove the thoughts back into the heart. They would not go abroad in such companionship. The sounds occupied the shrunken night alone.

"A man was dead."

This discordant note, this human wail occasioned because of the death of a poor sufferer—a leper—leads the Englishman to question the monk.

"Life, what is life?" he asks. "What is man's soul, whence did it come, and whither does it go? A man is dead below there. Men pass upon the wings of every moment that fleets by us. Men are born and die. I am here, whence did I come and what am I? That man is dead. Where is his soul?"

At length the monk replies, but we can give only a fragment of this interesting and suggestive discussion which from first to last is richly suggestive.

"Life is a breath that comes from the eternal here to us. It is not a thing, a substance that lies within us, but a tide that pouring on this world builds up our bodies and is itself our souls. It builds our bodies to manifest itself. Consider. Suppose we sat not in gardens but on a barren rock, and we could only see, not feel. The wind might blow but we should know nothing. It could not stir the rock. The air might move but could not manifest its presence. Life must have proper form to manifest itself in. It has built up our bodies little by little through the ages that it may show itself, that life may live. It raises them ever to manifest itself more fully. Life is from without. It is not a prisoner held in bondage in an earthy cage from which when the bar breaks it flees."

"And the man's soul?"

"Life lives forever."

"The body goes back to earth. Can it not rise again?"

"My friend," the monk answered, "think. What are you? Are you the body or the life that built it up and made it live? . . . A body is a finite thing, life is infinite. Would you have the life that moved the leper, for he was a leper whom they mourn below, compelled for all the ages to manifest itself only in that poor body, or in any body however good? Life is a progress and a change. The stream of spirit ever widens and requires greater power to work in, to live in. Each body passes, and from its dust are built our new bodies greater and stronger, better able to perform the behests of the greater spirit."

"Is there then no immortality of body? Must we go always into forgetfulness? The spirit has an immortality, the body none?"

"'It is so hard,' he said, 'to speak of, to put into words, that which one sees and knows to be beyond all words. I thought that all men felt the consciousness of what life is. And yet I remember two thousand five hundred years ago, that was the difficulty. And those who saw and taught were called Mystics, splitters of words, dealers in cloud and fog because they tried to say what never can be fully said. Yet as you ask I will try. Every living thing we see is twofold, it is spirit expressed in matter. Matter is built up by brute forces which act according to fixed laws. The spirit which takes this matter and makes it into living forces is also twofold, unconscious and conscious.

"'Take myself or you. Our bodies are built and kept by forces that are unconscious; we breathe, our pulses move, our food is turned to blood by no conscious effort of our own. They will work when our conscious life is asleep or absent.

"'But conscious life is different. That comes not from inheritance, not from our parents. It manifests itself within the body, but is not of it. It affects it. The greater our consciousness, the greater the master, the more obedient is the servant. It is affected by the body, which is its instrument through which it manifests its life and consciousness. They are bound together; yet each is different, and each gives to other immortality. Each has its laws which it obeys or disobeys. Again there is this difference.

"'The soul is immortal always, but the body, that stream of bodies which began so far back we cannot see it, and come through our parents to ourselves, may suddenly be stopped.'

"'But our conscious life is different, a man's body is continued in his children, but not his soul, his conscious life. That is the wind that passes.'

"'The wind passes,' said the man, 'and has no personality. And when man dies is that so too with him, his consciousness, his soul? Does that, too, merge into a formless wind?'

"The monk shook his head.

"'That personality continues also. It goes on with all the merit and demerit it has acquired. It goes on forever, until—until—'

"'Until?'

"'What is beyond the stars, beyond the utmost star? What is infinity?'

"'No one can tell.'

"'That is the answer. No one can tell. Why should we wish to know? Is it not enough to see a little space before you, a day's march on in front? One idea is this, that as there was a time when unconscious life existed alone without consciousness, so in time we may grow to that perfection that Consciousness and Will and Righteousness may exist without the confining bounds of matter and unconscious life, but the truer thought is that the conscious life, the Soul, will be blended with all the forces into one great whole, infinite, universal."

One of the most profoundly thoughtful chapters of the work is entitled "Rays of Infinite Light." It embodies the Buddhist concept of the evolution and the advancing march of life:

"The sun is the source of light and heat, and without it we should have no life. It draws the waters of the seas into the heavens and gives them to the land. All power comes, or has come, from it. The wood we burn has gained its heat from heaven and keeps it for awhile. The protoplasm in the plant vibrates to the same energy. Life is not in it but in the sun that gives it. Sun-worshippers have recognized this, and they have used him as the symbol of the science of all the life that is. It comes always from without as does the sunlight.

"The sunlight comes upon us in a flood, but that great tide is made of tiny beams, and in each beam lie all the properties of the whole; visible and invisible rays they all are there. Each little beam that filters through the leaves is a completeness in itself, an entity, a personality. Yet when incarnated in a leaf its expression differs from all the rest.

"We are such beams from the eternal sun. We come straight from the source of life and consciousness, a beam bound up with others but distinct, manifest in flesh.

"The sunshine fell upon the lamp hung low beside the window. The cut-glass crystals underneath it broke the golden stream into many colors. They passed a shining band across the shadow and fell upon the wall. He traced it with his finger, and he said: 'This is the symbol of life as the East has always seen it; not as a substance, shadowy, filmy, still a substance placed within our bodies, but as a beam and a force, made up of many forces.

"'This is the symbol that I sought. The

heavens have given me what I could not find. This light that comes down from the sun is the allegory of the life that comes from God. It comes upon us from above, and in it are many forms, as in the light are many rays.'

"He laid his finger on the red ray. 'Here,' he said, 'is the first we see, but there are rays beyond, dark rays. These are, as it were, the blind forces that built up the earth, that made the crystals in the rocks, that hold the water drops together, that make the winds move to and fro. There is no light in them, no intelligence, only force and power. So God built the world with the dark rays before the higher life could come.'

"And when the world was builded, when the seas were made, the mountains lifted up, the earth divided from the water, He added just another tiny ray, not dark this time, but with the faintest light of life. And it made protoplasm from the materials gathered for it. So rose the humbler forms of vegetable life. Little by little the ray grew brighter and the life increased. This ray it is that is the life. That is what makes the sap to rise and fall, the leaf to spread, the bud to open. Yet not this ray alone, but this added to all that went before. For alone it could do nothing. The dark rays made and keep the world, and to them light and life is added. And so life broadens. So the invisible merges into the visible, the brute forces into the unconscious life. As the forms in which life is manifested are made more and more perfect, so the life to be shown therein is increased.

"Then came the further rays that lie beyond the visible. There came upon the world the first faint ray of consciousness, of conscious life, of will, of power to move and act, to do right and wrong. These put into the protoplasm the life that grew up into animals. The rays increased, and the increasing unconscious and conscious life built up little by little the animal form to manifest itself in. Out of animals came man, and man rises ever. His consciousness, his conscience which is his knowledge of right and wrong, his will to do that which he sees. That is the evolution of the entity of man, which is the compound of all the forces from the beginning—the brute forces, the unconscious life, the conscious life. He is a compound of them all, and they are all in the beam that is his life. They are all one, and yet they fall into three parts, with three moralities,

three laws, three forms of righteousness.

"First, the blind forces, gravity and heat; expansion and contraction, electricity and many another. They have their laws, which laws are their morality, their righteousness. They cannot disobey them. They never act but in one way, the way directed. Gravity cannot draw faster or slower, light cannot pass whither it would, the crystal forms ever in one fixed way. They have no life and they endure, but do not grow or change.

"Then came the unconscious life of plants who have a right and wrong, for they may live and spread or else disappear. They may grow and become a fuller manifestation or they may cease to be. As they adapt themselves to the world about them, as they fortify themselves by strength and beauty and usefulness, so they have immortality. Yet it would seem they have no conscious life, only unconscious.

"With the conscious life there came a conscience, a steady growing knowledge of right and wrong, a steady growing will to do that which is right, a steady growing control over the lower forces. That is our soul. From the first beginnings in the earliest years, our souls have grown as our bodies have developed in one stream, and the life in them; and the soul that is added to the life has increased.

"The knowledge of right and wrong which we recognize in animals has become ever more clear, the will to do that which we see proportionate to our knowledge grows with it, our power to enforce our will grows also. The lesser rays have found little by little their master. The soul rules. As yet his control is slight because his knowledge still is slight. Knowledge comes first, control later. So is man now a beam of life manifested in a body it has built.

"And that is how the East sees the world."

On the doctrine of transmigration of souls, the author has somewhat to say. Space renders it impossible, however, for us to do more than give a brief extract:

"How easy now is the belief in transmigration. The increasing life and soul has built itself up by slow degrees a form to show itself in. The imperfect beam showed in the animal, the higher in man, still the same beam only with addition. It is an evolution of the soul manifested in an evolution of the body. And evolution acts both ways.

"As the life of man has arisen from that of animals by the addition of a moral con-

sciousness, so if in successive lives that consciousness, that soul be not cultivated and followed, we may fall back again. The higher ray may fade and the beam become again the same as that the beasts have. So the life of man has been in animals and may be so again.

"That is the underlying faith of all the East, that is their view of life. Man's soul, his life is not a kernel made fresh at birth and which in death is liberated and banished from the world. It has existed always and has won its way upwards. It is not an inherent quality of certain forms of matter as science would seem to tell us, it is a force that comes from God and manifests itself in matter."

We have happily pretty well passed that childish stage in our history when men conceived it to be a virtue to close their eyes in the presence of religious concepts different

from those they had been taught to believe. Now it is recognized among the thoughtful that the Creator gave man reason and the searching spirit, that he might question every sphinx. So, although one may not accept the teachings of the East, the man who would be intelligent can no longer remain in ignorance of what its people believe and the wherefore of their convictions; and no popular presentation of the cardinal tenets of Buddhism can compare with *The Inward Light*. This work contains twenty-two chapters, not one of which the thoughtful reader will be willing to leave unread. Many of them will call for a second perusal because of the light they throw of many problems that have for ages perplexed the brain of man.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Massachusetts.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

The Rebirth of Religion: The Causes of the Present Religious Unrest in Europe and America. By Algernon S. Crapsey. Cloth. Pp. 324. Price, \$1.50. New York: John Lane Company.

A REMARKABLE book is this by the lately deposed Episcopal clergyman whose trial for heresy gave him a national reputation. Mr. Crapsey is a man of broad intellectual grasp, historical knowledge, analytical power, strong convictions, fearless utterance and lucidity of expression. At the same time his work is constructive rather than destructive and is worthy of a place in every library where there is no fear of truth.

In commenting on the Athanasian and the Nicene Creeds, the author remarks that one who tries to understand them is lost in wonder at the patience and stupidity of mankind. And again he says: "We would rather be free-thinkers in hell than orthodox intellectual slaves in heaven."

Nothing since Henry Frank's *Doom of Dogma* has been so outspoken against the old dogmatic theology. And yet the work is devout, instructive and inspiring.

"Man can become man," says the author,

"only by making himself one with God, and it is in the strength of his divinity that the man of the human ideal and the man of the social order is to preach his gospel to all peoples and bring all nations into the obedience of the Faith."

The following explicit statement of the author's position should disarm hostile criticism:

"The Christian creed to-day is discredited, not because the faith of man has failed, but because the faith of man has outgrown it. Later observation has corrected the errors of earlier observation. We do not cease to believe in God because we have ceased to define God in terms of the dogmatic. We believe in God all the more because our thought has outgrown the dogmatic. He whom we adore is a greater God by a whole continent than that God which was worshipped at the time that the dogmatic was formulated. And our whole method of approach to God, intellectually, is changed. We do not reason from an abstract conception of God downward to his attributes, but we first find out what we can know about God through his manifestations. All we can know we must learn from what we see in the world round about us and what we can discover in our own inward nature. Taking all the facts

*Books intended for review in THE ARCADE should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARCADE, Boston, Mass.

and reasoning from them as best we can, we come to our notion of the Divine Being. Our method is the method of inductive reasoning, rather than deductive, and we are very patient. We do not make hasty generalizations. We are content with what knowledge we have, and are ready to act upon that knowledge and then to believe the best of God. This method is at work and it is bringing to naught much of what has heretofore been considered as necessary truth. We no longer consider it a crime to think, but we consider it a crime not to think. We hold that knowledge is always imperfect, and must always be subject to investigation, and that beliefs, being nothing else than imperfect knowledge, must be constantly passing away."

No rational mind can find fault with the foregoing, and yet it may lead to very radical results. It has already carried us into an agnosticism concerning many things of which our fathers felt sure, but even agnosticism may mean an advance. Only those are prepared to learn who realize that they do not know. The great theological lesson of the age has resulted in showing us our ignorance and now we are ready to go on as never before.

The old dogmatic had its work to do and did it. It stimulated thought and created great dialecticians. It prepared the way for something better. But in passing it has left us an immoral residuum. In its eagerness to uphold an infallible revelation it has given the world an immoral conception of God, an immoral conception of man, an immoral dogma of exclusive salvation, and an immoral doctrine of hell.

The new dogmatic brings to us new faith, new hope and new enthusiasm. It brings the scientific spirit into religion, and this scientific spirit "has dissipated the whole scheme of the universe in which the dogmatic originated. That three-compartment universe of earth, hades and heaven has no place whatever in the thought-world of to-day." So says the author, and he truthfully adds: "The scientific spirit has taken full possession of all the instrumentalities of education except the pulpit. The press, the school, the university, are all working for and developing the scientific conception of the universe, and these are more mighty than the pulpit and are reducing it to a nullity. It is then the spirit of the age that is completing the overthrow of the dogmatic, and it is a mere

matter of fact for a man within or without the church to declare that a new era, which knows not the dogmatic, has arrived. The churches may shut their eyes, but their blindness and their deafness will not save them. If they be founded upon the dogmatic system, then their foundations are undermined, and they as institutions must fall into ruin."

In other words, the very essence of Christianity involves the unwavering pursuit of truth. The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Truth. Christianity in order to be true to itself must assume not an unchanging but a changing faith. Its beliefs must keep pace with the advance in all spheres of knowledge. In this way only will it keep its hold upon man and be a help to him in his struggle upward.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Is of History. By Joseph Edgar Chamberlin. Cloth. Pp. 203. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

THIS interesting little volume deals with many of the momentous moments of history when the fate of civilization seemed to turn upon some happening in itself quite trivial, or some event that at the time seemed to possess little importance, but which carried with it great destiny-shaping consequences. Doubtless many people would consider all such speculations as idle, since what is, and no man knows definitely what might have been if events at crucial moments had shaped themselves differently. Yet this speculation is more than a fascinating pastime. It serves to recall to the reader great historical moments and will doubtless tend to make many who peruse its pages return to their histories to learn more of the great facts briefly and pleasingly dwelt upon.

The work contains twenty-two chapters, beginning with the battle of Salamis; and among the leading subjects touched upon are "If the Moors Had Won the Battle of Tours;" "If Columbus Had Kept His Straight Course Westward;" "If the Spanish Armada Had Sailed at Its Appointed Time;" "If Champaign Had Tarried in Plymouth Bay;" "If Lafayette Had Held the French Reign of Terror in Check;" "If James Macdonnell Had Not Closed the Gates of Hugomont Castle;" "If Abraham Lincoln's Father Had Moved Southward, not Northward;" "If the Confederates had marched on Washington after Bull Run;" and "If the Confederates

States Had Purchased the East India Company's Fleet in 1861."

The volume is well written and is a valuable work especially to place before young people to stimulate a further interest in history.

A History of the United States Navy. By John R. Spears. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 334. Price, \$1.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

THIS work in the short compass of less than 350 pages presents an excellent story of our navy from its inception to the present day. The author, like most writers on naval topics, is an advocate of a great American navy as a means of promoting peace,—a view with which we do not coincide, though we believe there is far more justification for a large appropriation for naval affairs than for a standing army.

The story of our naval evolution is well told and the author is particularly happy in describing the dauntless and daring achievements of our naval heroes,—achievements that have proved a mighty inspiration to our naval forces from admirals to the lowliest seaman. From the days of Paul Jones to the close of the Spanish War, the history of our naval officers and marines has been for the most part a record of honor and heroism,—a record untarnished by dishonor, cruelty or ought that can bring the blush of shame to the patriot's brow.

This work can be recommended to all persons who desire a brief, well-written and authoritative history of the American navy; while its special excellence is found, we think, in the author's vivid and graphic descriptions of the heroic deeds and great achievements of the naval forces in critical moments.

Gillette's Social Redemption. By Melvin L. Severy. Pp. 783. Boston: H. B. Turner & Company.

AS A REVIEW of "world-wide conditions as they exist to-day" and particularly of those conditions that are most undesirable and call loudest for reform, this book is more nearly comprehensive than any other encyclopedia of social ills yet published.

The reader is plunged into the awful race wars that mar our boasted civilization and made to see the fiasco of peace talk and the imminence of hideous and gigantic interna-

tional strife. International competition and tariff piracy are shown up in undress, and our national shame is exposed in blushing red heat. And there is a way of redemption.

The paganism and brutality of Christian Russia, the perfidy and cruelty of Leopold's misgovernment of the Congo Free State, and the unspeakableness of the unspeakable Turk prove conclusively that something is wrong. And a certain remedy is forthcoming.

Even America has fallen from her high ideals, and may be in the clutch of tendencies that will place her on a level with Russia. There's a reason.

Our federal judiciary is a bulwark of absolutism. The fountains of our civic life are polluted with the corruption of ill-gotten wealth. Public service is exploited for private profit, contraction of currency has greatly increased the debtor class. We have stained our hands with the blood of weaker peoples and presume to rule them against their will. And for all this there is a plan of salvation.

The chapter on "Our Land Graft" is especially good and replete, as is the whole book, with facts and figures of great interest.

"Congress in particular is chargeable with the full and guilty knowledge of this colossal crime. We have seen how 200,000,000 acres of land were, with fatuous generosity, bestowed by Congress upon the railway companies,—an area as great as the combined areas of Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia and North Carolina,—and we are now to see how during the last fifteen years at least 150,000,000 acres,—the equivalent in area of thirty states the size of Massachusetts—have been stolen and added to this stupendous total of alienated lands. Moreover, the best authorities assert that, when the full truth is known the 150,000,000 acres now known to have been stolen will very probably be swelled to 300,000,000 acres, or an area approximately equivalent to one hundred states the size of Connecticut or more than seven times the gross area of all New England!"

"Consider for a moment what this means. Three hundred and fifty million acres is 546,875 square miles.

"Estimating the present population of the United States at something less than eighty-four millions and the average family to contain, say, five persons, though this is an over-

estimate, the figures in 1900 being 4.7 persons per family,—we find that *every family in the United States has been robbed of a farm of more than twenty acres area*. When we wonder at the poverty which stares us in the face on every hand, it is well to remember that every man, woman and child in our great country has been robbed of the means of a handsome competence by the very legislature originally designed for their protection."

"Much of the land of the United States, especially the Western and Southern farming land, is held in large tracts. For instance, the Texas Land Syndicate No. 3 owns 3,000,000 acres in Texas, in which such English noblemen as the Duke of Rutland and Lord Beresford are largely interested. Another syndicate, the British Land Company, owns 300,000 acres in Kansas, besides tracts in other states. The Duke of Sutherland owns hundreds of thousands, and Sir Edward Reid controls 1,000,000 acres in Florida. A syndicate containing Lady Gordon and the Marquis of Dalhousie controls 2,000,000 acres in Mississippi."

The last paragraph above is quoted from Henry George, Jr. In fact the great bulk of the volume consists of quotations and these are admirably well chosen from the standpoint of effectiveness from a wide range of social and political literature of the best radical type.

The despoliation of the people, the lawlessness of the law, the injustice of the courts, the prevalence of lynching, the rise of peonage, the prostitution of the legal professions, the subordination of man to money, and the Reign of Terror in Colorado are also dealt with in detail before we get two-thirds through this remarkable volume, but we are assured that the Gillette System for Social Redemption is calculated to cure every social ill and establish an ideal brotherland on earth.

Impatiently we skip the last third of these myriad social woes to learn from "Appendix A" what Gillette's Social Redemption really is, and even here we do not find out. The following sentences may stir the imagination, but a description of the system is reserved for a second volume. Mr. Severy says:

"In an ideal social state, then, men would do those things which were pleasant for them to do. We fancy we hear you say: 'If that were the case a great many would do nothing,' but, fortunately for humanity, that statement is not true.

"We see, therefore, that were it possible so to alter social conditions that every man could make play of his work, the whole face of human creation would take on such a smile as has never been known to the sons of men. Now this is precisely one of the things which the plan known as 'Gillette's Social Redemption' aims to accomplish. At first thought it would, perhaps, seem to you that were every one permitted freely to select his vocation, two difficulties would immediately become apparent; first: that each one would choose the pleasantest and least onerous work, and, second: many would select pursuits for which they were not qualified. The system in question, however, perfectly meets both of these objections."

"The determination of the *exact price* which shall be paid to the producer of any article is one of the most ingenious features of the system, and one which, so far as we know, has never before been proposed. We refer particularly to the method by which the ratio of supply to demand is made *automatically*, and *without the intervention of human judgment*, to fix the price with absolute justice.

"We regret that space does not permit us to explain this self-adjusting social mechanism in sufficient detail to enable the reader thoroughly to understand it. Suffice it to say that it is as unfailing and impersonal,—as free from favoritism and as coldly exact,—as a perfectly interacting, self-regulating mechanism of steel."

"Under the proposed *régime* there will be no compulsion. A man may work as much or as little as he pleases, but, *and here is the great point*, he cannot consume one iota more than he actually produces. If you imagine that great storehouse of wealth, the earth, to be a lake, and human endeavors to be dippers, you will be able to form a mental picture of conditions as they would exist under the new system. Each social unit would be free to dip up whatever water he needed to satisfy his thirst. If he cared for much, he would dip up much. If he were not thirsty he would not be compelled to dip up any, but in no case could he drink a drop which he had not dipped up. Compare this with the present system, where men are forced to dip from morn till night, and to go thirsty meanwhile, being only permitted to take into their mouth, to satisfy their thirst, about what oozes through their skin as the sweat of their thankless task;

and this, while the few, who never dip at all, are enabled to maintain ostentatious and geyser-like fountains from the water furnished by an army of thirsty toilers while they themselves in many cases, do not so much as know the feel of the dipper."

"The world-wide corporation with the *unlimited, elastic* capitalization, to which we have referred, will be organized for the purpose of purchasing and ultimately controlling all means for the production of wealth throughout the world. Its capital will consist of the money paid in by the people, and these funds will be used for the *purchase outright of approved standard, dividend-paying securities of well-known and unquestionable value.*

"The corporation by-laws will provide, with the utmost care, for the selection of the finance board which has the matter in charge, and the investor will be safeguarded in every way against the inefficiency, or wrong-doing of this board. The purchases made by the corporation will be spread over such a number of standard securities as will make loss impossible."

"Under the new *régime*, patriotism, which has now degenerated to a mere *prejudice of locality* would then become a world-wide *humanitarian sentiment*, without meridian or parallels of latitude; without distinctions of race or color; without discrimination in the matter of nationality or social status; and without differences in the matter of belief, age or sex. *All mankind would then be one common brotherhood.* For the first time in the history of the race all the members of the human family would be integrated into one compact social organism, correlated in all its parts, and informed by a composite intelligence which, on the clock of the world, would make the minute-hand mark hours, so rapid would be the march of human progress. The present irksome toil of the masses would become play, in which the classes would share, until all distinctions of class consciousness utterly broke down. The drone turned into workers; the waste of the hive eliminated; each social unit would have ample time for the development of mind and soul, as well as body. A hitherto unknown *esprit de corps*, a delightful comradery, a sympathy which feels not only *for*, but *with*, would then pervade the whole human fabric."

This is truly a rosy picture and portrays a consummation devoutly to be wished, but the writer gives no hint of the steps to be

taken to reach it. How the creation of this world-wide corporation is to be brought about, how people are going to be converted in masses to this plan, and how the other really serious problems which necessarily confront the execution of so vast a scheme are to be solved our author does not deign to let us know.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

Poems and Essays. By Edward C. Farnsworth. Illustrated. Leather. Pp. 364. Price, \$5.00. Portland, Maine: Smith & Sales.

THIS volume contains the collected poems of Mr. E. C. Farnsworth, together with three notable essays on "The Origin, Development and Mission of Music," "The Origin and Mission of Beauty," and "The American Composer."

Mr. Farnsworth is a valued contributor to THE ARENA. In the present issue will be found a masterly paper from his pen on "Leibnitz, Hegel and Modern Theosophy."

The volume before us is chiefly devoted to the author's poetical works, and though many of the lines are fine and some of the poems are of marked excellence, we do not consider Mr. Farnsworth at his best as a writer of verse. Among the poems that most appeal to us are "The Master to His Violoncello," and a somewhat long poem on "The Tone Poets." From this latter admirable creation we extract the closing lines:

"Beethoven! Master! thine the pean ringing,
And thine the clear, onrushing melody!
Thine, too, the climax of the trancing song!
Behold, thy magic wand thou raisest and
The distant West, deep-muttering, doth frown,
The winds, inconstant, wake with boding wail,—
The tempest bursts, the cloudy van darts fire,—
The ceaseless, heaven-shaking thunders roll! —
Streams out at length the long-enshrouded day;
The hiding birds, their fear-stopped founts un-
loosed,
Come forth with joy renewed, and by the brook
The peasants make again high holiday.
I hear Titania and the Elfin King!
Agatha, beauteous in the chaste moon-beam,
Is warbling all her maiden heart of love.
Welcome, who bade them be! Thy harmony
Should mingle with the bliss of those that stand
Where every harp-string owns a seraph's hand.
Greeting, rapt Bard divinely pouring now
Thine Earl King, Wanderer, and Serenade!
Welcome, inspiring Minstrel heaven-inspired!
Elijah's deeds and Bael's downfall tell!
Right welcome, great Romanticist! O sing
Of Mignon, Blondel, and the Grenadiers!

O bardic Band! Immortals young! O ye
 That teach my uncloyed ear your deathless themes
 One stands amidst, his poet brow enwreathed
 With tribute laurel. Strong Upbuilder, hail!
 Thy lofty walls shall scorn the brunt of Time,
 And every art, made one, shall temple there.
 Thou singer of the sky-descended Grail!
 Monsalvat's bells fore-ring the wakeful hour,
 And, at the summons, yonder knightly throng
 Is upward wending to the hallowed tower.
 And now the restless Morn, unbidden come,
 Arouses me to routine, worldly care;
 She speaks!—Night's fervent eloquence is dumb!—
 She looks! and instant melts the vision fair.
 O be it that when through the valley dark,
 Or when I strain o'er rough and dangerous ways,
 Of this remembered night a note, a spark,
 Shall cheer and guide me unto better days!"

It is as a prose essayist, however, that our author is most satisfactory to us. Here his thought is clear and philosophical; his ideas are such as to appeal to the imagination and the reason; and his style is marked by beauty of expression and a rhythmic or poetic quality very pleasing to the reader. From the essay on "The Origin and Mission of Beauty" we make two brief quotations that well illustrate the author's thought and style:

"It was held by Plato that the words Beauty, Truth, Good, are synonymous, and designate the primal concept of the Divine Mind, the underlying forms of the Archetypal World whose outward expression is the objective Cosmos. Bathed in supernal light, those forms transcend finite comprehension; with them is inseparably associated every perfection in the Universe. Comprehending the Archetypal, high intelligences have emanated to man the idea of Beauty.

"Whatsoever the appreciative mind considers beautiful, whether bodily form, mental attainment, or spiritual condition in man, or Nature's handiwork in all her lifeful lower kingdoms, or her manifold inanimate creations, or the result of man's imitative skill, compels the sane judgment to its verdict because each and all of these in some measure illustrate the law of higher and higher becoming. The normal and progressive—physical, mental or spiritual—ever approaches the concept of Eternal Mind; it seeks to identify itself with that which epitomizes Beauty, Truth and Good.

"Probably no artist-lover of the Ideal, contemplating his best work, has felt that entire satisfaction with which it fills his admirers. Keener of vision, he knows that Perfect Beauty—she for whom every power

of his being was exercised—did, after all, elude him; he but touched the garment's hem of the incomparable goddess who, stepping higher, turned, and, for a moment great with encouragement, beckoned him to renewed efforts; and he, made wise and humble, strives afresh, for now at last he understands her mission: she even to this dull earth descended to lead him upward on the ever-brightening way. Ah, though he may never claim her as his own, in some rare vision he shall see her glorious on heights before whose sheer ascent his feeble humanity must wait.

"Toward those unattained summits did Homer strive, his sightless orbs suffused with a glory we wot not of. Along his lonely pathway the smitten harp-strings rung as his resonant voice, in songs of mighty and heroic feats of war, in songs of strange adventure and far sojournings, came echoing downward, downward, even to the listening plain.

"Ah, when will the Earth clouds lifting, discover the great Triune of Beauty, Truth and Good? Ah, when shall be revealed to mankind those Verities that straining eyes in every age have vainly sought? More stable than the throne of Olympia, they fade not as did the bright assembly of Grecian gods; they vanish not like the Pantheons of the ancient world! Goodlier far than any vision of Helicon, the chosen seat of the Muses, they hide above the towering Meru, the Indian's sacred height. The prophet's millennial mount they glorify. They wait beyond Monsalvat's skyey, templed crest, home of the heaven-descended Grail!"

The volume is beautifully gotten up, a fine specimen of the book-maker's art, being well printed on deckle-edged paper and bound in dark green leather richly stamped in gold.

Fagots of Cedar. By Ivan Swift. Bound in boards and buckram. Printed on deckle-edged paper. Illustrated with photographs and pencil drawings. Price, \$2.00. Outer's Book Press, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Also for sale by the author, at Harbor Springs, Michigan.

"FAGOTS OF CEDAR" brings with it the breath of the northland. Mr. Swift's work is strong and virile, revealing the free soul untrammelled by the restraints of convention. When we read his verses we seem to hear the rushing of the wind through the

pinces and the roaring of mighty cataracts, and we catch glimpses of wide wind-swept stretches of country over-hung by cold gray clouds. He has little sympathy with the feverish, artificial life of our modern cities, but is peculiarly happy when depicting the rugged life of the lumbermen of northern Michigan, as will be seen from the following stanzas from "The Song of the Cedar-Maker":

"Deep is the wall of the cedar,
And tough is the take of the Jack;
But a man with a girl must feed her,
And the fire must burn in the shack.

*Ax, spud, saw, steel!
Trim, mark, cut, peel!*

"We tackled the world and shook her—
A wench with an eye for hate;
We winked at the woods—and took her,
For better and bunk and plate.

"Man is a thing for labor,
Or what's the game of the trees?
The saw is as good as the saber—
And tallies are made with these.

"Our talk ain't the regular latin—
But we cut to the cedar's core!
Our manner 'll stand some battin'—
But we pay for our beans and more!

"Tough is the take of the cedar,
And rough is the lift of the Jack;
But a man with a wife must feed her,
And the kettle must boil in the shack."

Of an entirely different character, yet no less typical, is the following, entitled "The Dragon City":

"In this unchanging shaft-light hour by hour
Pent in and comfortless, the city's power
Goes grinding on around me; and the sky,
A somber square the empty winds go by,
Scarce marks the transit of the night or day.
A million unfixed spirits take their way
Beneath my keep, nor seem to reckon why
They tempt a dragon, follow far, and die!

"I marvel I could quit the peace of fields
For this, where all our fervent sowing yields
But mortal thorns to weave us penal crowns!
I have not learned the tenets of the towns:
I seem disarmed where every man contends,
Denying virtue and rejecting friends!

"Where I have wandered, on the northern hills,
A Presence full of power and promise fills
Our hearts with common joy; and there we learn
How comradeship and simple trust will turn
The fear of beasts and enmity of men.
But what avails the code I gathered then?—
The God of farther places *here* they scorn,
And flout the solemn faiths that *I* have sworn!

"Were men but rude, like some unlettered breed,—
Then might I stand, as one who knew the creed;
But here are sinuous ways and sultan smiles,
Soft insolence, diplomacies and wiles.
These subtler crafts plain men can never know;
And fall as falls the unresisting snow!

"From this most pitiless of human mills
I wonder I am not among the hills,
Whose faithful benediction followed me!
And I am pained of infidelity
At parting from the pines and golden sands
And old-time friends—the warm and rugged hands
Of long-true friends! I wonder I should roam
This way! My heart is *there*—and there is *home*!"

Here are two stanzas which illustrate Mr. Swift's power of painting in a few words a vivid picture of any incident he wishes to describe:

"The glow of the moon's low rim
Creeps up through the trees to the sky;
And the night is a deep, sweet hymn
To the lone doe sauntering by.

"A frail, lithe shape at the spring—
A quick, strange flash in the night!
A leap and a keen, hot sting!
And Death walks weird in the light."

Mr. Swift's poems have much of the strong, virile, thought-suggesting quality of Whitman's work. By this we do not mean that his thought is couched in the Whitmanesque form, for he possesses in a high degree the rhythmic sense, but rather that his poems have in them the rugged, primitive strength, "the tang and odor of the primal things," that marked the work of the older poet.

Our author's name suggests the Slav, but his work would indicate that he had descended from the Norsemen, whose sturdy, liberty-loving spirit seems to impregnate almost every line.

Many of the poems in this volume have appeared in the *New York Independent* and other periodicals. The book is beautifully bound and printed, and would make an ideal gift-book.

AMY C. RICH.

Come and Find Me. By Elizabeth Robins.
Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 530. Price,
\$1.50. New York: The Century Company.

THIS is a powerful novel of life in California and the far North, written by a lady whose remarkably successful impersonations on the stage of Henrik Ibsen's master creations have apparently influenced her in some degree in her writings; for here we see much

of that faithful reproduction of detail in life, that veritism or realism in description, that is so marked in Ibsen's works. Yet the book is in no sense imitative. It is a strong romance, rich in imaginative power and strong in human interest, abounding in flesh and blood characters who appeal to us as real entities. We follow them as we follow the wanderings of our friends when they narrate important happenings that have overtaken them in foreign lands.

We remember hearing Lieutenant Peary make a brief address at a banquet in New York a few years ago, during which he called attention to the oft-repeated statement that after the searchers for the North Pole had crossed the Arctic Circle, they were "bitten by the North." Henceforth ever and anon the Northland lured them to her cold embrace. They might return, but it was only to forget the hardships, trials, privations and deadly perils that had confronted them, in the presence of a profound longing to return to the frozen world of wonder and mystery. And we remember several years ago hearing Sir Gilbert Parker speak of the strange and wonderful fascination of British America, the spiritual uplift and the magic influence which that wonderful land exerted over his imagination,—an influence entirely unlike that he experienced in the tropics or in any other part of the world.

The same spell seems to be upon the author of this work. She herself has visited the Klondike, suffering many privations and hardships in the frozen North; but its spell and power is upon her and it lends interest and fascination to this remarkable romance, which opens in Southern California and deals with largely the lives of two girls and their lovers; with a daring explorer who is so greatly under the spell of the scientific spirit that he fares forth in search of the Pole; with the father of the heroine who years before had discovered gold in northern Alaska and who has for years striven to interest people in his discovery, only to be met with incredulity on every hand; with the lover of the heroine, who, for the sake of the girl, turns aside from his home-coming, after finding gold in the Klondike, to go in search of the father; and with the heroism and adventures of the heroine also in the far North.

The story is entirely out of the ordinary. The author is a woman of undoubted genius. She possesses the seeing eye and feeling

heart of the poet soul. *Come and Find Me* is one of the strongest and most absorbingly interesting love romances of recent years.

The Mongols: A History. By Jeremiah Curtin. With a portrait of the author, and a foreword by President Roosevelt. Cloth. Pp. 426. Price, \$3.00 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THIS work deals with one of the most thrilling terrible and important passages in history, a passage about which there is surprising ignorance among Americans otherwise well posted on historical epochs. In a Foreword President Roosevelt, who was a great admirer of Mr. Curtin, gives a vivid picture of the rise of the Mongol power. This forms an admirable introduction to the carefully-written story of the origin, rise and whirlwind sweep of the Mongol, by which he conquered most of Asia and extended his victorious arms well into Europe.

The present volume is devoted to the Mongol in Asia. A work to appear later will deal with European conquests and their result. Mr. Curtin was probably the best equipped modern writer to authoritatively and interestingly treat this important passage of history. That the work has been well done, all readers will admit, for in spite of the multiplicity of strange names, many of them difficult of pronunciation, and the bewildering number of personalities who play a part in this most bloody period known to history, the work from the opening page grips the reader's interest and holds it to the close of the volume, if his desire to know important facts is great enough to overbalance the sense of horror and depression which this story of wholesale butchery and the despoilation of nations creates in the normal mind.

The Mongol power arose on the plains south of Lake Baikal, "where six rivers rise in a very remarkable mountain land. . . . There they (the Mongols) moved about with their large and small cattle, fought, robbed and hunted, ate and drank and slew one another during ages without reckoning. In that region of forest and grass land, of mountains and valleys, of great and small rivers, the air is wholesome though piercingly cold during winter, and exceedingly hot in the summer months. There was subsistence enough for a primitive life in that country, but men had to fight for it savagely. Flocks



THE LATE JEREMIAH CURTIN, IN HIS LIBRARY AT BRISTOL, VERMONT.

and herds when grown numerous need immense spaces to feed in, and those spaces of land caused unending struggle and bloodshed. The flocks and herds were also objects of struggle, not flocks and herds only, but women. The desirable woman was snatched away, kidnapped: the good herd of cattle was stolen, and afterward fought for; the grass-covered mountain or valley, or the forest with grass or good branches, or shrubbery for browsing was seized and then kept by the men who were able to hold it."

Such was the condition of this people who were destined to become the masters of

Asia and Eastern Europe.

In describing the advent of Temudjin, later known as Genghis Khan, the most complete embodiment of aggressive egoism known to history, our author observes:

"This stealing of cattle, this grabbing of pasture and forest, this fighting, this killing, this capture of women continued for ages with no apparent results except those which were personal, local and transient, still Temudjin the great Mongol appeared in that harsh mountain country. This man summed up in himself, and intensified to the utmost the ideas, strength, temper and spirit of his race as presented in action and life up to his day. He placed the Mongols on the stage of the world with a skill and a power that were simply colossal and all-conquering. The results which he won were immediate and terrifying. No man born of woman has had thus far in history a

success so peculiar, so thorough and perfect, so completely acknowledged by mankind as the success won by Temudjin."

Temudjin first overcame all opposition to himself in his own tribe. Becoming supreme in this group, he then commenced the mastery of all the Mongols. He ruthlessly slew all who opposed him, unless he found them willing to bow to his supreme authority. When his mastery of his own people was complete and his hold over the rude imagination of as daring and desperate a horde of men as ever lived was as complete as was Napoleon's over his seasoned soldiers, the

campaign of conquest was opened,—a campaign destined to be carried forward with ceaseless activity by Temudjin, his lieutenants and their successors until northeast Asia, China, northern Hindustan, Persia, the Turkish Empire and Russia fell under the invincible onrush. It was a time of profound spiritual inertia, of gripping materialism or aggressive animalism throughout the whole of Asia; a general condition at once favorable to the creation of just such a storm or whirlwind of brutal materialistic aggression as that with which this history deals, and equally favorable to its triumph; for from China to Arabia and the Bosphorus there was a singular absence of the moral idealism or spiritual enthusiasm that makes men and nations invincible when attacked by superior forces dominated by mere egoism.

This work contains nineteen chapters. It opens with the earliest known legends relating to the advent of Temudjin, and traces the rise and aggressive advance of the Mongol under this great leader in the closing years of the twelfth century, and it ends with the overthrow of the Mongol power in China in the early part of the fifteenth century.

The volume is one of the most important historical works of recent years.

The American Constitution. By Frederic Jesup Stimson. Cloth. Pp. 259. Price, \$1.25 net. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

THIS volume consists of eight chapters that were delivered in October and November of last year at Boston in the Lowell Institute lectures. The author is Professor of Comparative Legislation in Harvard University. The subjects discussed are of deep interest to all thinking Americans. Though we do not agree with all the positions taken by the author, we regard the volume as an extremely important contribution to our political literature, and much which it contains is of the highest interest and value.

The chapters on "The Meaning of the Constitution," "Constitutional Rights Peculiar to English and American Freemen," "English Liberty and the Freedom of Labor," "Development of These Rights; Their Infringement by Kings and Their Reestablishment by the People," and "The Expression in Our Federal Constitution," are chap-



FREDERIC T. STIMSON,
Author of "The American Constitution."

ters that every American should carefully read at the present time.

The concluding three chapters deal with "Division of Powers Between Legislative,

Executive and Judicial; and Between the Federal Government and the States," "Changes in the Constitution Now Proposed," and "Interstate Commerce, the Control of Trusts, and the Regulation of Corporations."

It is unfortunate that the work does not deal in a vital way with the evolution of government by corporate power through party machines and political bosses. To serious students of our present political conditions this ominous and subversive peril overshadows all other menaces to free government, and in a general discussion of Constitutional rights as they relate to our republican institutions, there certainly should have been some space given to the consideration of this subject.

Happily, the people as a whole are rapidly awakening to the facts that professors in conservative universities seem to be ignorant of and which the politicians no less than the feudalism of privileged wealth are extremely anxious to have the people ignore, until they have firmly established a new and subversive order,—an order that would as effectively destroy genuine republican government as the di Medici family destroyed the Republic of Florence without interfering with any of the forms of free government.

The chapters on English liberty are very rich in suggestive facts for us, and some of the author's observations are thought-arresting and should awaken readers to the peril of the present, as he indicates most clearly how we are becoming recreant to the liberties gained only after long and bitter struggles in the history of the English-speaking world. Thus, for example, Professor Stimson says of trial by jury:

"Of trial by jury I need say no word. It comes under the right to law, but is separately and expressly mentioned in Magna Charta. Congress is at present withholding it from ten millions of our people in the East.—The right to serve on juries is of equal importance. The negroes allege that they are being denied it in the South.—The right to *habeas corpus* comes under the right to liberty; that also is being withheld in the Philippine Islands.—Since Magna Charta, no man can be tried for crime unless a grand jury of twenty-three men find probable cause. This is done away with in all our insular possessions.—Under Charles I our ancestors established that treason should consist only of levying war against

the state or adhering to its enemies and giving them aid and comfort, and be evidenced by some overt act to which there are two witnesses. It was under this right that even Aaron Burr was acquitted by his political enemy, John Marshall. Yet it has recently been asserted that the mailing of political arguments to American citizens might be an overt act; and freedom of the press is forbidden in the Philippines."

In the closing chapter the author thus summarizes some of the things he has striven to impress during his discussions:

"I shall be satisfied if I have left some half a dozen concepts clear in your mind. First, local self-government and the common law, both forever essential to a free English people. Second, the separation of the powers, that the Executive shall not control legislation, or government officers assume judicial powers. Third, the great principle that has kept our Nation alive so far, that the Centralized Government of our mighty empire is confined to political powers alone, National defence, our relation to other nations, and, possibly, national improvements—such as the deepening of the Mississippi River; while the domestic affairs of the people—men's lives and liberties, their acquirement of property, and their relation to their neighbors—is left to each man's own State to control, each State wisely differing in its laws where differences of climate, race conditions or industry so demand; and that any attempt forcibly to make them all conform to a procrustean rule is the height of unwisdom and folly. And, finally, that our Constitution demands everywhere a republican form of government—everywhere that our flag shall go. As the Thirteenth Amendment puts it, slavery shall not exist—not only in any State—but in any place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States."

Ernest Howard Crosby: *A Valuation and a Tribute*. By Leonard D. Abbott. Cloth. Pp. 40. Price, 50 cents. Westwood, Massachusetts: The Ariel Press.

THIS little brochure should be possessed by every reformer, and indeed, by every American who loves that which is pure, sane, broad, and morally great in life, for it is a sketch or a valuation that deals in a just and sympathetic manner with the life of as noble a man as has lived and labored in our time. Ernest

Crosby from boyhood was fine, clean-hearted, gentle, just and brave in the highest kind of bravery—moral courage. He was ever a truth-seeker. After receiving a fine education he entered politics and was sent to the New York Legislature. Here he sickened of the life he beheld and which he was so little able to reform. President Harrison offered to nominate him as judge of the International Courts at Alexandria, Egypt. It was a five-thousand-dollar-a-year position and gave the appointee ample time for reading and research. Mr. Crosby accepted the trust and the selection was ratified by the European powers concerned. While in Egypt he kept up his quest for the truth, and here it was that he experienced that new birth that changed his whole life. Mr. Abbott admirably portrays this wonderful experience which wrought a change almost as great as that which followed the vision of St. Paul on the way to Damascus, when, as Hugo says, he "fell into the light, and rose, a just man."

"Some glimpses of the spiritual and intellectual development through which he passed on his way from stolid conservatism to extreme radicalism may be had from his own writings. He has testified that in mid-life he experienced a kind of 're-birth,' and that it took place suddenly, as the result of much inner travail and conflict. During the period when this great change fell upon him he was a judge of the International Court at Alexandria, Egypt. His position as a man of distinction and authority among a primitive native population was hardly such as to conduce to radicalism of any kind. But behind his judge's robes was a pure heart and an honest soul. The time came, as it was bound to come, when he lost interest in 'judging' men. He longed to *love* them instead.

"It was a little book of Tolstoi's on, 'Life that kindled in his heart a flame that no later influence was ever able to quench. One Sunday he read the book to its conclusion with a sense of overpowering uplift. And then he tried to realize its implications. As he tells us:

"The book said. 'Love others; love them calmly, strongly, profoundly,
And you will find your immortal soul.'
I leaned back in my armchair, letting my hand fall with the volume in my lap,
And with closed eyes and half a smile on my face
I made the experiment and tried to love.

For the first time, I really let my life go forth in love, and lo, the mighty current welling up, beneath and around me, lifted me, as it were, bodily, out of time and space.

I felt the eternal poise of my indestructible soul in the regions of life everlasting.

Immortality was mine. The question which had so long baffled the creeds and the philosophers was answered."

"In this mood Crosby gave up his position in Alexandria and visited Tolstoi in Russia. There must have been something intensely beautiful in the ardor and sincerity of this splendidly-endowed personality who came to Yasnaya Poliana to lay all at the master's feet, and to dedicate his life to ideals that had burst upon him with the full force of a revelation. Tolstoi was not dead to the romance of the incident. His heart went out to the young American, and a friendship began that lasted through Crosby's life—and beyond.

"Crosby, on his side, returned to America with new visions thronging upon him. They were no longer visions of worldly eminence or material power. On ambitious of that kind he had turned his back forever. He was concerned with entirely new values."

From henceforth his was a life of service, a life of expressed love.



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ERNEST HOWARD CROSBY.

"He would have summed it, I am sure," says Mr. Abbott, "as a philosophy of Love. 'I want my life to be one long love-story,' he said. Again and again he affirmed his conviction that the only attitude toward life that can bring enduring satisfaction is an attitude of love. It is a gospel as old and beautiful as that of the white Christ, but the mere generalization of love can hardly satisfy us. If Crosby had done nothing more than utter generalizations, he could not hold us. Any one can love, or can say that he loves—in the abstract. What interests us are the practical applications of love."

Mr. Abbott has rendered a service to the cause of human progress by writing this beautiful and worthy tribute.

Dan Beard's Animal Book. By Dan Beard. Illustrated with 116 half-tone pictures, most of which are full-page illustrations, and four colored plates from water-color drawings by Mr. Beard. Cloth. Pp. 538. Price, \$1.60 net. New York: Moffat, Yard & Company.

DAN BEARD as an artist, cartoonist and author of *Moonblight*, is too well known to our readers to need introduction. He is also one of the most widely known and popular authors of nature and out-door sport books for the young. His editorial work and his writings relating to field, forest and stream and the life found therein, have justly won for him a large clientele of healthy-minded, normal American boys and youths, on account of his *Field and Forest Handbook*, *The American Boy's Handy Book* and other similar volumes.

In his new work Mr. Beard has given the American youths a vast amount of valuable information relating to birds, beasts, reptiles and insects that makes it, considered from the naturalist's point-of-view, one of the best treatises of recent years. But its special merit is fourfold. Its more than five hundred pages are literally crowded with facts of natural history that have come for the most part under the author's personal observation. The facts are all sugar-coated, and the volume abounds in just such stories as healthy, normal boys and girls must enjoy. It is magnificently illustrated by a great number of full-page pictures, including four beautiful colored plates made from water-color paintings by Mr. Beard. Many of the full-page

half-tones are from careful drawings by the author; others are admirable half-tones from photographs. While a fourth excellence is found in the moral tone of the work. We have often hesitated to recommend otherwise excellent works, because of the lust for killing which seemed to have taken possession of the writers' imagination. With Mr. Beard precisely the reverse is evinced. In his writings the moral tone is fine. A spirit of kindness and gentleness pervades the book and cannot fail to exert a helpful influence on the minds of those who read it.

We know Mr. Beard too well to imagine he would be guilty of nature-faking; but we warn him that he had best keep his book from certain quarters. Imagine, for instance, what would follow if a certain strenuous gentleman opened the volume at page 111 and read the following:

"Goats are not the only animals addicted to eating manufactured fabrics.

"Once, while looking out of the window of a dining car, I saw a young cow in a back yard calmly chewing and *swallowing a freshly-laundered shirt*. She ate the whole of one shirt, and the sleeve of a second disappeared as my train pulled out.

"Where the Licking River empties into the Ohio, between Covington and Newport, Kentucky, on the Covington side, there is a retaining wall of stone built to keep the high bank from being washed away during the floods. The top of this wall was formerly a favorite lounging place for the Covington youngsters and the shale bar below was a favorite spot from which to swim during low water.

"One day while sitting on top of the wall watching some boys in swimming I saw a young cow walk up to the boys' heap of clothes below me, and calmly eat their damp little shirts; as the tail of the last shirt disappeared I left, because the boys were bigger than I was and I well knew that I would be held responsible for those shirts and that the cow story would not be believed. This showed caution and *boy* sense on my part, but shirt-eating does not appear to be an intellectual pursuit even for a cow."

This work abounds in personal experiences, anecdotes and happenings that remind one of a camp-fire around which a number of old trappers, hunters and woodsmen have gathered after a day's tramp, and where they are beguiling the early evening hours

telling stories of what they have witnessed in the wonder-world of wood and field.

The author knows and understands boys as well as he knows and understands the fields and forests and their multitudinous inhabitants, and this double knowledge has enabled him to write a book that any boy will enjoy and while enjoying it his mind will be absorbing a vast amount of useful information. Moreover, it will tend to teach him to observe and think upon the life around him. It is a book that should be in every home where there are children.

The Iron Heel. By Jack London. Cloth. Pp. 354. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company.

A ROMANCE from the pen of Jack London is bound to attract considerable attention. He is one of the strongest and most virile and sincere of our present novelists. He is a man of strong imagination, possessing a simple, clear and direct style at once pleasing and convincing. More than this, he is under the compulsion of an awakened conscience.

His latest novel, *The Iron Heel*, considered from a literary and imaginative point-of-view, is one of his greatest works of fiction; yet, as we shall presently point out, it is to us the most disappointing work that has come from his pen. The romance professes to be an historical fragment discovered seven hundred years from the present time and four hundred years after the establishment of popular government under free and just conditions in the United States. The preface purports to have been written by a scholar who lived at the time the manuscript was discovered, and from it we are told that for three hundred



Photo. by Pach Bros., New York.

DAN. BEARD.

years from the present time America was under the crushing despotism of an oligarchy of wealth known as the Iron Heel,—an oligarchy which evolved from the plutocracy now rampant in our midst and whose rapid and steady advance has been so marked during the past eighteen years. These three hundred years, we are given to understand, were a time of merciless despotism in which the condition of the toiling millions was pitiable beyond description. Time and again they revolted, but every time they were mercilessly crushed, until causes that favored the revolution enabled them, three hundred years from the present, to break the power of the despotism and secure for the people true liberty.

The story is supposed to deal with a revolutionary epoch commencing within four years of the present and extending over a number of years. It vividly describes the rapid advance of the plutocracy which has marked recent years, and the passing of a number of bills which may easily be used in the future for the crushing of the people if the plutocracy continues its corruption and control of government and is enabled to further ramify itself in the press and other public opinion-forming agencies of the land. It shows how ruling after ruling by the courts took away the rights of the people and tended to curb and crush organized labor, and how from to-day on the plutocracy steadily became more and more powerful, arrogant and despotic.

Then came the revolt of 1912 and its merciless crushing of the people; a threat of war with Germany, frustrated by the strike of the Socialist workers in both Germany and America, after which the plutocracy wins over certain labor leaders and organizations



JACK LONDON,
Author of "The Iron Heel."

while it begins a steady and systematic crushing of the toilers in other departments of labor, its purpose being steadily to crush the toilers into absolute servitude, but the crushing was carried forward in a shrewd and diplomatic manner, so as to reduce only a section at a time. In this way the plutocracy itself was never seriously imperilled.

But the toilers were not altogether blind to the systematic program for their crushing, and another terrible revolt followed,—a revolt that is very vividly described. But it is unnecessary to give the terrible story of these unsuccessful attempts of the people to thwart or check the advancing despotism of the Iron Heel. Sufficient to say that it is a powerful book, abounding in profoundly thoughtful suggestions that should appeal to all patriots who love free government. Take, for example, the following deeply suggestive observations in which Mr. London points out one of the most amazing phenomena of present-day society—the unconscious self-deception of the masters of the bread who defy the ethics of the Nazarene while posing as moral men and Christian citizens. It is this self-deception and the fact that society takes the estimate of these great moral criminals as to their godliness at par, that largely accounts for their toleration of hideously unjust conditions to-day.

"They, as a class, believed that they alone maintained civilization. It was their belief that if ever they weakened, the great beasts would engulf them and everything of beauty and wonder and joy and good in its cavernous and slime-dripping maw. Without them, anarchy would reign supreme and humanity would drop backward into the primitive night out of which it had so painfully emerged. The horrid picture of anarchy was held always before their child's eyes until they, in turn, obsessed by this cultivated fear, held the picture of anarchy before the eyes of the children that followed them. This was the beast to be stamped upon, and the highest duty of the aristocrat was to stamp upon it. In short, they alone, by their unremitting toil and sacrifice, stood between weak humanity and the all-devouring beast; and they believed it, firmly believed it.

"I cannot lay too great stress upon this high ethical righteousness of the whole oligarch class. This has been the strength of the Iron Heel, and too many of the comrades have been slow or loath to realize it. Many

of them have ascribed the strength of the Iron Heel to its system of reward and punishment. This is a mistake. Heaven and hell may be the prime factors of zeal in the religion of a fanatic; but for the great majority of the religious, heaven and hell are incidental to right and wrong. Love of the right, desire for the right, unhappiness with anything less than the right—in short, right conduct is the prime factor of religion. And so with the Oligarchy. Prisons, banishment and degradation, honors and palaces and wonder-cities, are all incidental. The great driving force of the oligarchs is the belief that they are doing right. Never mind the exceptions, and never mind the oppression and injustice in which the Iron Heel was conceived. All is granted. The point is that the strength of the Oligarchy to-day lies in its satisfied conception of its own righteousness.

"For that matter, the strength of the Revolution, during these frightful twenty years, has resided in nothing else than the sense of righteousness. In no other way can be explained our sacrifices and martyrdoms."

Here also are facts marshalled that should fall on the awakened conscience of American citizens as the sound of an alarm bell at midnight. And yet in spite of these excellences this work is very disappointing to us, for we believe it is the kind of prophecy that will tend to defeat the objects which the author undoubtedly desired to further. Moreover, it is, in our judgment, precisely the opposite of the kind of literature that is needed to-day. We need literature that will strengthen, encourage, in spirit and hearten all reformers, no less than the people who are under the wheel,—literature that shall instill courage and moral enthusiasm and lead all friends of justice to unite fearlessly and resolutely in a step-by-step plan of progress that by peaceable means will lead to the triumph of justice.

We know the answer is that the ballot-box is being stuffed, and that frauds are becoming alarmingly frequent at elections; also that reactionary influences in the judiciary are nullifying legislation for the protection of children and women, and are by decision after decision taking the power from labor to protect itself from the great masters of the bread and of the government, who, in spite of law defiance, sneer at all efforts to make them amenable to the provisions of justice. We know that there is truth—much truth—in these charges; but the tampering

with the ballot-box has not yet become general, and if labor will unite at a single election it can easily win back all and more than it has lost.

If the government is reactionary and if judges usurp unconstitutional power in behalf of entrenched wealth, it is because they know that labor will not unite at the ballot-box, while capital always is a unit in the furthering of its selfish interests and the interests of its servile servants. The toilers have far more to hope for from union at the ballot-box than from any appeal to force. Union and a persistent educational agitation which shall appeal to the conscience and sense of justice in the people,—these are the supreme requisites of the hour.

Again, we believe Mr. London has misread the history of civilization since the dawn of Modern Times. Before every forward step, oppression has gone forward, becoming bolder, more aggressive, insolent, confident and determined at every step, while it seemed from month to month and year to year that the cause of the people became more and more hopeless, until suddenly the great clock struck; suddenly the people aroused, united and moved forward. So it was with the Stuarts; so it was with King George and the Colonies; so it was with the old *régime* in France; and, finally, so it was with the slave power before the election of Lincoln.

The people are always very slow to act. They will bear much, but every unjust and oppressive act is laid up against the day of reckoning. Now the people are awakening. All the powers of the plutocracy cannot put them to sleep again. But they should be enthused and not discouraged. They should be shown that through uniting in a battle for Direct-Legislation and the right of recall, and by uniting only on men pledged to carry forward the first demands of labor, they can by the step-by-step method regain all that they have lost and get the government back into the hands of the people; and then by peaceable means secure conditions favorable to equality of opportunities and of rights and conditions under which every child will be protected in his rights and every woman; while the aged will be cared for as venerable service should be cared for in an enlightened land.

All talk of forcible revolution is not only foolish, but it is bound to injure the people's cause; and to picture the plutocracy as

invincible, and the desperate attempts of the people as successive and tragic failures, is little calculated to in any degree help on the cause of social justice.

The plutocracy is not invincible. The people can and will win and we believe they will win by peaceable measures. We know they will if they have the wisdom to unite and fight for that which is to-day obtainable and which will quickly get the government into their own hands so that they can peacefully secure their rights and that measure of justice which is rightfully due them.

We can well understand Mr. London's mood. He has been a victim of shameful injustice himself and he has lived with and studied the people of the abyss. He has seen and felt the tragedies of the poor to-day throughout Christian lands; and these things have, we think, made him unduly hopeless and have unfortunately so colored his thought as to make his book a detriment rather than a help to the cause of social justice in our day.

The Lady of the Mount. By Frederic S. Isham. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 390. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.



FREDERIC S. ISHAM,
Author of "The Lady of The Mount."

THIS is one of the best novels of its class that has appeared during the present year. It is a piece of light romantic fiction written in excellent English in a smooth, flowing style, and will please readers who are merely in search of a well-written romantic novel, a diverter of thought that will tend to rest the mind when wearied through exacting labors.

The story is cast during the stormy days that immediately preceded the French Revolution, and the warring spirits of the old and new order pervade the book, which is highly exciting and melodramatic in character, abounding in dramatic incidents and stirring action. It will tax the credulity of the reader, as do most melodramas and romantic novels of this class. It is, however, we think, the best of Mr. Isham's novels and a book that will please those who enjoy this kind of literature.

The Black Bag. By Louis Joseph Vance. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 441. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

IN OUR childhood days well-published and attractively illustrated works of fiction were for the most part written by masters, such as Scott, Dickens, Bulwer, Hawthorne, Thackeray and Eliot. It was the aim of thoughtful people to secure at least a fair representation of these great works for their libraries, and these volumes were read and discussed in the homes of culture, while at the same time the boys of the households not unfrequently secreted and read surreptitiously the hair-raising adventures of Jack Karkaway and the yellow-backed dime novels of the time.

Nowadays novels are appearing that bear a far nearer relation to the dime novel than to the great and worthy masterpieces of fiction. Veritable trash is coming from the presses of leading publishers, well gotten up and oftentimes beautifully illustrated.

The latest of the trashy stories of this class is *The Black Bag*, a novel of crime and mystery. The scenes are laid in London, and in it impossibility treads on the heels of improbability through every page. The book, if ingenious, is wanting in imaginative power, literary worth or striking elements of novelty which might to some extent compensate the reader for the extraordinary demand on his credulity. There is plenty of action and the outcome is satisfactory. This, we think, is

about all than can truthfully be said in the book's favor.

Delight: A Story of a Little Christian Scientist.
By Gertrude Smith. Illustrated. Cloth.
Pp. 220. Price, 50 cents. Philadelphia:
Henry Altemus Company.

THIS is the story of a little crippled girl who, taken from an orphan home and adopted by a Christian Scientist, is later entirely cured and becomes the sunshine of the community. It is a pleasing little tale, tastefully illustrated, and will appeal to little folks of from eight to twelve years of age. The atmosphere is morally wholesome, though *Delight* will probably impress many readers as being too uniformly good to be an ordinary flesh and blood child of the twentieth century. However, the effect of holding the ideal of ever expressing love and fearlessness before the child mind as something to be attained, cannot be other than helpful on the plastic mind of children who are privileged to enjoy the story.

Gems of Thought. Compiled by Henry B. Damon. Printed on deckle-edged paper. Bound in paper. Price, 50 cents. Kato-nah, New York.

THIS is a small collection of choice selections from the good and the great, printed in script and tastefully gotten up; a scrap-book of brief and meaningful utterances.

The Great Secret. By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 293. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THIS new romance by Mr. Oppenheim, while being far superior to his last preceding novel, *A Lost Leader*, is yet much inferior to many of his earlier works, notably *A Prince of Sinners*. As we have had occasion to remark before when noticing Mr. Oppenheim's work, it is indeed unfortunate that a writer possessing the genius which produced *A Prince of Sinners* should elect to play to the gallery as he has done in the numerous volumes that have come from his facile pen during recent years.

The Great Secret is an exceptionally able story of the kind. Stirring and exciting events and hair-breadth escapes follow each other swiftly, and there is not a dull line



LOUIS JOSEPH VANCE,
Author of "Black Bag."

from cover to cover. A bold international political intrigue, carried on by daring and unscrupulous men and in which Germany plays a far from creditable part, forms the nucleus about which the story is woven. The climax of the novel which occurs in the office of a great London daily is one of the strongest and most thrilling scenes in recent fiction of this class. AMY C. RICH.

The Pursuit of Priscilla. By E. S. Field. Cloth. Pp. 112. Price, 50 cents. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

CONSIDERED from the purely literary point of view, this is one of the brightest and most engaging short stories that belong to the time-killing class that has appeared in months. It is a love story of the comedy class, told in bright and clever dialogue that is sure to hold the interest of the reader from cover to cover. Mr. Field has given the American public a story as clever as Anthony Hope's *Dolly Dialogues*, though the atmosphere is not morally stimulating, as the characters belong to the over-rich careless class devoid of all serious aim in life.

The Psychology of Inspiration. By George Lansing Raymond. Cloth. Pp. 340. Price, \$1.40, net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

It is, we think, difficult to over-estimate the value of this volume at the present critical pass in the history of Christianity. The author graduated from Williams College in 1866, and holds the titles of A.M. and L.H.D. from that institution, and of A.M. from Princeton. He is also a graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary and the author of a number of important works. For many years he has been a professor in leading institutions, occupying chairs successively in Williams, Princeton and George Washington Universities. He is at once a bold and fearless thinker and yet a deeply religious man. He believes that we have reached a point in our history when the reason of the religious man must be satisfied as it cannot be satisfied if he is longer required to pursue the ostrich policy in the presence of theological problems that are contradictory in character or which are in the light of present-day knowledge clearly inaccurate. In explaining the genesis of his work the author observes:

"It is the outgrowth of an endeavor—exceptional, as it is thought, in its processes, though not in its purposes—to find a way in which all that is essential to the methods and results of scientific and historic research can be accepted, while, at the same time, nothing that is essential to the theory or practice of religion need be rejected. That, in our age, any endeavor with this object in view is deserving of the effort expended upon it requires no arguing."

He cannot accept the conventional unscientific attitude of the Christian world in the presence of contradictory religious passages and problems that demand critical and brave handling.

"Most of our Protestant churches," he observes, "profess to accept the principles underlying the Protestant Reformation, especially the one assigning authority to the Christian Scriptures, and the one asserting the right of private judgment in interpreting these. But most of our Protestant theologians seem reluctant, at least, to admit that either principle should be carried to a logical conclusion. In doing this, as must be confessed, they are faithfully following the examples set by both Calvin and Luther.

But historians, without exception, attribute mainly to these examples the sudden check put, in the sixteenth century, upon the progress of the Reformation. May future historians be saved from attributing to the same a like check put, in the twentieth century, upon the progress of all Christianity! Why is the danger of such a check a present menace? Because the science of the day trains the mind to be candid and logical; and theology is inclined to be neither. If, for instance, two passages of Scripture seem to conflict, and so evidently, too, that every thinking mind must perceive it, the theologian, instead of frankly admitting the fact and then trying to find a theory that will justify it as a fact, either denies that it is a fact, or, as will be shown hereafter, makes only one of the two passages authoritative. Again, while admitting, as a matter of theory, the right of private judgment, he by no means always acknowledges it in practice, especially when another's interpretation of Scripture differs greatly from his own. . . . This is the same as to say that, in this age of general education and scientific thinking, religion, in order to preserve its influence over men, must be prepared, without prevaricating or hedging, to satisfy all the requirements of the rational nature. One object of the treatise that follows is to present a theory in accordance with which this can be done."

Of the religious attitude of his thought Professor Raymond has this to say:

"In the first place, while emphasizing the importance of rationality in religion, the arguments advanced are not in the least degree allied to those of 'rationalism' in the materialistic sense in which this term is ordinarily used. On the contrary, they tend distinctly toward belief in the spiritual, and this to a degree not true of very many of the Christian discussions of our times. In the second place, while emphasizing spiritual discernment as necessary to the understanding of the literal statements of the Scriptures, the arguments are not advanced as pleas for—nor, indeed, against—any merely esoteric method of interpreting occult symbols or allegories. On the contrary, the whole line of thought tends distinctly toward confidence in the sufficient intellectual equipment of those who exercise merely honest and unbiased common sense."

That the author has thought broadly and deeply on the subject will be evident to all

readers. It is a brave, manly effort to harmonize Christianity with modern thought. Professor Raymond does not hold to the inerrancy of the Scriptures. He believes that "truth is never entirely contained in the statement of it; that the inner, spiritual nature is susceptible to influences not communicated through eye or ear; that these influences are suggestive rather than dictatorial in character, and are, therefore, often ambiguous and inexact in expression," but are of the greatest value when addressed to a mind open for the truth and with the courage to think bravely. While he is profoundly religious, he recognizes a fact which a growing number of the best religious scholars throughout Christendom are coming to realize—namely, that if Christianity is to become a great vital, life-moulding influence it must leave the mind free and untrammelled, and its scholars and interpreters must evince breadth of thought and absolute fearlessness in the presence of hard problems, and while being reverent in spirit they must also be critical.

It is a book that we can heartily recommend to persons interested in the liberal consideration of religious problems.

Old Wives for New. By David Graham Phillips. Cloth. Pp. 495. Price, \$1.50. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

IN MANY respects David Graham Phillips is the strongest novelist in America to-day. He is by far the most faithful historian of the plutocracy. Each of his leading novels gives a vivid picture of the new rich of America—the republic-destroying plutocracy—in some of its aspects. Thus, for example, in *The Deluge* and in the novel that in many respects is a companion, *Light-Fingered Gentry*, he takes the American people behind the scenes of the great gambling paradise of Wall Street and shows the secret workings of the high financiers with their hands on the treasures of the great insurance companies, trust companies and banks, and in their secret conclaves as they stack the cards and prepare to rob a public which has been industriously deceived by false misrepresentations. His presentation of all these things is so vivid and minutely true as to be photographic in character. He does not preach or rail against the iniquitous disclosures, but he tears away the mask behind which the great moral crim-

inals of America, who pose as ultra-respectables, work in their acquisition of wealth that they have in no wise honestly earned.

In *The Plum-Tree* he shows how the feudalism of privileged wealth, the corrupt and corrupting gamblers and high financiers, defeat popular government, thwart the wishes of the people and turn a republic into a government of corrupt corporate wealth administered for the enrichment of the privileged few and the political elevation of their tools and handy-men.

The Cost gives one of the finest and most intimate and faithful studies of a typical modern Warwick of the commercial feudalism that has been written.

The Second Generation, in many respects Mr. Phillips' most pleasing and delightful novel, shows the effect of great wealth on the children of the new rich—the unfortunate boys and girls who suddenly find themselves in rich homes without any moral training along the lines of fundamental morality and basic democracy; and in his latest novel, *Old Wives for New*, we have another sectional view of the plutocracy.

Here is pictured the marital or home and sexual relations of the new rich. It is a powerful story, as unpleasant as it is vividly faithful to conditions as they exist. Indeed, it is a striking example of psychological realism in fiction. Here the souls of the leading characters appear undraped. Mr. Phillips' realism differs materially from that of the great European novelists who give us in photographic minuteness details of material life, often in all its most repulsive bearings. He tears the mask of hypocrisy from the corrupt and self-righteous conventionalism of the day and says, Behold the real characters behind this seeming virtue and rectitude. Fasten your eyes on the character rather than on the reputation of the men and women with whom you come in contact. There is something relentless in the manner in which he brushes aside the pleasing subterfuges behind which many people seek to hide their faults and weaknesses. The work is also rich in common-sense hints relating to health, and vital suggestions touching things which tend to destroy love and favor divorce. Few things in life are more essentially tragic than the spectacle of two persons who once were all in all to each other, drifting apart, losing all the deep affection that they once felt for each other.

Old Wives for New is not a pleasant story. It is too much concerned with the domestic infelicity, the dead fires on love's altars, the license or loose morals, the cynicism and self-deception of many of the chief characters. Yet inasmuch as all the characters live, move and appeal to the reader as real men and women; inasmuch as the author's vivid imagination enables him not only to present flesh and blood men and women, but also to penetrate the mask and reveal the workings of the human heart and brain; and inasmuch as the story is a vivid and faithful sectional view of one phase of the life of the irresponsible new rich who are the greatest enemies of the Republic, this novel is one of the most interesting and important works of fiction of the year. Like all Mr. Phillips' leading stories, it holds the interest of the reader from the opening page to the highly dramatic climax with which it closes.

Seeing England with Uncle John. By Anne Warner. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 492. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Century Company.

THIS is the best work that has come from the pen of this popular author, if we except *The Rejuvenation of Aunt Mary*. The story deals chiefly with four characters: the inimitable Uncle John, an unfortunate college professor who is being taken through England with Uncle John, and Yvonne and Lee, the niece of Uncle John, and her husband. The young people, who reside in Oxford, one morning while lost to the world in the charm of their little baby, receive a cablegram stating that Uncle John sails on Thursday for England. They go to Liverpool to meet him, only to find that he has left for Carlisle. From Carlisle the young people chase the flying American as he does Scotland in almost express-train time.

The interest of the work is greatly enhanced by the breaks in the monotony of Uncle John's monologue, every other chapter being a letter from Yvonne to her mother. The monologues are very amusing, if the reader does not become surfeited upon them, and the chapters in which Yvonne describes the various cities visited and the lively experiences of herself and husband with peculiar people, including Bessie, the seemingly innocent and friendless American girl just from a convent, and Mrs. Joyce, who imagines she was Mary

Queen of Scots in a former incarnation and that her husband was at one time her pet monkey, are very charming and afford the necessary breaks in the humorous monologues of Uncle John, who is the most maddening traveling companion known to literature—irritable, loquacious and unconsciously funny. Persons who enjoy Anne Warner's writings will derive much pleasure from this latest volume.

The Four-Pools Mystery. Cloth. Pp. 336. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Century Company.

THIS story is one of the best mystery tales of recent years. It is written in a clear, direct narrative style, much after the manner of modern journalists' stories of exciting and dramatic news. True, we occasionally come across some rather peculiar terms used for the objects they are supposed to describe, as, for example, when the author speaks of the heroine's "sparkling cheeks." But such slips are unfrequent, and on the whole the story is well told. It is concerned with the murder of an old Southern planter who owns a large stock farm in the Shenandoah Valley—a farm on which a number of negroes are employed. At the opening of the tale the family "h'ant" is supposed to be making its occasional visitation much to the terror and demoralization of the negro servants. But the excitement occasioned by the supposed "h'ant" is followed by a robbery and later by the murder of the old planter. The son is suspected, and indeed a strong chain of circumstantial evidence is forged around him. The narrative is told by the nephew of the murdered man who is a New York lawyer on a visit to his uncle. He with the aid of a newspaper man of keen insight successfully unravels the tangle and clears the accused.

The City of Delight. A Love Romance of the Siege and Fall of Jerusalem. By Elizabeth Miller. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 448. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS latest novel by the gifted author of *The Yoke*, a tale of ancient Egypt, deals with the fall of Jerusalem. The heroine, Laodice, the daughter of a rich Hebrew of Ascalon, had been betrothed to the younger

Maccabee, when she was yet a little girl and the plighted husband was but ten years of age. At the time the story opens Maccabeus has grown to manhood. Jerusalem has driven out the Romans and is in a state of uproar. The Maccabee has been spending his years in Grecian cities, but he has roused himself and determined to go to Jerusalem, assume leadership and become king of the Jews. He has written to Costobarus, the father of Laodice, to send the daughter to Jerusalem, together with the dowry, a sum which it is believed will be sufficient to insure victory to the cause of Zion and enthrone the Maccabee. Simultaneously with the entrance of the bearer of this letter, the plague visits Ascalon. The father and Laodice set out for Jerusalem, bearing the daughter's dowry, but the plague soon strikes down the father and other members of the little party. A strange woman who had asked protection of the caravan robs Laodice of her dowry, and from thence on the story abounds in exciting and often harrowing incidents. The poor girl is overtaken by the Maccabee, who, however, does not discover her identity, and leads her to believe that his unprincipled and dissolute companion, Julian of Ephesus, is the real Maccabee. Arriving at Jerusalem, Laodice is beset with all manner of perils. Calamity and misfortune stare her in the face at every turn; but from the first of her trip she has come in contact from time to time with mem-

bers of the despised sect of Christians, and in all instances they have succored and aided her and others of the unfortunate ones of her acquaintance. They teach her of the Nazarene, and at length, after a long night of suspense, humiliation and disappointment that almost becomes despair, the sun rises and the darkness flees. The end of the story is as the golden glory of an evening sunset, for the satisfaction that is only known where true love finds its own falls to the lot of the lovers.

The story is far inferior to *The Yoke*, though we think it is almost as good as Miss Miller's other romance, *Saul of Tarsus*. *The Yoke* was one of the best semi-historical romances dealing with an ancient civilization that has appeared, and after reading it we were led to hope that in Miss Miller America possessed a young novelist who would take a permanent place in literature and rank at least with such novelists as George Ebers of Germany; but we regret to say that her two succeeding novels do not confirm the promise of her first work. The author possesses a smooth, flowing style. She is admirable in descriptive writing and evinces considerable imagination. For persons enjoying semi-historical love romances in which action is swift and though the suspense is sometimes maintained over-long, all ends well, this novel will afford a pleasant pastime.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE RESURRECTION OF GALVESTON: In this issue Mr. George Wharton James gives a beautiful and graphic paper, which is magnificently illustrated, affording a clear idea of the wonderful transformation and the probable future greatness of the greatest Gulf city of Texas. The history of Galveston since the tidal wave presents one of the most wonderful achievements in the municipal records of modern times, and this paper should prove an inspiration to broad-minded citizens of growing towns and cities throughout the Republic.

India's Coming Greatness from a Constructive View-Point: We think it is not too much too say that *THE ARENA* this month presents the most important paper on the East-Indian situation that

has appeared in any magazine of the Western world. It is from the pen of an East Indian scholar who has made a deep study of conditions in his own country; who has traveled in China, Japan and throughout Canada and America, everywhere studying conditions and comparing Eastern and Western civilization. Mr. Sing is a regular contributor to the four leading East-Indian magazines, and his intimate touch with all centers of intellectual activity throughout India enables him to discuss this subject in an able and authoritative manner. The paper is an extremely valuable contribution to contemporaneous historical, social and economic world-thought.

How to Make Commercial Panics Impossible: One of the most timely papers in this issue is Mr. Griffin's

contribution on "How to Make Commercial Panics Impossible." This paper was prepared for THE ARENA several months ago, and we were about to publish it last autumn when facts came to our knowledge which convinced us beyond a reasonable doubt that the great gamblers and high financiers of Wall Street were preparing to precipitate a panic, and we were convinced that it was too late for the article to be of value in preventing this catastrophe which the wreckers, who are bent on gaining control of the finances of the country through the Aldrich Bill or other banking bills now before Congress, had determined upon. We knew from past experience that the great criminals and responsible parties would immediately try and shoulder the blame on those who were seeking to further the interests of the people and protect them from the gray wolves, and therefore we determined to hold the paper until after the panic. The action of the rich criminals and the prostitute press in trying to shoulder the blame for the panic on President Roosevelt affords another illustration of the methods of modern high finance or the representatives of the feudalism of privilege. At our request Mr. GRIFFIN has added a supplementary paragraph.

Leibnitz, Hegel and Modern Theosophy: In THE ARENA's series of papers dealing in a master manner with the great religious concepts of the past and present, it presents this month a contribution of rare excellence from the pen of Mr. EDWARD C. FARNSWORTH. This paper contains not only the heart of the philosophy of the two great German transcendental thinkers, LEIBNITZ and HEGEL, but it presents with equal clearness and great concision the basic facts of Eastern theosophy or the religious ideals of India. No thinking man in the twentieth century should be ignorant of the thought of the great transcendental philosophers of Germany or of the analogies existing between their ideas and the basic religious philosophy of the Far East; and these things have seldom if ever been so clearly presented in the brief compass of a single article as in the present discussion by Mr. FARNSWORTH.

Prometheus Bound and Unbound: Our readers will be deeply interested in the thoughtful study of advancing civilization made by Rev. F. H. GILE, A.M., in this issue of THE ARENA, under the title of "Prometheus Bound and Unbound," dealing with the great poems of ÆSCHYLUS and SHELLEY. Mr. GILE is more than a fine scholar.

He possesses the seeing eye or interior vision which enables him to treat these master poems in a thought-stimulating manner, making their true message appear and revealing how, step by step, man is moving out of the twilight into the light of a new day in which the ideal of the Golden Rule will be the key of civilization.

The American Middle Class: This month the well-known writer and economist, ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE, contributes a paper of real interest, in which he shows that the middle class of sixty years ago is no longer a real power in American life. The present middle class is chiefly composed of the henchmen, retainers and handy-men of the great trusts, corporations and monopolies, and inasmuch as the old order has passed, new adjustments are not only demanded but are inevitable.

Race-Track Gambling and the Newspapers: Thinking men and women awake to the morally disintegrating influences of gambling upon individuals and communities will read with pleasure and profit the very thoughtful paper by Hon. JOHN D. WORKS, formerly of the Supreme Court of California, which appears in this issue. While we believe there is no gambling center in the New World that is exerting anything like so morally disintegrating an influence as Wall Street, yet the race tracks in various cities are also breeding-grounds of moral contagion, and every proper effort should be made to protect the community from their deadly influence.

Mr. Elwell on Christian Science: We take pleasure in presenting a brief paper in this number from Mr. F. EDWIN ELWELL, giving our readers his views as to the good he believes Christian Science is doing in the world to-day. Mr. ELWELL is not himself a Christian Scientist, but he has studied the work being wrought upon the lives of men and women, and the teachings of Christian Science, until he is impressed with a conviction that it is a mighty power for moral upliftment, for health and happiness.

A Fair Education for All: Professor PARSONS this month contributes a valuable short paper on "A Fair Education for All." It was suggested by Mr. THUM's notable contribution in THE ARENA for December on "Public-Works High Schools." As with all papers from the pen of Professor PARSONS, this contribution is richly worth the consideration of the thoughtful.



Photo. by Huggins, New York.

THEODORE SCHROEDER.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them.—HEINE.*

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PICTURESQUE SAN ANTONIO.

BY GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

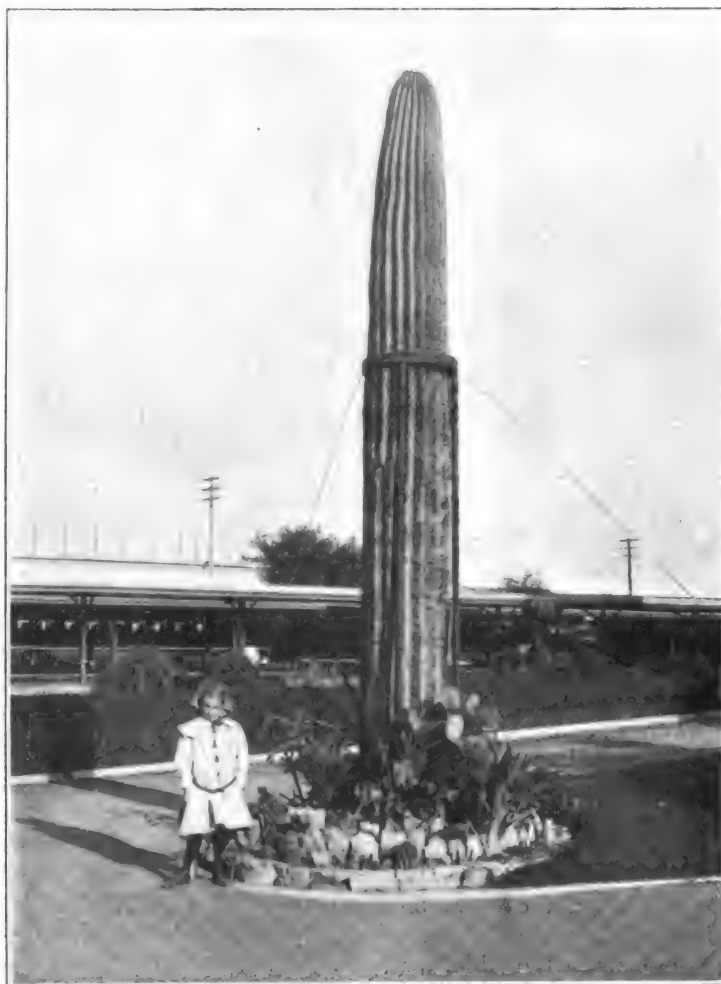
THE FIRST impression one obtains of San Antonio, Texas, after leaving the station, is of the ordinary conventional, unpleasing, commercial American town. But after a ride of a few minutes he reaches the broad Alamo Plaza and finds himself at once in the heart of a city unique in some respects, rich in historic interest and pregnant with promise for a brilliant future. Here rises the gray stone Alamo, one of the most interesting historic buildings in America, built by the Franciscans in the dawn of the eighteenth century as a mission church, but later transformed into a fort. In 1836 it was the scene of one of the most stirring episodes of American history. Here it was that Crockett, Bowie, Travis and their fellow-heroes faced death rather than surrender. Of the Alamo it has been well said: "Thermoplæ had her messenger of defeat; the Alamo had none." And the heroism manifested by this advance guard of civilization has been an inspiration to Texas and the nation at large since the days of the historic stand. The Alamo Plaza is but one of several parks and ornamental breathing places that jewel this city.

Much of San Antonio is of peculiar interest to the traveler, as it bears the stamp of another civilization. Narrow and inconvenient from the "business" standpoint, the streets are at least picturesque, and, when we remember their history, full of interest. This is the old Spanish and Mexican part of the city, and here is the old or Main Plaza—older even than the Alamo Plaza.

A block to the west is still another plaza, commonly known as the Military Plaza, where, among Texas trees, shrubs and flowers, the City Hall stands; while still farther west, beyond Houston Street, is Milam Square, also modernized and made beautiful by waving trees of different shades of green and a wealth of ever-blooming semi-tropical flowers.

San Antonio is full of history, thrilling, war-like history, and its old heart is of adobé houses, modernized and changed, yet redolent of memories of dark-eyed senoritas to whom equally dark and fiery-eyed senors sang serenades during the silences of the night of days now almost forgotten.

Nature has done much for San Antonio; indeed, the fertility of the soil and the atmospheric conditions are such that,



GIANT CACTUS, SAN ANTONIO DEPOT, TEXAS.

left to itself, nature would see to it that the city was kept beautiful. But this of course, is impossible, so the intelligent work of man has been called upon to supervise and control the growth of nature.

San Antonio covers thirty-six square miles. The climate is mild and reasonably constant, seldom reaching the freezing point. Snow is exceedingly rare, and the flowers bloom all through the year. In summer the days are hot, but the heat is tempered with the healthful and generally invigorating breeze from the Gulf of Mexico. The nights are mainly

cool and thus refreshing sleep can always be counted upon.

Outside of the old section of the city the streets are fairly broad and most of them are fairly well lined with trees. Small parks and patches of trees are dotted all over the city. In the matter of paving much has yet to be done to make the whole of the streets comfortable. Naturally a growing city has to proceed slowly in this matter. The original pavement in the business center was mesquite blocks, and these gave satisfactory and long service, but in later years asphalt has been used, and in the less traveled streets, gravel.

The city is growing rapidly and new sections are constantly being opened up. Some of the

older as well as these newer sections are beautiful in the extreme.

In building residences a fine light brick is now being used, made from native clay. It is in two or three shades, all of which are effective, and there being little or no smoke in the atmosphere, and nothing else to change the color, the houses built of it retain their fresh appearance indefinitely.

In the San Antonio River the citizens have a source of perennial charm. In some of the newer additions to the city there is much scope for the utilization of the winding course of the river for



ALAMO PLAZA, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.



COMMERCE STREET, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.

park and boulevard purposes. The owners of these additions, as well as the city authorities, should be alert to set aside all these places, wherever possible.

The city has done a little—just enough to show what may be done in this direction—toward the improvement of the water-ways that course through the city. Part of the River on Crockett Street has been embanked and planted with beau-

city's proudest possessions. Under the old Spanish *régime* no local power could have alienated these from the city, the Regulations of the Crown containing the most rigid and strict laws for the preservation of water rights. But under our "representative" system of government we are compelled to accept the foolish and venal actions of foolish men, just the same as we accept those of wise and honest men. Under a system truly



WILLOW TREE AT HOT SULPHUR WELLS PARK, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.

tiful trees, many of which are of subtropical varieties. If this care were taken of the whole course of the San Antonio and also of San Pedro Creek, it would make the city a perfect bower of beauty.

The San Antonio River has its source three miles north of the city, in a most romantic spot. It leaps forth from the side of the mountain, a complete river, and should ever have been one of the

representative the people would have the power to initiate, direct and check legislation. In the case of the San Antonio headwaters certain Canary Islanders, who were some of the early colonists of this Texan city, located nearby, but they were never allowed to control the sources of the river nor to interfere in any way with the rights of other settlers further away. When the boundaries of the city were abolished by the charter of 1837



SAN ANTONIO RIVER, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.



SAN PEDRO PARK, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.



DRIVEWAY, BRACKENBRIDGE PARK, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.

(after the Mexicans had been finally driven away) these headwaters and the surrounding region were made city possessions and they so remained until 1852. The poverty of the city led the Council to determine to avail itself of a right conferred by the charter to sell the public lands of the city. In vain the city engineer, Giraud—who certainly deserves a public monument for the good, though losing, fight he made for the city's best interests—begged the Council to hesitate. He presented a protest in his report and advised the reservation of certain lots at the head of the river and also at San Pedro Springs. He also advised the keeping of the hard-stone

quarries on the city's property and — far-seeing man—the reservation of the east bank of the river and the east side of the Alamo Madre ditch for the purpose of building roads “as near to the river and ditch as they may be placed consistently with public interests.”

Such properties to-day, had they been reserved as the wise Giraud advised, would be priceless to the city of San Antonio. The lots at the head of the river were sold in two parcels, one of nearly twelve, and the other a little over twelve acres, for the sums respectively of \$820 and \$655. Of these sums the purchaser was required to pay down only twenty per cent. and the balance was

allowed to stand for fifty years at an annual interest of eight per cent. A little later other tracts of land were added to these original twenty-four acres, bringing the total up to about 108 acres, and in 1872 the then owner, Mr. George W. Brackenridge (later the donor of the park bearing his name) offered them to the city for \$50,000, no cash down, the city simply to pay eight per cent. interest yearly and the principal within fifty years. The wise members of the Council accepted the offer, but such was the blind folly of the other members that they sought State interference; a new mayor was appointed, a new Council, a new committee to investigate, and in

the following year the contract was rescinded and the purchase revoked.

As was to be expected, the city, many years later, bought back its own property at a fearful advance in price, thus having to pay dearly for the folly of its short-sighted "representatives" of forty years ago.

The San Pedro Springs Park has a somewhat similar history, save that it was bought back earlier and became a city park in the late 'sixties or early 'seventies. Here three beautiful and delicious springs burst forth from under a white-ledged and rocky hill and quickly unite to form the San Pedro Creek. The surrounding park comprises 40½ acres and is reached

by all the city street-cars. Children are allowed to play wherever they choose, and promenade among the trees, artificial lakes, a race-course, an aviary, a menagerie, and resting and lounging places render it a desirable spot. This is the largest of the many parks of the city, save Brackenridge Park, for in San Antonio there are in all forty-five parks (mostly parklets or plazas) comprise a total acreage of 330 acres.

It is in Brackenridge Park that San Antonio has its chiefest possession from the standpoint of the healthful pleasure and recreation of its citizens. It covers an area of 260 acres, and, save for properly laid-out driveways and a few openings



DRIVEWAY, BRACKENBRIDGE PARK, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.

made for recreation grounds for adults and children, it is in a state of virgin wilderness. Try to imagine the charm of such a park in the heart of Boston, New York or Chicago—a 260-acre plot of trees, shrubs, climbing and trailing vines, wild-flowers, grass, ferns,* birds of every kind, deer and many of the lesser wild fauna of the State, the San Antonio River winding its lazy way through the whole—and this the possession of the people.

Some wise provisions have already been made for its regulation: no hunter with dog or gun is allowed within its confines; boys are not allowed to interfere with the rabbits, squirrels or birds;



RIVER SCENE, BRACKENRIDGE PARK, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.



IRRIGATION CANAL, BRACKENRIDGE PARK, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.

no intoxicating liquors can either be sold, brought into or consumed in any portion of the park. These are excellent rules and it is to be hoped that every citizen of San Antonio will see that they are rigidly enforced.

A step in the right direction also has been taken in Brackenridge Park in the securing of a herd of buffalo, a herd of deer, and one of elk. Both buffalo and elk are fast disappearing, and it is a most commendable proceeding on the part of those in authority that these herds have been secured and put in so suitable a location before it is too late. Additional native fauna should be added as rapidly as possible, so that every child in San Antonio and the region round about may familiarize

himself with all the animals that naturally find a home in Texas. The botanists also should see to it that every flower of the State that can live in this park is transplanted here. Imagine what a delight it would be if visitors could come here and find throughout the year a succession of all the wild flowers of Texas. It would be a botanical inspiration; and these are not large undertakings if a number of earnest and sincere people get together and determine to see that they are done. The youth of the country portions of the State and the teachers in the district schools can be interested, and thus a close bond of sympathy



PARK, FORT SAN HOUSTON, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.

aroused and cemented between the different regions. If a youth in western Texas or northeastern Texas could feel that a wolf or a coyote or a badger or some other wild creature that he had trapped was being cared for in the park at San Antonio, or a girl in some quiet interior region could feel that flowers that she had discovered in the heart of the woods of her native place and had sent to San Antonio were being lovingly tended there, they would both feel a hearty sympathy with and attraction for San Antonio that they otherwise could not feel. And not only would these be the results. There would be the awaken-



PARADE GROUND, FORT SAN HOUSTON, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.



SOLDIERS' BARRACKS, FORT SAN HOUSTON, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.



PARK, FORT SAN HOUSTON, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.

ing of larger interests in the visitors to the park; certain schools or societies might become interested in specific departments and thus a new and ennobling influence introduced into lives to help free them from the curse of sordid commercialism that is growing sadly too rife on every hand.

San Antonio is the home of a post of the United States Army—Fort San Houston—and in the heart of the city is the arsenal, both of which practically add much to the park area of the city. Fort San Houston is the most extensive army post in the United States, I believe. A brigadier-general with full staff is located here, for this is headquarters for the Department of Texas. At present there are a regiment each of infantry and cavalry and a battery of artillery. Extensive improvements and additions are being

carried on, and altogether the government has expended over three million dollars upon this post.

The headquarters are known as the Quadrangle. The entrance is through a sally-port and the interior is found to be a beautiful park where tame deer are grazing and various exquisitely-plumaged water-fowl are enjoying themselves in their natural element. In the centre of the quadrangle is a clock tower from the top of which the most perfect of all views of San Antonio may be obtained. On the extensive parade-grounds at the lower post there are weekly dress-parades and daily concerts by the military band which afford pleasure to the many people who can spare the time to be present.

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.
Pasadena, California.

THE RELATION OF WOMAN IN INDUSTRY AND THE GROWTH OF CRIME.

BY MAYNARD BUTLER,

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IN THE year 1905, before the results of the census taken in that year were made known, Germany had six million, five hundred thousand self-supporting women; of whom one million, five hundred thousand were married, and in 1901, 20.7 per cent. of the children born alive died before they were a year old!

In Berlin alone, in two of the smaller industries, book-binding and box-making, out of 272 children born to 119 mothers, one hundred and thirty-five died when a few months old.

But it is not only physical destruction that alarms Germany. The reports of inspectors as to the mental and moral capacity of the fifty and a fraction percentage of the children of working-women, who do live to grow up, reveal yet more terrible facts. "I write," says one of them in a State Report of the conditions in a portion of the country in which he himself resides, "in no spirit of pessimism as to the status of our children of the working-classes . . . but after association with the sons and daughters of mothers who were daily in the manufacturies of one of our towns important in textile industries, I am bound to confess that I tremble for the future of these young people, and for the future of the children whom they are to bring into our German existence. *They are insolent, lawless, absolutely devoid of every trace of the softening influences of a mother; they are offensive, immodest, coarse and lewd. . . . What kind of workmen and workwoman do our manufacturies expect such boys and girls to become? What will our social and ethical standards, nay, the very foundations of our Empire be, when such immoralities, such license, such demoralization*

of all that makes life worth living, are now being perpetuated in thousands of our German youth?"

It is to be remembered that Germany's textile industries are her chief industries, and that in them alone more than 375,000 girls under sixteen years of age are annually employed.

These are the conditions in Germany, a country that boasts of its compulsory education laws, its compulsory military service, its minute scrutiny of human life in general; and which is situated in the middle of the Continent of Europe.

Now let us turn to the other side of the world, to Japan, and hear what a professor of law in the University of Lyons tells us of the women in the country of "the rising sun." "In Japan," says Professor Gounard in his invaluable work, *La Femme dans l'Industrie*, "the situation of the working-woman, as that of the woman in general, is very sad. A recent report establishes the fact that . . . more than half the labor of the whole country is performed by women. They are dock-laborers; hitched together by eights and tens, they drag the heavy flat-boats, they swelter in the warehouses, they unload coal in the harbors."

And if we turn back to Professor Gounard's own country, we find him quoting from a labor report which asserts that in the silk manufacturies of Midi, about forty thousand young girls "grow up enclosed within the confines of the factory buildings."

While from the western world, from the United States, comes the cry:

"The married women employed in mills, warehouses and shops, during the past twenty years, have virtually given up bringing live children into the world."

The extraordinary decrease in the birth-rate has aroused the attention of statisticians; but the number of the children of working-women in the United States, who, being born alive, die in infancy, or, surviving infancy, die before they are twelve years old has yet to be computed.

But can any student of the trend of modern commerce doubt for one moment that industry, if it is to proceed at its present pace, requires the skilled as well as the unskilled labor of women, from the Orient to the Antipodes? On the twenty-ninth of July there was published in London an entreaty from Canada for England's aid in furnishing skilled workers, in the course of which the Toronto branch of the Manufacturers' Association stated that in Ontario alone there was employment for "25,000 more work-girls," of whom "10,000 could easily be absorbed by Toronto." And that "so great was the suffering caused by the one-sided policy" of the Emigration Bureau in confining its attention to agricultural and railway laborers, that if pursued it would eventually, inevitably, throw the splendid markets of the "rapidly developing Northwest into the hands of the United States."

How, then, to reconcile the universal necessity with the universal, deplorable results, is the question.

How shall every civilized and many a partially civilized country of the globe preserve to itself, before it is too late, the highest qualities of bodily stamina, mental superiority, individual character, national standards, and national endurance, which are threatened by this new economic factor, The Labor of Women?

"We cannot," said George Eliot, "reform our forefathers"; but we can forestall the deterioration of our posterity. And how?

The present writer, after continued and close observation ventures to reply: By establishing in the United States and the Dominion of Canada, those two vast oritions of the earth's surface where

systems are not yet fossilized and methods are comparatively flexible, a combination of State Control, with State Privilege, which shall convert the Labor of Women into a force of national conservation, instead of allowing it to crystallize into a truly formidable force of national deterioration, which it is fast becoming; a combination of responsibility with opportunity, which, while applying specifically and immediately to those two powerful commercial-industrial countries, shall yet serve in general as other ideas originating in those two countries have heretofore more than once served, in human steps forward—as a model for all other lands.

And why?

First, because, owing to the long-tested custom of coeducation in the public schools, state and municipal, and in many of the colleges and universities, salaried men and women in the United States and Canada are on a far more equal financial footing than are the paid inhabitants of other countries;

Secondly, because skilled labor, performed by women, in the United States and Canada, is far in excess of that performed by the women of other countries;

And thirdly, because by their early adoption of coeducation, the United States and Canada unconsciously touched the crux of this industrial problem, which now confronts the world and thereby, so to speak, have the start of the world in the solution of it.

It was said by the President of the United States in an address to the students of a State institution some months ago, that progress could not permanently consist in the abandonment of physical labor; but that it did consist in the development of physical labor so that it should "demand the union of a trained mind in a trained body"; and that belief is embedded in the character of the people of North America.

A measure, therefore, which commends itself to that wholesome conviction amongst them is certain, in time, to be

accepted by them and carried into thorough effect. Hence, the suggestion that women of every class should be compelled to serve the State will neither shock nor affront the inhabitants of the United States and the Dominion of Canada; nor will the State be surprised at a proposition which involves reciprocity on its part, for both citizens and government know that the unification of essentials in great nations is a vital element of strength.

I venture, then, to suggest, with the assurance of being understood, that the Federal Union and the Dominion of Canada should exact of every woman, whether native or immigrant, over the age of twenty-one, one year of unpaid public service, this obligatory service to become one of the assets of the commonwealth by being devoted to its public institutions of every kind; that the Federal Union and the Dominion should bestow the right to vote upon all women *born in the United States and Canada*, at the age of twenty-one; and upon *naturalized women-citizens after a consecutive residence of a fixed term of years, that term to be sufficiently long to safeguard the State against ignorant or degrading contingencies*; that the State should declare all women *born in the United States and Canada* eligible to all public positions, *save* those of President of the United States, Governors of the single States and Prime Minister of Canada; that they should *not* be officers and soldiers in the army, nor officers and sailors in the navy; that they should *not* be ambassadors, foreign ministers or consul-generals; but that they should be members of cabinets, secretaries in embassies and legations, *attachés* of every grade, consuls and vice-consuls; that the Federal Union and the Dominion of Canada should compel manufacturers, mine-owners, cotton, tobacco, rice, sugar-planters, mill-owners, shop-keepers and employers of every kind, to divide their employées into alternating groups of morning and afternoon workers, after

the manner in which owners of chemical works and foundries throughout the world now divide their men into alternating groups of day-workers and night-workers.

In the case of the year of universal, obligatory, unpaid service, the State would be the gainer, and to a remarkable degree. A vast impetus of human energy which now goes nearly if not entirely to waste, would be consolidated and made reproductive. For every public position which has just been named there are at the present moment in the United States and Canada thousands of eligible women; and thousands more would welcome, as a sign from Heaven, the duty of preparing themselves to become thus eligible.

Every intelligent woman seeks responsibility; every intelligent man expects it; let the State combine these two ideas, and an army of civic rank would arise, as valuable for the internal welfare of the commonwealth as is its uniformed militia for its outward weal. Nay, more valuable; for in many a portion of both the United States and Canada the militia would never be called into requisition, if the subjective element embodied in its feminine population were set free to exert its strength in the exercise of its highest instead of its lowest powers.

In the case of the franchise, no one who knows the two countries can for one moment doubt that all those highest powers just mentioned would in the women native to the United States and Canada be unified into a dignified, graceful, helpful whole, by the privilege of the ballot.

And by the division of employées in industry and commerce into groups of morning-workers and afternoon-workers, the poison-spot involved in woman-labor would be probed and healed; for, in so large a majority of cases as to make it well-nigh universally true, it is lack of time which she can call her own that forces the married employée to neglect her children; lack of time which she can call her own that ruins

her health and theirs; it is lack of time which she can call her own, and the consequent habit of living for and in the moment, that makes the young girl employée slatternly, apathetic, excitedly rude, degraded.

We all know what haste and irritation of mind, what weariness and strain of nerve, a pressure of duties from behind, a load of duties looming up in front of one, cause; but few of us know, and some of us have difficulty in even imagining what the gnawing of insufficient or ill-chosen food is; what the misery of seeing our children's bodies being depleted, their affections blunted, their characters tainted, from day to day, while we have not time, and cannot seek opportunity, to prevent it.

"Il appartient aujourd'hui à tout le monde, à la femme autant qu'à l'homme, de s'intruire touchant les conditions économiques on nous ivous . . . les femmes penvent et doivent s'intéresser à l'économie politique," are the words of a famous French jurist of our time: "*Les femmes doivent s'intéresser à l'économie politique*"—they should, indeed!

And the State should see to it that they do.

There are women employed in the United States and in Canada, in woolen, cotton and silk mills; sometimes, in Minnesota Northern Wisconsin and British Columbia, in lumber-yards and saw-mills; in oyster-beds, in hay-fields, rice-fields, on sugar, tobacco, cotton, coffee plantations; on fruit-farms, dairy-farms, in packing-houses for the export of canned fruits, vegetables, meat, poultry, fish, oysters and confectionery; in shoe-factories, watch-factories—in Massachusetts and Illinois by the thousand; in box, soap, button, glove, straw-hat, cane-chair and cigar-factories; in the manufacture of passementerie, under-clothing, military, naval and railway uniforms, caps, men's suits, cloaks, and children's clothing; in steam laundries, sewing-machine warehouses, bakeries and railway refreshment rooms; as clerks, book-keepers, cashiers, book-binders, printers,

typewriters, librarian-assistants, church-almoners; in customs-houses, ports of quarantine, post-offices, telegraph and telephone bureaux; as matrons, attendants and nurses, in hospitals, day-nurseries, workhouses, soldiers' and sailors' homes, industrial homes, government, military, and naval nursing homes, orphanages, first-aid stations, police stations, city bath-houses, public play-grounds, reformatories, prisons, asylums, poor-houses, dispensaries, associated charity bureaux, hotels; as independent owners of stock-farms, fruit-farms, dairy-farms, cattle-ranches, proprietors of employment bureaux, teachers' agencies, stenography and typewriting, agencies—some of these on a very large scale—theatrical and literary agencies. All these exclusive of cooks' house-servants, nurse-maids, kindergarten and nursery-governesses; and again, exclusive of women professors and instructors in universities, colleges, public and private schools of every grade, gymnastic institutions—of which every large city has two or three—special schools for Indians, classes for the training of young mothers, institutions for the teaching of elocution and dramatic art, sloyd, manual labor, cooking, commercial law; and yet again, exclusive of those engaged in professions, as physicians, lawyers, preachers, actresses and singers.

It was just said that the United States and Canada by their early adoption of coeducation throughout all grades of schools, and in many colleges and universities, had, so to speak, the start of the world in the solution of the problem of woman in industry; and the preponderance in the United States alone of this method of instruction upholds the assertion. Of the undergraduate students enrolled in colleges and universities in 1903, 62.5 per cent. were in coeducational institutions; in private schools, 45 per cent., or nearly one-half; while in the secondary and elementary public schools, 95 per cent. were enrolled in mixed classes. In the public day-schools alone, exclusive of all other State-supported

educational institutions, such as agricultural colleges, schools for mechanical arts, normal schools, schools of mines and forestry—out of a total of 449,287 teachers, the excess of women over men teachers, in 1903, was 332,262.

It is to be noted that in the so-called "black-belt," which includes the seventeen states ranging from Alabama to West Virginia, the negro children are also being educated in mixed classes of boys and girls; so that these women-teachers are preparing negro women as well as negro men for their duties and responsibilities as citizens of the United States. Nor can any one familiar with the capacities and qualities of the negro race in America for one moment doubt that the present generation of negro women is far better fitted to fulfil those duties and to bear those responsibilities than were the negro men to whom the franchise was granted, forty years ago; or the negro men who began to vote, twenty years ago; nor can it further be doubted that the present generation of negro girls will be equally well fitted for those duties and responsibilities, with the boys, with whom they are now being educated, side by side.

"Is it right," asks a professor in the department of economics in the Miami University of Ohio, "that the college-bred . . . negro woman of some Northern city should have no voice in the government, while the negro man criminal of the South is a voter? . . . In my opinion"—and the coincidence of this opinion from the other side of the Atlantic with that of the French jurist just quoted is remarkable—"In my opinion, running the government is, in this age, no more the work of men than it is of women. The designations *women's work*, *men's work*, are but marks of a psychological lagging behind the times. . . . A woman administers the finances of Kansas City, while men bake our bread."

Now, leaving the inherent demands for the suggested reciprocity of the State in granting a vote to all women born in the

United States and the Dominion of Canada, and the receiving from them a year of unpaid public service; leaving also the indirect advantages which would thereby accrue to the State, and whose name is legion, let us enumerate a few of the direct advantages, the almost immediate results which would appear in the year that the millions of such women presented themselves, at the age of twenty-one, for their term of public service.

There would, for instance, suddenly be created an enormous increase in the public treasury. The city hall, the Boards of Immigration, of Education and of Hospitals; the ports of quarantine, the custom-houses, the Sanitation Bureaus; the offices of the Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and Cruelty to Animals; the public libraries, prisons, reformatories and poor-houses, would have a staff of *unpaid* clerks, assistants, attendants and minor officials of every grade, placed at their disposal.

The United States Department of Naval Construction, let us say, might receive from the single States the enormous sums which each now expends in the maintenance of those paid staffs.

Then, the State would gain for itself a vastly improved, if not an entirely reorganized, sanitary and moral condition in its cities and towns. In every city in which the mayor and the commissioner of public works, in the United States and Canada, have called upon ladies to aid in the administration of laws for the physical welfare of the people within their jurisdiction, and have endowed them with the necessary authority, an almost magically rapid, searching, lasting improvement has been the result; a result accompanied by a conspicuously reduced expenditure of the municipal funds.

"It is simply amazing," said a certain official of the city of New York, whose term of office was cut short by death; "I do not know how these ladies have accomplished it!"

But many an American and many a Canadian woman does know; many a college girl is little short of a genius in sociology and economics.

Then, the administration of forestry-laws could be given entirely into the hands of women; and had they been so given sixty years ago, the wholesale, wanton, wicked destruction of the magnificent trees of the great Northwest, and of the Southern and far Western States, would never have attained its present shameful proportions. Women in the United States and Canada have conspicuous capacity in this direction; a capacity which, if organized, would redound incalculably to the credit of both countries; a capacity which, however, under the existing conditions, is being put to no use on a large scale. And with forestry-laws goes hand-in-hand the care of country roads, which in many parts of Northern Canada and in many of the just-named States, are left to take care of themselves, while a man, nominally their guardian, annually pockets large sums of the public money, a goodly portion of which is derived from the products of great estates belonging solely to women.

And if we again turn from the larger public duties to the specific occupations, no one who knows the life of the North American Continent can but long to see woman-inspectors supplant the men who now pretend to answer for humane and sanitary conditions in slaughter-yards, meat-packing houses, poultry and fish-markets, and milk-depots. There are few governors of the single States, few members of local government boards, who would not welcome the right to thus supplant them.

But if this be true, how doubly true is it, that not only executives, but the Federal Government and the Dominion, society from Florida to Vancouver, would hail with joy the creation of two new offices, to be filled exclusively by women—namely, devisors of ways and means by and with which to battle with the disease of consumption; and public instructors in the pathological and ethical responsi-

bilities pertaining to sex. For no small part of the sin of great cities is based in ignorance; ignorance which begins in the school-room and leads to the gates of hell. The State has not the right to permit this ignorance to continue. The State has the duty to create this office; to appoint well-instructed, wise, reliable persons to fill it; the State is bound to see to it that every elementary, every intermediate, every high school in the United States and Canada, has such an interpreter of the lofty significance of the obligations imposed by sex. And that officer, those interpreters, should be women.

The twentieth century exposes many a fallacy, explodes many an old-time system; but none so ruthlessly, none so sardonically, as the attempt to reclaim the so-called fallen, in so-called refugees. It cannot be done. And why should it be expected?

Who would dream of tearing a flower to pieces, and then sitting down to paste the leaves together? The petals have withered before the paste is made.

No! *Preserve, prevent*, is the lesson taught by the ages. And the State which learns that lesson first, will be the leader of all.

But no government of our time, I venture to believe, can put that lesson into effect, without the organized, administrative, legislative coöperation of its native women; and such coöperation, I further venture to hope and to prophesy, will be, as it without much difficulty could be, incorporated by the United States and the Dominion of Canada.

I repeat, that their consolidation of this new factor in national existence, by the exaction of a year's unpaid public service; their requital of that service by the franchise, would convert the threatening dangers of Woman in Industry into a conservation of a superb Force, and would make these two countries models of political wisdom, worthy to be imitated by all countries.

MAYNARD BUTLER.

Berlin, Prussia.

CONCERNING COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.

BY THEODORE SCHROEDER.

RECENT utterances by President Roosevelt, concerning labor problems, and especially compulsory arbitration seem to me to demand a more thorough discussion of the latter than we have recently had. Furthermore there seems to me to be a need for such discussions from view-points that I have not heretofore seen emphasized. I am neither an employer nor an employé, but just a simple parasite, who in the conflict between laborers and capitalists could not have a cent's worth of direct interest in the outcome, but yet always as a neighboring non-combatant, I am affected emotionally and intellectually as a lover of justice. Viewing the battle from afar, as it were, the whole ethics of the strike has an aspect which perhaps most people disapprove. Some of these views I will now express.

Strikes and lockouts practically always are the result of a mere difference of opinion between employers and employées as to the requirements of natural justice as to their joint enterprise. When not this it is a matter (as in the struggle over maintaining a union or non-union shop) of maintaining or securing an advantage in the struggle for coercive supremacy, in the contest for their respective demands. The trouble, as it seems to me, is seldom over a demand for a reasoned conception of justice but rather is it a study as to what can be secured by bluff, threats and actual violence. Up to this time I have never seen any scheme of compulsory arbitration which, in its solution of any concrete problem, proposed to apply any general rule. At best the ordinary idea of compulsory arbitration is only a scheme to relieve our emotional demand for Justice, without the least bit of clear thinking to discover the rational requirements of Justice.

Likewise when we come to the actual conflict there is always a great deal of emotional drivel about "liberty" which usually amounts only to this: that each party to the conflict sees only, and cares only, about the infractions of opportunities of the class to which he belongs or aspires. They wholly forget that in all social relations absolute liberty is a mere abstraction, and of no practical value. What is needed, and never discussed, is a clearer conception of relative liberty, whose problem is always one of maintaining equality of liberty with the greatest possible liberty for all.

When a "scab," or strike-breaker, has violence used upon him to deter him from replacing the striker, it is urged in his behalf that this is a free country, and he should be protected from interference, in making his own contract in his own way, for the disposal of his own labor. On the other hand, it is asserted by the striker, that the original disputants shall be left free from the strike-breaker's interference, to settle their own differences in their own way. Why should not freedom from interference be equal? It is well understood that a dominant employers-class-interest has caused one interference to be legalized, and the other not. We are here considering the equal relative morality or immorality of the conduct which determines what the law should be, and not what the law is. The law-maker may have been guided more by personal or class interest, or prejudice, than by the ethical culture of a broad vision. The employer insists that the power of the State, by judicial injunction and through its militia, shall be used to protect him in enjoying the benefits of competition among laborers. The latter, with equal justice, rejoin that, since through trust-favoring legis-

lation the State has practically destroyed competition among employers, and since it does not use its power to guarantee the maintenance of competition among them, it shall not use it to guarantee competition among laborers. When the State denies their equally just demand for force, the laborer naturally and justly dislikes the militia, and distrusts the state, and its courts.

The coercive power of threatened eviction and starvation, used against laboring men, is no more conducive to justice, nor consistent with decent regard for human suffering, than is the use of bullets and dynamite threatened by strikers as a means of forcing their opponents to yield. The strike-breaker, who lends himself as a means toward starving out his fellow-worker, is himself using a weapon no less violent or coercive than the physical violence sometimes visited upon him. The equities of their respective suffering families are equal. The conservators of the ethics of the capitalist always insist that "there is no worse enemy of the wage-worker than the man who condones mob violence." That is good as far as it goes. But our petulant President, through the prejudices engendered by his class interests, at least prior to his last message, failed to see or state the co-related truth, that there is no worse stimulant to mob violence than the conduct of the capitalistic class when, as employers, they seek to coerce the will of the laboring man, by the cutting off of his food supply, without convincing his reason that the offered wage is his reasonable portion of their jointly created labor product. Coercion by starvation may not be mob violence, but certainly it is physical violence and no more conducive to the discovery and establishment of economic justice than is the assassin's knife or dynamite, and is an equally potent and barbarous, though because of its indirection, seemingly a peaceful and individual form of violence.

In every such struggle both parties are

equally justified in their contention, and each is quite as wrong as the other from the view-point of natural justice, because he tells only a half-truth; he persists in seeing only one element of a related existence, instead of viewing the situation as a whole and discussing it as an entirety. More technically expressed, each errs because his ethical generalizations are made without taking into account all of the essential conditions. Besides, in the warfare between two economic organizations, inaptly, but with desirable brevity, called the "money trust" and the "muscle trust," the interests of those who cannot belong to either are wholly ignored. We need but to recall the coal strike, or any large railroad or building-trades strike, to be convinced that both parties to it are entirely satisfied to see only their own personal or class welfare. In New York City a delay in building operation by labor troubles has resulted in 70,000 school children being excluded from a portion of their instruction, during school hours. Is not the public interested in labor troubles?

At the best, every lockout and strike is but an appeal to such coercive methods as the established usage of the dominant class permits. In no case is the relative justice of the partisan demands judicially considered, much less decided. The only question examined by the courts, or even the public, is the legality of the respective coercive measures used, never the justice of the ends sought to be reached by the capitalists' legalized violence. Since the "money trust" is the dominant power, politically and intellectually, its interests determine the rules of the fight, and quite uniformly the regulations of the economic prize-ring, put the laborers' coercion to a disadvantage. The uncrowned monarchs of our plutocracy exercise an economic might which, though indirect, is more far-reaching and more arbitrary and cruel in its tyrannies, more unjust and more relentless in its judgments, a

thousand-fold, than that of the worst of the crowned ruffians that ever lived. If by terminating the lease of life of the chief beneficiaries of legalized injustice and vested wrong, we could destroy the systems which uphold them, a few high class murders would become a civic duty. Unfortunately the road to justice is not so smooth nor short. Only progressive culture can minimize the wrongs—culture which produces so sensitive a conscience that like the women of classical antiquity, who suffered death rather than dishonor, these would willingly commit suicide rather than to offer the insolence of charity to those of the class to whom they deny a just share of the product of their labor. The only reason every one does not agree with these conclusions is that the connection between our legalized economic injustices and those who are almost daily reported as having starved or frozen to death, is so indirect that the "intelligent" American public is too stupid to see it.

Long ago, society discovered that divine providence did not always determine in accordance with the fact, the guilt or innocence of accused persons compelled to submit to the ordeal of fire or water. Later, as between duelists, it became certain that injustice was often on the side of the most skillful and powerful. In the furtherance of right and peace, we compelled the quarrelsome to resort to courts, making dueling a crime. Internationally, we are beginning to doubt that unerring justice is always on the side of the best marksmanship, even when combined with the biggest and most numerous guns.

Therefore, courts of international arbitration are becoming more conspicuous. That one has observed the rules for fair dueling, or the laws which establish what we, as a matter of courtesy, miscall civilized warfare, is no longer considered any evidence that the mightiest was nearest the ethical right. Such ethics of barbarous methods are now generally endorsed only in the contests between

labor and capital. Here the capitalist may coerce the laborer by eviction and starvation, and the labor unions may ruin the financier, and if they observe the rules for fair dueling, according to a modern refined barbarism, we still accept the outcome of this contest of coercion and endurance, as the wisest method by which the right can be determined.

Centuries ago, society concluded that contestants to disputed property rights should not be allowed in the settlement of their difficulties to disturb the peace of society, and to preclude their disputes from injuring others, courts were established and the disagreeing ones were compelled by force to submit their controversies to these established tribunals. In every strike or lockout, the contending forces are but seeking by coercion to compel acceptance of the other's conception of justice, and here, more than in the duel, or the belligerent settlement of differences between individuals, the peace and quiet, and the established relations of society are disturbed.

It is not enough that occasionally a strike or lockout is submitted to voluntary arbitration, because the contestants each fear extermination. It is not enough that sometimes they submit to the decision of such voluntary tribunal. The power of the State, as in every class of controversy over the discovery and maintenance of natural justice, must compel submission to a proper court, and must enforce its judgments, or confess its bankruptcy and go out of business, as the anarchists demand. It is not enough that the militia are called out to see that the established regulations for the warfare of economic violence are observed; they would be better employed to enforce the judgment of some judicial tribunal, called into existence to prevent the conflict by adjudicating the equities, with natural justice, and not capitalistic class interest, or customs based thereon, as the end to be achieved.

That such a tribunal would not be

infallible may be admitted. That its guesses would average as high for justice as the present resultant of such strife is scarcely to be doubted. That greater quiet would be insured, and less injury inflicted upon the non-combatants of society is certain to demonstration. Then why not compulsory arbitration? Just as the rules of jurisprudence are of gradual growth, and an expression of the summarized racial experience, so would such a tribunal for labor arbitration gradually develop a set of rules, by which, with a constantly increasing certitude, a close approximation to natural justice will be assured. Its first generalizations would, of course, express only conditional truths, and would require amendment from time to time as new conditions were brought into existence, or were called to its attention.

The capitalist objects to compulsory arbitration as an unwarranted interference with his property. The answer is that in our form of government there is no divine right in property. It is morally obligated to protect private property only so long as it represents personal creation out of nature's raw material. What the capitalist has gained by the unjust despoilation of the workers who actually create the nation's wealth, or what he has received by inheritance from ancestral beneficiaries of legalized exploitation, will no longer be protected by other people carrying rifles, when we other people conclude the capital was unjustly gotten, and the use made of it injurious to us. When the mass of us have reached that conclusion some capitalists will be unhorsed and their illgotten and ill-used estates taken from them.

The lawyer objects to compulsory arbitration because no general rules have been outlined to guide the court of arbitration and so he argues that such a tribunal would be government by the arbitrary power of men and not of law and so such an act would be unconstitutional as not constituting due process of law. The laboring man opposes com-

pulsory arbitration because he feels sure that the capitalistic class interests will dominate the minds of those who will constitute the tribunal, and their arbitrary power will therefore be more dangerous to the laborer's interests than are our present courts, whose whole attitude of mind he deems inimical to his interests. I will answer these two objections together, as they both involve the question of controlling the action of such a tribunal by legislatively-created standards. I will endeavor to evolve such standards.

A general guide for the deliberations of such an arbitration tribunal is not difficult of statement, as it seems to me, if we remember a few fundamental truths. The laborer and the capitalist must be recognized, for purposes of the controversy, as existing in an indissoluble relation wherein each is indispensable to the other. The equities of each must be determined, not separately, but ever in the light of their relation to the equal equities of the other, and the relation of both to society. When once we become fully conscious in thought, as well as in those empty phrasings which are so seldom translated into consistent action, that the profit of every business is the joint product of invested capital, the managerial mind, and the executive brain and the intelligently-directed muscle of the laborer, then we have a basis for an equitable distribution of the product of the joint efforts. For the purpose of this discussion I am making the rather violent assumption that the capitalist's capital is always acquired by means which are beyond question by our most refined sense of natural justice.

Roughly, it may be said that in all disputed cases the method for dividing joint earnings (that is, determining the laborer's wages, and the employer's net profit) should be something like the following: First, we fix accurately the minimum rate of interest for which money can be had in safe investments. Next, we must determine the sum upon

which the employer may reasonably expect interest out of the gross profits of this joint labor. If the employer is a corporation, the investment is never to be estimated by either the face, or the market, value of the stocks issued. The first of these is fixed, usually by the extravagant speculative over-valuation at which the incorporators, for more or less dishonest purposes, exchange property for stock issues. The second is often dependent, partly upon fictitious sales and stock-exchange jugglery, and partly upon monopolies and other artificially-created means of temporarily extorting from helpless public unreasonable profits. The valuation upon which the capitalist's interest is to be allowed should be the least amount of cash that would replace all of the physical property necessarily and wisely used in the enterprise. If any part of it consists of patents, or trade secrets of wholly speculative or unascertainable market value, these should be excluded from consideration as part of the primary capital. They might be treated as a portion of managerial equipment, to be taken into account in fixing the reasonableness of official salaries. Good-will, which is the product of advertising, can be estimated by the cost of duplicating, so much of it as is equal to the present attained repute, if utilized by a new business. Having thus determined the amount of capital actually in use, and the minimum rate of interest at which money is to be had, we next adjudge what is the minimum wage at which a laborer can live in such comfort as our civilization, the hygienic, educational and physical necessities of our economic conditions, and himself and family make necessary. This is not always a sum which is ascertainable with mathematical certainty, and yet similar problems are solved by courts in almost every receivership case, and all controversies over alimony.

All this, as before indicated, is necessary only where an actual controversy as to the reasonableness of wages is in

existence. Let us define gross earnings to mean, the earnings without the cost of labor, or interest on capital in use, being deducted. If, then, we deduct from the annual gross earnings a sum equal to the annual pay-roll at the adjudged minimum rate of wages and the annual interests at the adjudged minimum rate upon the cash value of the plant, and there is a balance which we designate as the surplus earnings, then that balance must determine whether or not, and how much, the laborer's wage is to be increased above the minimum cost of decent living.

The employer who preys on the necessities of his employees so as to secure their labor at less than a minimum of decent living wages, should be treated as any other proprietor of a school for crime, or the propagator of contagious disease. Life in the slums of any city make this plain. The two minimums determined, it might be laid down as a rule that every business which can not show profit enough for both, and in the future of which no capitalist has sufficient confidence to guarantee both, has no excuse for its existence, and should be suppressed. The capitalist, having the absolute managerial control, should not be allowed to embark in a business of sufficient social consequence to employ say 100 persons, unless he is willing to take chances on securing his interest, and show himself able, by the method hereinafter pointed out, to guarantee to the laborer his minimum wage, and such additional sum as he may be adjudged entitled to.

Since this surplus profit is a joint creation of the invested capital and the labor employed, the determination of the excess above the minimum wage and interest which the laborer and the capitalist are to receive is to be a division of the surplus profit, in the ratio of the annual minimum pay-roll to the annual minimum interest account. Among the laborers, the percentage of annual increase would, of course, be the same.

In all instances the matter of wages should be left to the agreement of the parties, and that agreement enforced always and only where both parties before making it have been put into possession, full and fairly, of *all the facts possessed by the other*, which the arbitration court would take into account in arriving at a just conclusion, by the processes above indicated. Whenever a claim is made and substantiated that unfairness has been resorted to on either side, the arbitration tribunal should annul the agreement, and enforce its own judgment as to the equities. It will do the same when the parties cannot agree. When a controversy has been presented to the tribunal, the continuance or commencement of a strike or lockout without permission of the tribunal would be prohibited.

In order to preclude evasions by the capitalist, the judgment in favor of the laborer must compel the payment of fixed wages, and should be in its nature a judgment *in rem* binding upon everybody who is made a party to the proceeding, to the extent of their interest in the real and personal property utilized in the business. This would and should include mortgages. Any other rules would enable the employer, by allowing a mortgage to be foreclosed, or a lease to be canceled, to evade compliance with the decree. Such a rule would wrong no one. It could not affect existing liens, and, as to future ones, the mortgagees and lessors could easily protect themselves by abundant devices which any lawyer could suggest. A judgment against the laborers would be enforced, as now, by punishment for contempt, if after judgment they conspire to disobey the court, and for money damages if they have property. Since no judgment, but that the business be suspended, would be entered where it would not support the minimum wage and interest, there would seldom be any motive on the part of the labor unions for disregarding the judgment.

Labor unions should, by appropriate legislation be encouraged to incorporate, and all corporations should have publicity forced upon them. This does not mean the lying balance-sheet publicity, but publicity to the last detail of all facts such as shed light upon issues above indicated as being material, and probably others. Such publicity would minimize the robbing of the comparatively ignorant people by fraudulent stock sales, and false prospectuses, as well as the laboring man, as he is now oppressed by compelling him, out of his wages to pay interest on fictitious valuations of watered stock. It would likewise prevent personal blackmail by dishonest labor leaders.

In every case where one hundred or more persons are employed, directly or indirectly, under the same management, the tribunal of arbitration shall have jurisdiction, to be invoked either by the employer, by a majority of the employees, or, after a strike or lockout has actually been ordered, by the people of the State through the attorney-general. Arbitration is not enough, if our system of government stands for the maintenance of justice. If it does not, or is incapable, then let us also remove state protection for capitalists. If our judicial system is of value, arbitration over labor troubles can be made equally so. If not, let us confess our failure and abolish the state. If not this, then let us have justice through compulsory arbitration. Every labor dispute in which one hundred, or even less number of men are employed, of necessity involves the endangerment of innumerable established social relations of non-combatants. Under the increasing complexity of human interdependence, the laborer's controversy with employers can no longer be ranked as self-regarding conduct, and thus excluded from state control under doctrines of personal liberty. Every such controversy directly affects the social organism, and hence is placed within the legitimate province of governmental supervision, even under the broadest

views of personal liberty, entertained by any who have an intelligent conception of liberty and still believe in any organized government. The social judgment must be exercised, primarily upon considerations of equal justice and liberty to the disputants, and incidentally to these, the good of organized society. But since nobody wants justice, and nobody

believes in the capacity of state machinery to secure it, I suppose we shall for a long time to come continue in our submission to the coercive power of starvation, enforced by the legalized violence of the police and the militia, in support of the class-interests of a dominant, ignorant and brutal rich. THEODORE SCHROEDER.
New York City.

EMERSON AS WRITER AND MAN.

BY JAMES T. BIXBY, PH.D.

IN THAT pregnant and inspiring essay which opens Emerson's priceless book on *Representative Men* he discourses wisely of the uses of great men. He tells us how the world is upheld by veracity of good men. They make the world wholesome. What is good is effective and generative. Every ship that comes to America got its chart from Columbus. Mental and moral force goes out from you, whether you will or no, and profits one whom you never thought of, "and it is impossible to hear of personal vigor of any kind without fresh resolution."

Emerson's characteristic modesty would not have allowed him to think of himself in writing such truths. But his life and his influence since he fell to rest so calmly, has given fresh and lustrous illustration to the law.

How quickly some reputations drop after the funeral eulogies have been formally pronounced. But every day since Emerson was laid at the foot of the pine tree in Concord's historic cemetery, the gentle radiance of his name and fame has risen higher.

When a critic like Hermann Grimm, the great German professor, deliberately ranks him with Goethe, Schiller and Shakespeare; when his thought becomes not merely the daily inspiration of

undistinguished multitudes, but of great statesman reformers and men of science, like Tolstoi and Pobiedonostzeff in Russia, and Tyndall, Martineau, Carlyle and John Morley in England, his rank as one of the world's great thinkers may be deemed firmly established.

What a beautiful and yet most accurate picture James Martineau gave in his letter to Alexander Ireland of Emerson's gracious manhood. "In his personality," says the great preacher of England, "he appeared to me almost all that is noble, lovely and venerable; and in his critical and ethical writings he rose to the very perfection of moral judgment; pure and keen without a touch of cynicism and with a seeing enthusiasm for all beauty and good; calm and passionless, because full of faith in them, as the permanency of the world."

Some of the critics say that Emerson cannot be understood; that his essays can be read with equal profit, backward as forward. But nevertheless, the circle of his readers widens with every generation. The highest literary authorities recognize him as the largest, loftiest and most characteristic intellect produced by our American soil. He speaks as no other to the universal heart of man—a modern Plato, dealing with the most sublime truths with the ease of a master;

daring the highest heaven of thought; and yet writing of "Farming," "Civilization" and the "Conduct of Life" with the shrewdest common sense.

"A Greek head," as Lowell said, "on right Yankee shoulders, whose range has Olympus for one pole—for t'other the Exchange."

In Raphael and Goethe the characteristic traits are these same admirably blended elements: common sense and heaven-soaring divination, revealing to the eyes of the idealist—as Herman Grimm says, "the magnificent results of practical activity, and unfolding before the realist the grandeur of the ideal world of thought."

Emerson was at once the most individual and most independent of men; and yet few men ever identified themselves so fully with the common Humanity and looked on life on all sides.

Was Emerson scholar, philosopher or poet? The dispute has been hot as to which title is the appropriate one to give him.

His scholarship was ample—his reading omnivorous and his memory, in his earlier days remarkable. "Emerson's quotations," says Dr. Holmes, "are like the miraculous draught of fishes." His essays glisten with apt literary allusions and illustrations. And yet no one was less of a pedant or a mere borrower. Like Shakespeare, he transformed and adorned all that he took from others.

From what other bard in the nineteenth century—as Steadman asks—have so many lines and phrases passed into literature.

"Hitch your wagon to a star."

"Beauty is its own excuse for being."

"What is excellent,—as God lives is permanent."

"He builded better than he knew."

and a hundred more.

So abundant are these examples of musical and compressed wisdom that have fixed themselves in the memory like barbs—that one of his famous essays or poems seems often, (as a raw youth who read Hamlet for the first time said):

"A thing chiefly made up of old quotations."

But of scholarship and philosophy of the usual style whose excellence is shown in its well-ordered systematization of laws and truths, of this we find little in Emerson. He saw with wonderful clearness the profoundest truths, and put these truths into pithy sayings, spiritual pemmican for the nourishment of starving souls in all climes.

But as to the reasons for his faith, the arguments for his instructions or the proper logical order in which view demonstrations should be presented, he was all at sea. He preferred to leave his thoughts in that desultoriness that conversation or meditation delights in, rather than to force them into the logician's grooves. As he spoke to an audience he seemed to be himself an auditor of some mystic voice to which he was listening, and his very hesitancy, between the delivery of his periods, added to this impression that he was hearkening to an invisible Genius, sitting behind him.

In the year 1870 I heard him lecture several times; and the lectures were given from half a dozen huge sheets of blue paper—torn from some old ledger—where his meditations had been jotted down as the ideas came to him. Each pearl of thought had been rounded and polished till it was a wonder and a delight; but the stringing of the pearls in order had evidently been left to be done before the audience, as the mood guided him.

Emerson was certainly more poet than philosopher. He abhorred syllogisms and chains of argument; labored definitions and subtle distinctions. He flew, like a bird from peak to peak and scorned the tedious rock-pounding that laid macadamized roads of logic. His quick intuitions leaped over all the intermediate stations and dove to the heart of profound subjects, as by heavenly guidance.

He did not reason; but pictured, sketched, illustrated in the most trenchant way. He sang psalms of worship and lyrics of human emotion and with sug-

gestive musical crescendoes and diminuendoes of true Wagnerian magic, he waked the slumbering soul of his auditors.

No poems could be more musical and picturesque than some of his masterpieces.

The "Rhodora," "Terminus," "Each and All," "The Humble Bee," and "The Boston Hymn" belong to that class whose harmonious and perfect statement of an eternal truth assure them immortality. What dramatic vigor and beauty in that figure of the "hypocritic days, muffled and dumb like barefoot dervishes?" What chaste, rare loveliness of expression, worthy of a Theocritus or a Virgil, in the opening lines of the Concord Ode—

"Oh, tenderly the haughty day
Fills her blue urn with fire!"

What lyrical ecstasy in "Woodnotes?" What unexampled height of uplifting waves of thought and untutored melody in the climax of the "Problem!"

Nevertheless, Emerson was not fundamentally a poet. He was not, like Tennyson or Goethe, an artist of the beautiful. He did not care for the niceties of verse-making. The thought was always to him more than the expression. Often his poetry is more like prose and his prose more like poetry.

His chief aim was not to give esthetic form to ideas or feelings. It was to bring the soul of man into contact with divine things and guide men's courses by the stars. The principle was more than the art. Hence he was more than a poet. He was, fundamentally, of the ancient and yet ever perennially renewed order of prophets—a seer who saw Divine things by direct vision and strove not in "sad sincerity" but in serene loyalty, to report them to men.

It was the height of his thought that gave it its beauty.

He was more than scholar, philosopher or poet. He was a Messenger of Divine Truth. He was an inspired soul, whose dominant aim was to inspire those around

him by bringing them to breathe the same divine air that quickened him. He bared his bosom to the Divine flood; and with generous overflow of the blessed waters of life nourished and invigorated his age and generation. And so it has come about that of all men of the nineteenth century his influence has been most quickening, exhilarating and pervasive.

Yes. He was a great modern prophet. What was the prophet's message? It is too high and broad to give more than a glimpse of it now.

In a nutshell—his message was that God is a living God—not a relic of a supernatural past. God is a present God—not an absentee.

Through the whole Universe God flames, sparkling, now in atom, now in star, but halting never and baffling all imaginations.

Everything in Nature or Art or history has its spiritual significance and ends. Matter and Man are Deity clothed upon; and this hidden God (who yet is most manifest) is as near to every man and woman in America in our own day as ever he was to Moses on Sinai or to Jesus by the shores of Galilee.

This was the gist of Emerson's message, and the secret of his character was that this was no mere flourish of rhetoric or poetic phrase to him. It was the truth by which he daily lived.

Herman Grimm has said—that "regarded as a character, Emerson was greater than when regarded as an author."

That is true of every sincere human being. Man is more than all conduct or essays or poems. The Soul is the whole of which a man's oratory or composition is a partial expression.

But in some men there is a great hiatus here. The oratory and the literature are borrowed plumes. In Emerson they were the natural expression of the man's genuine thought. God was ever near him and present in all his world. Hence he was always the chief of Optimists. How could things not come out right—

ultimately? He never scolded and he never bewailed.

Out of spent and aged things he believed God was creating new worlds of beauty and fresh truth. The graves of the dead theologies should blossom afresh with the daisies and clover of a new faith. "These temples grew as grew the grass." And again and evermore should grow in new forms of natural reverence.

What a lesson there is to the grumbler in the correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson. The letters of the Scotch sage are a prolonged groan. Emerson's are like the morning songs of a sky-lark. And yet in material and financial conditions; in serious trials and the real burdens of life, Carlyle was no worse off and had no more burdens to carry than Emerson, with his bitter family bereavements, and the educational problems of rearing suitably the children left to him. Round Carlyle, the air is blue with pessimistic fretfulness and with growls at fate. Emerson, with the serenity of a Greek god, carries calmly his own burden, and by his brotherly sympathy and practical aid drags his Scotch friend out of the very slough of despond.

One source of this cheerfulness was his simple tastes. He had no yeast of ostentation or social ambition. He was a fine example of plain living and high thinking. No man was ever more free from egotism or pride or the canker of mammonism.

One of my most precious memories is that of a visit to his home and a pleasant half-hour chat with him and his pastor (as Emerson always recognized him), the Rev. Grindal Reynolds, minister of the Unitarian Church in Concord, where Emerson had a pew and usually attended Sunday service.

I cannot recall anything noteworthy as said by the Concord seer on that occasion. But if I had been the President of the United States he could not have received me with more courtesy and hospitality; and if he had been the

obscurest man in Massachusetts he could not have borne himself with more modesty, simplicity and entire unconsciousness of his own fame and genius and the reverence in which he was held.

His famous verse—

"Good-bye, proud world! I'm going home,"

was no affectation. He went to his modest country retreat with joy.

When he deemed a friend wronged (as he considered that Judge Hoar had been by Wendell Phillips), he indignantly refused his hand and gave the offender the cut direct. But when it was his own fame or rank or skill as a writer that was criticized, he was as unmoved as an Epictetus.

When the mob at Albany roared and created such disorder that after repeated beginnings he could not give one of his lectures, he did not complain, but said: "If I were dumb, yet would I have gone and muttered and made signs."

No service, however humble, was beneath his dignity. What a charming anecdote is that which Dr. Hale tells of the night when on a visit to the Philadelphia Centennial, two little boys in an adjoining room woke up in the night and in their fright at the absence of the parent who had been called away—broke into a wail of sorrow. When at length the lady of the house reached the room to relieve the little ones, she found the great idealist before her.

There he was, petting and soothing and comforting the lonely children, who were thus learning in the dim midnight the noblest lesson of the most divine philosophy.

His face and manner reminded the friends who knew him most of Sir Philip Sidney's lines—

"A sweet, attractive kind of grace;
A full assurance given by looks—
Continual comfort in a face,
The lineaments of Gospel books."

And the Spirit within was as sweet and sincere as the outward countenance.

Although reckoned the chieftain of

the Transcendentalists and though his thoughts were supposed to dwell in interstellar vacua, he had a canny prudence and shrewd insight into men and things that saved him from the follies of the Brook Farm eccentrics and the throng of come-outers who soon made the name "Transcendentalist" a laughing stock.

Mystic as he was, he never, as Dr. Holmes says—"let go the string of his balloon. He never threw over all the ballast of common sense, so as to rise above an atmosphere in which a rational being could breathe." However rapt seems the mystic fervor, an inner calmness reigns, and you feel that the Master of the Ship has a firm grip on the rudder and will steer the ship aright.

And this brings me to name, next, as another of his great and admirable traits—his self-reliance.

It was an age of imitation; an age when we flattered the foreigner; copied Pope and Addison and Johnson; when South and North crooked the pregnant hinges of the knee to King Cotton; when there was little literature as yet except foreign grafts, and speech and manliness and direct vision of reality were all grievously limited, if not altogether repressed.

Into this sycophantic world, drifting backward with the Bourbon reaction that followed the overthrow of Napoleon, into a mire of traditionalism and conventionalism, Emerson's great addresses on "Nature" and the "American Scholar" fell like *aërolites* from the sky—unasked, unexpected, and very unwelcome to the great majority.

They were trumpet calls to intellectual and social and religious independence. He pointed men back from dead formalisms to rely on their uncorrupted instincts.

They should trust in themselves, their highest selves, that consciousness that is ever open to the influx of the Divine Essence and ever tending upward.

Emerson always insisted on loyalty to truth. The cautious guides in politics and religion advised the young men,

then, as they do now, to be on the safe side. Emerson retorted—

"'Tis man's perdition to be safe—
When for the truth he ought to die."

In the same year that Emerson died, that great English scientist Charles Darwin also passed from earth. How different they were in many things. For in Darwin nearly every germ of the imagination and esthetic faculty that makes and appreciates poetry had become atrophied. But in their devotion to truth—in their perfect sincerity, they were alike. And both had the courage of their convictions. Both were as plain-spoken as they were gentle and courteous in antagonizing the errors of their day. What a model for the controversialist is presented by Emerson—"An iconoclast without a hammer"; taking down the idols of popular delusion, as Dr. Holmes gracefully said—"so gently that it seemed an act of worship."

"Go forth with thy message among thy fellow-creatures," was Emerson's counsel. Teach them that each generation begins the world afresh; that the present is not the prisoner of the past and thou shalt not heed the voice of man when it agrees not with the voice of God in thy own soul." That was Emerson's ringing order of march. And Emerson was true in act to his inner light.

It called upon him to sacrifice his living, his position, and his intimacies to an academic doubt; to what his neighbors called "quite unnecessary scruples of conscience"; and he surrendered all these social and official advantages and would not "bate a jot of heart or hope—but still bear up and steer right onward." As Dr. Holmes says, "He might have been an idol, and he broke his own pedestal to attack the idolatry which he saw all around. He gave up a comparatively easy life for a toilsome and trying one; he accepted a precarious employment which hardly kept him above poverty rather than wear the golden padlock on his lips which has

held fast the conscience of many a pulpit Chrysostom."

And when he was getting established in his new profession of itinerant lecturer, again the storm-cloud of the furious Anti-Slavery Conflict burst about him; and again he had to decide on which side to take his stand—with the poor slave and his wrongs, or with the Mammon worshippers and host of prudent politicians that said to the disturbing appeals of justice and humanity—"Let us alone—why troublest thou us?"

And again his choice was the obedience to the heavenly vision that made him a mark of popular obloquy and scorn. The hisses and groans that he received at public meetings and the boycotts that his lectures received by the society throngs that formerly had made him their literary God, were only a part of the price he gladly paid to bear his testimony on this great moral issue.

Ever a staunch patriot, as loyal an American and as home-loving a citizen as ever lived, he was not one of those blind worshippers of the Administration or social system, chancing to be in the saddle, that can discern no imperfections in the civilization of his native land. He was keenly alive to its faults and threw all his force against them. "This great, intelligent, sensual and avaricious America," is one of his strong phrases. "This mendicant America, this curious, itinerant, imitative America," is another.

And yet he failed not in his trust that all this crudeness would be outgrown. "Here," he declared, "is the home of man—the promise of a new and more excellent social state than history has recorded." And as he believed in it, he worked for it, with wholesome rebuke of every moral slip that pulled back and downward. The Democratic principles of universal freedom, justice and equality in civil right constituted for him a sacred charter of social righteousness. And when sophistical defenders of the reduction of God's image in humanity to

the condition of chattels belittled the principles of freedom embodied in our Declaration of Independence, as mere glittering generalities, Emerson vindicated them as "blazing ubiquities," the very warp and woof of civilized society. He was never hoodwinked by that national bigotry that under all circumstances adored his country and every act of its government—right or wrong. His thought instead was "Our Country! When right to be kept right; when wrong to be set right."

Man to Emerson was more than constitutions or cotton-crops; and an injustice to the humblest black man was treason against the spirit alike of republicanism and Christianity. While it is true, in a sense, that the end justifies the means, yet he saw also that immoral means and methods condemn the end to which they are hypocritically dedicated as an unholy pretence; and when the pursuit of money or the success of Southern plantations or Northern factories demanded the degradation of human lives and the cruelties inseparable from ownership of human flesh, whatever its color—the result was one too fatal to the supreme ends of righteousness and mercy, to be tolerated by a lover of his kind.

When a Webster made low bows to the Church and the Constitution and with sneers at "a higher law existing somewhere between here and the heaven—he knew not where," endorsed measures to hunt down on Massachusetts soil the fugitive slave, Emerson bravely spoke out, amid the hootings of mobs, for the side of humanity and justice against oppression, and vigorously pointed out that the politician "who writes a crime into the statute book digs under the foundations of the Capitol."

Emerson, by his writings and lectures, did more, it has truly been said, "than any other man to rescue the youth of the next generation and fit them for the fierce times to follow."

Garrison and Phillips, of course, were

Through the Closed Shop to the Open World.

earlier in this work; but Emerson's voice reached centres of influence where they could get no hearing.

When Frederika Bremer, the noted Swedish novelist, met Emerson in 1849 she wrote—"That which struck me most in him, as distinguishing him from other human beings—is—Nobility. He is a born gentleman. The writings of this scorner of the mean and paltry, this bold exaction of perfection in man—have for me a fascination which amounts almost to magic. I believe myself to have become greater through his greatness, stronger thro' his strength and I breathe the air of a higher sphere in this world, which is indescribably refreshing."

Miss Bremer voiced the universal impression of all who came into personal contact with him. As we look at his life or listen to his inspiring words, we are impelled to repeat:

*"So long hast thou been loyal to thyself,
So long hast thou been loyal to the world,
So long hast thou been loyal to thy God
That how—so was may look upon thy faith,
Thy face looks at them tranquil with its truth."*

Nowhere than in Emerson's writings will our young men and women get a better bracing for their moral natures; regal instruction in self-reliance, courage, individuality, high principle; aspiration to use life nobly, serve one's country wisely and minister to humanity unselfishly.

However disjointed might be the lecture by Emerson which you heard, or the essay you read—"It was all such stuff as stars are made of."

Among those who in the last thousand years have befriended the life of the Spirit with pervasive intellectual and moral impregnation—the name of Ralph Waldo Emerson will ever lead the illustrious roll.

JAMES T. BIXBY.

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THROUGH THE CLOSED SHOP TO THE OPEN WORLD.

BY HORACE TRAUBEL.

THROUGH the closed shop to the open world. I see the procession of labor unfold its enlarging purpose. The course is by way of militant defense to civic security. We hear contending tongues. The benediction will come at last. The world to-day seems to be against us. The world of the future will be on our side. We are afraid to trust our own institutions. We have built a house which we suspect may fall down over our heads. Labor is an alien. It does not feel at home with itself. It must be made domestic. It has lost all faith in guardians. The arm of the world crushes. It does not embrace. Labor begins to see that it is only protected when it protects itself. Therefore it gets its particles together. It

ceases to be a thing of items and becomes a total. It goes two ways. It goes right and it goes wrong. It is beautiful and it is ugly. It is sinless and it is sinful. That is, it is in a condition of struggle. It will emerge clarified. That force which on the march is a class will on its arrival become a people. We glorify the closed shop. Or we damn the closed shop. The closed shop is a manifest both of affirmation and negation. It signifies lack of faith first and then a greater faith to come. It is not a virtue. It is a shield. It is not right or wrong. It is gravitation. It is a result. Some things happened preceding it. Then this thing had to happen. There was no way out of it. God could not set the tables of its mandate aside. And

now that this has happened something further is to happen. Something just as little to be evaded. The stream flows its own way. It cannot be diverted. It is going towards the greatest light. From darkness to light and from light to more light and from more light to illumination. There was supply and demand. There was competition. There was graft. There was the law of money dominating the law of souls. The laborer finding himself hopelessly under fire in the world of fight has shut himself in the closed shop. He will save himself for the future crises and consummations of liberty. The closed shop is not here to stay. Its function is not fixed. It is here to pass man on. And after it has passed man on it will disintegrate. It will take down its four walls and go into voluntary oblivion. Meantime it is immediately vital and preservative. It is against liberty? No. It is for liberty. It is a troubled effort of liberty to observe the covenant. It is the only resource left to liberty to play a safe hand with the cards stacked against it. If liberty with the closed shop is in danger liberty without the closed shop is lost. You quote the one man who is trespassing. I quote the fifty men whom the one man trespasses. I do not say the closed shop is liberty. I say it leads to liberty. I do not say the liberty of the one man should be invaded. I say the liberty of the fifty men should not be forgotten. There is only one thing I hate worse than the closed shop. That one thing is the open shop. There is only one thing I love more than the closed shop. That one thing is the open world. Tyranny often leads the way of liberty. The tendency of the imperfect is towards the perfect. Democracy does not say its final word in liberty. Its final word is a word of love. If love means liberty, good for liberty and better for love. But if some liberty must be left out in order that all love may be included then liberty must cheerfully make its sacrifice. The program of labor is the program of

solidarity. All interests are one interest. All the acts of men become the one act of man in the round-up. You are afraid that coercion will force you to do something which it would hurt you to do. There is something else you might more honorably be afraid of. That you will voluntarily do something which it will hurt others to have you do. Labor is fighting for a chance to live. It is forfeiting all minor rights to secure the major benefaction. Labor cannot retreat from the closed shop. It can only advance to the open world. It enjoys no inviting latitude of volition. It has to choose narrowly between the closed shop and the closed world. We see that the closed world has done its best and has said its last word. That its advance from now on is in retreat. We see that the closed shop has done all its evil and is saying its first word. That its superficial retreat is from now on its fundamental advance. Whatever the closed shop does not do it does lead off with the pioneer and the martyr. It is bondage. Yes. But the closed shop is the last chain before emancipation. Whatever the open shop does not do it leads off with a signal to withdraw. It is bondage. Yes. But the open shop is the last stand before slavery. Even if the closed shop is a stumble it is a stumble towards progress. Even if the open shop is on its feet it is on feet turned towards the past. Do you shrink from the rough passage? Then you will never get anywhere. But labor is bound to get somewhere. No matter how stormy the journey or what must be given up it is resolutely charted for discovery. It will give up everything by the way but it will not give up anything at the end. It will unload every atom of interfering freight but it will not yield one inch of necessary sail. Even if it must give up all the virtues of the open shop it will still go on. The closed shop may be without any other compensating quality. But it is the custodian of this inestimable treasure. It leads direct to the open world. No

man can live his life just as he pleases. He must please to live his life the way love pleases. For anything less than love in life is suicide. He must live his life the way of brotherhood. He is not asked to see how best he can go alone. He is asked to see how best he can go with the crowd. The crowd limits him. But the crowd also makes him possible. The crowd dead as well as the crowd living. You say you must be free. Free for what? To cut loose? To play full hermit on an empty earth? To anchor at sea out of sight of land? I would rather be free to sail. But freedom to sail means equal freedom to all sailors. And equal freedom to all sailors means limited freedom to all sailors. On the voyage of life no man is entitled to all the good weather. And if one man's luck brings him a surplus of good weather it is that one man's duty to share his extras with the man who falls short. Who can know who shall fall short? And the day of deficit may be any day. And the victim of deficit may be any man. The open shop does not provide for the man who falls short. The closed shop takes care of the last derelict. In the march of the race why should any one be left behind? All should be taken along in equal grace and equal love. Beyond the fight of the closed shop is the peace of the open world. And until the open world is reached there can be no conclusive fraternity. We live to-day one friend in a mob of enemies. In that next day we will live not one single enemy in a republic of friends. Ishmael will make way for the Brother. Now we dread to turn corners. We don't know what tragedy may be round there waiting to exact its drastic toll. But the movement of the race is the movement of integration. By and bye we will know that it is as safe to turn corners as to keep to the free road ahead. We will know that nothing but hospitality lurks in the shadows. We will not be afraid to meet each other with our eyes shut. We will not hesitate to go to bed

for fear that God does not provide mercifully for the night. And we will not hesitate to get up for fear that man does not provide mercifully for the day. It is true that in the process some tyranny must be suffered. But this is only in order that more liberty may be enjoyed. Is any man freer in the open shop with no man concerned for the crowd than in the closed shop with the crowd concerned for every man? Capital has withdrawn from labor. Labor has withdrawn from capital. They fight. They are not fighting to keep apart. They are fighting to get together. They are two names for one thing. When labor returns home it becomes capital. When capital returns home it becomes labor. The end of the schism is near and the beginning of commune is in sight. The capitalist and the laborer will disappear. Interest rent and profit were for a day. Wages were for a day. The tramp and the millionaire are twins born of the same mother. They eat at the same table. They live the same life. They will die the same death. Neither can survive either. We are to have a world of ownership without an owner. There will not be men who own and men who are owned. There will be brothers: only brothers. Property will not be used as an implement of spoliation and felony. It will be utilized as the opportunity for service and comradeship. I do not say that the process will be gentle. I say that the result will be beautiful. I do not try to explain away the evil. I only contend for the inevitability of the good. I do not say all the virtue is in the closed shop. I only say that with virtue or without virtue the closed shop is the next step. But there is a step beyond the closed shop. That step, too, must be taken. For the closed shop is only a refuge. It is not a home. There is only one home. The open world. The open world without an owner and without a hireling. The open world in which ownership for the first time assumes its responsible humani-

ties. All that world owned by all for all the world. A world with no outside to it. A world in which nobody hoards and nobody shirks. A world in which every man takes as much of life as he needs and gives as much of life as he can. A world in which every man having enough keeps nothing back from any other man who can use more. A world in which the crowd at last knows how to live with the one man and make the most of him. A world in which the one man at last

knows how to live with the crowd and make the most of it. There is only one thing I hate more than the closed shop. That is the open shop. There is only one thing I love better than the closed shop. That is the open world. Yesterday belonged to the open shop. To-day belongs to the closed shop. To-morrow belongs to the open world.

HORACE TRAUBEL.

Camden, New Jersey.

THE QUEST.

BY REV. T. F. HILDRETH, A.M., D.D.

WE STAND and knock at the gateway of truth.

Will it be opened to us?

We would explore the fields of thought, and join in the world's search for knowledge. All about us lies a real world. It contains latent powers and occult forces which seem to be working towards specific ends and are producing definite results. We know that we are and that these are, and we also know that we and they are not the same. While we have much in common with the world of matter, and are intimately related to other forms of life, we see clearly there are lines of division and points of deviation that separate us from them. We are constantly walking in the shadows of the unseen, and feel the presence of the unknown. We are conscious of the capacity to know and of desire to know, and hence we are led to believe that all we need to know must lie somewhere within our reach.

We are ever asking whence we came and whither we are going, and we have searched the records of the ages to find our pedigree, and are carefully studying the various forms of life to find if they contain any traces of our own beginning.

We have waited long for our answer and are waiting still; for science with all its care, and with all its claims has left us but little that is satisfying. There is but little that we know of the things about us, nor do we know much about ourselves, beyond the simple fact that we are. We have but little time in which to learn, and at the most we can only learn little by little. The capacity to know is small when we compare it with the unknown and the infinite. It is no marvel then that we eagerly knock at the gateway of knowledge, hoping to find the paths that will lead us to the long-hidden mines of truth.

Mind life only unfolds by the accretions of knowledge, and by well-directed energy, inspired and sustained by the hope and faith of final success. We are ever learning and seem never to be able to come to the knowledge of the truth. Why? Because every depth of knowledge we explore, and every height of truth we climb, we discover still greater depths beneath us, and other heights to climb, and the shadows of doubt and uncertainty thicken and fall on the conclusions we reach. Long-cherished creeds have become fossilized, and

theories long held as truths, lie scattered along the paths of more profound investigations; and we have found dogma after dogma abandoned as new truths and principles have been discovered. Need we wonder? Shall we become discouraged and give up our quest? All that was true in all our cherished creeds and dogmas will ever remain true, for all truths have an immortality of their own. In our ignorance and prejudice we may bury them out of sight or dim their lustre; but when in the progress of knowledge reason and faith shall set them in right relation they may be found as corner-stones in the great temple of truth.

When one toiler after another lays down his pick, exhausted by long continued research, another inspired by hope and confident "in the reality of things not seen," will take up the unsolved problem on which the world's best thinkers and ripest scholars have worked age after age, and thus there will be added new achievements to the progress of knowledge.

The Was contains the prophecy of the Is, and beyond the Now lies the limitless Not Now. These three are one, and in them is the all-sufficient. We are in the midst of "realities made of things not seen," and results that are all about us are the products of "that which does not appear"—a system of things, and a universe of life, evolved from a potency, the nature of which can only be known by its phenomena. So reason says—so science says—so religion says. That which has become something which it was not, must have been produced by some adequate cause. Something must have been first. Processes imply potencies. The power to produce must have been greater than the product.

Science has undertaken to solve the Riddle of the Universe. Can it do it? Up to this hour it has failed. It has taught us much of the mutations of matter, and revealed many wonderful things in the forms and modes of life, but its failure has been because it has made all phe-

nomena the cause of itself. As in computing numbers, we must depend for certainty on the unit column, so also must our judgment of all phenomena be based on the unity of power. Somewhere for all phenomena there must have been an adequate cause, which, contained in itself the source and reason of all that is; and manifestly the law of expression has been oneness of principle and variety of manifestation. Truth produces after its kind as do the forces of nature and forms of life. Each newly-discovered fact in the long line of nature's unfoldment is but the product of some power that lies before it, though it may have been long hidden beneath the rubbish of superstition, or concealed beneath the garb of pseudo-philosophy. The mistake of much that is called science has been that it has begun all its speculations and investigations with matter, and has left the unit column of thought, the idea of a pre-existing potency out of its reckoning. Out of this invisible, inert and lifeless world-stuff, it has shaped and combined all the atoms into systems of stars and suns, and introduced and evolved all forms of life without an intelligence to supervise the scheme or a will to plan and secure the results. This is called Scientific Evolution, and it offered to us as a solution of the Riddle of the Universe.

Science for a long time made the earth the centre of its observations, and was only driven from its false position by the accumulation of facts, for which, with its defective position, it was unable to account. It is not enough to begin with matter and its phenomena, for the mutations of matter and the introduction of life and its variety of forms, requires the preëxistence of some power adequate to produce them.

However far back in the eternal years science may take us in its scheme of evolution, if it is consistent with itself, it will halt as in the secret chamber of a potency that is Almighty, Omniscient and Omnipresent. The power to pro-

duce must precede production; and when it is directed to specific ends, and uniform modes of expression, it implies an antecedent purpose, and being present at all times and in all things, it becomes the All-knowing. If science is to solve the riddle of the universe, revealing to us its sources of power, its varying modes of manifestation, the phenomena of life in its uncounted forms, inert and lifeless matter, the evolution of mind from the senseless and mindless—its answer to these great problems must be more substantial than a theory, and more logical than a guess. Is it enough to say that matter the initial point on which it bases all its calculations, is eternal? This is an assumption that explains nothing, but renders more complex the riddle it seeks to unravel.

Can that of which science admits it knows nothing in its ultimate state—without form—without life—without intelligence—evolve from itself atoms and build them into worlds, change the inanimate into life, and produce a thinking, knowing, conscious being out of the dust? Creation and creative power transcends all finite comprehension, and can only be studied as facts, the nature and phenomena of which become the logical basis of reason and faith. "There are the invisible things that are only understood by the things that are made." The limitations of knowledge, the brief time for investigation, the complex character of nature and its riddles, prohibit our faith in many of the most positive conclusions of much that is called science. We are now offered a new solution of this wonderful and hitherto unsolved riddle.

Evolution has recently come to the front, and with much confidence offers itself to the world as the magic key by which creation and its processes are to be revealed and explained. What is this new doctrine? Only, after all, an old theory dressed up in new terms and honored with the addition of new names—names of men whose researches

justly entitle them to the admiration and confidence of the studious and thoughtful. The old and the new are found to be fundamentally alike, both in nature and in purpose—the new, a manifest instance of the evolution of thought and faith. Evolution is much more than a manifestation of power, for it not only reveals the fact of power, but also the kind of power. Science is not merely knowledge: it is knowledge especially arranged and has reference to general truths and principles on which facts and systems of facts are founded. Science, genuine science, is ascertained truth—that which is known—and it cannot be held to mean the same thing as the theories and speculations that are called by its name. The speculations of science are not always scientific, even when they come to us with the names and endorsements of great men. Evolution is now offered to us as a full and perfect explanation of the varied phenomena, both of matter and of mind, which, with their varied modes of manifestation, are only the objective expression of the same thing. In whatever form matter first existed, if the theory is true, it must have potentially contained the power to produce all the changes through which it has passed and is passing, all the marvelous life-cells of whose existence science assures us, and also all the varieties of life-forms and life-powers that are found in earth and sea and sky. In a plan of creation which extends from everlasting to everlasting, the unknown will ever be as the finite to the infinite, and hence, the most learned will never "know but in part."

The most that can be claimed for our modern evolutionists is the discovery of additional proofs of the uniform operations of the power by which the creative scheme has been unfolded, as our knowledge of nature and its laws has been increased. The exposures of the fallacies and errors in the dogmas of theology and science, are but the logical results of expanding thought and increasing knowledge, as critical study and diligent

research have made us more familiar with the plans and purposes of God. Increasing attention and enlarging knowledge will doubtless expose the weakness and fallacies of many of the positions now taken, and theories now confidently held, and much that is now regarded as science and scientific, will be relegated to the abandoned and effete positions of the past. This is scientific evolution applied to mind power and its achievements, and as the years come and go the contributions that each age shall make to the sum of knowledge, will constitute the foundation stone on which the great temple of truth is being builded. New thinkers will be born, and new facts and principles will be discovered, and of much that we now call science, and that is held in veneration because of the honored names that held and taught it, will be clearly written—"The former things are passed away."

Let all due honor be given to those who during the last century have diligently explored the mines of truth and have been making more plain the laws of inanimate and animate nature, and the plans by which God has disclosed His power and wisdom, before "He stretched out the empty places of the North, or His wisdom had laid the beams of the morning." But long ago, when as yet none of these wise men were, there were men of stalwart intellects and fertile brains, who had entered the same fields of thought and studied the same phenomena, and whose observations and conclusions had contributed much to the researches of modern evolution. The light of truth in all ages falls upon the thoughtful mind at about the same angle, if not with the same clearness and hence the phenomena of matter and mind, of natural and vital forces, have always arrested the attention of the world's best thinkers. Long before Humbolt and Haeckle, before Darwin and Huxley, before Wallace and Spencer had reached their conclusions and launched their theories upon the thinking world,

the Greeks had taught that all natural things sprang from certain primal elements which contained potentially all the forms of animal and vegetable life.

Anaximander held that animal life is begotten from the earth by heat and moisture, and that man, as we know him, came up through a long line of changing forms and is the product of countless transformations. Darwin's origin of Species, and Huxley's Man's Place in Nature, after all, are but the extended and enlarged theories of these early writers, modified by the progress of knowledge, colored by the light of accentuated observations, and dignified by the invention of new and more scholastic terms. Emmanuel Kant, who ranks amongst the most learned writers, held the theory of the mechanical origin of the universe, and that the different classes of organized life are all related through the processes of generation from a common germ.

If we read all that these masters of thought and students of nature have written, and carefully study the theories they held, it will be found that the doctrine of evolution, then and now, is fundamentally the same. If it is admitted that all forms of life originated in a primary germ or cell, yet we are still confronted by the origin of the germ and the mystery of the cell remains unsolved. Reason tells us that behind all phenomena there must be an initial cause from which have proceeded all the mutations of matter and all the gradations of life from monad up to man. If, running through the various forms of life there are found similar structural conditions and characteristics, which extend from the lowest even to the highest, the logical inference is not that the one was developed from the other, but rather that each and all are the product of one supreme originating cause. Forms of structure may be homologous in part or in whole—may correspond both in form and in function—and yet not have been developed or evolved from the other.

Life-power may indeed be one in principle, and yet be expressed in and through a multitude of widely different organizations. Deviation from typical forms may be due to conditions not contained in the antecedent life-force, but to the material conditions through which the vital forces act. Environment—the conditions which surround the beginning and unfoldment of life-forms—may advance or hinder their perfection, but it cannot create conditions of being not potentially contained in the germs or cells from which they were evolved.

Neither evolution nor law, nor environment, are creators of conditions but rather are the exponents of an antecedent power by which they are produced. Evolution means a power that evolves something—law implies a potency that controls and directs—and environment describes the external conditions or the surrounding circumstances when and where power is manifested.

If we begin our investigations at any point in the long line of life, from its earliest dawn up to its highest manifestation, the evidences that in all, there is an oneness of principle in the variety of manifestation, will increase as we advance. We will find, in all the forms of life, that the law of reproduction is invariably after its kind, though because of its environment, it may be varied from the original life type. These variations of form in the processes of evolution, have given rise to many and learned discussions upon the origin of species. It has been maintained on one hand, that the introduction of new species was by a special creative act; and on the other, that they are the natural results of the changing and advancing conditions of the vital force contained in the original life-

cell. Mr. Darwin and Mr. Huxley, Mr. Wallace and Mr. Spencer, Mr. Haeckle and Mr. Mivart, have each learnedly discussed this intricate problem, but their divergent and diversified opinions, indicate that there is much still to be known, even by scientists, before their conclusions can be deemed much more than a mere guess.

Errors and truth, theory and facts may be so blended and welded, that only the most critical study and careful analysis can detect the combination. Learning and ripe scholarship are good grounds for our confidence in the positions taken and the conclusions reached by men of science, but prejudice and pre-conceived opinions often blind even the most thoughtful to the logical results of their own tenets. Evolution, intelligently conceived, simply means God's way of doing things.

Whatever theories are held and whatever dogmas are maintained, it cannot be denied that lying beyond all our theories and behind all that is now claimed for evolution, there is a concealed potency that must have contained in itself all that is. The uniformity of method, the coöperation of forces in producing specific and beneficent ends so manifest everywhere, cannot fail to suggest to the careful student of nature that in all, and over all, there is a power and wisdom that extends from dust to Deity.

As we rise from the simple to the complex, the conviction of intelligent supervision increases, and the thoughtful and spiritual in faith and love will cheerfully join in the acclaim—"Great and marvelous are thy works, Lord, God Almighty, in wisdom hast Thou made them All." T. F. HILDRETH, A.M., D.D.

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK FOR THE COMING ELECTION

By HON. GEORGE FRED. WILLIAMS.

THE OPPORTUNITIES for the success of the Democratic party in the coming campaign seem better than they have been for sixteen years past. It has become the Democratic practice to say that no matter what divisions Republicans may have they always vote together on election day. This statement now needs qualification because for the first time in a half century the Republican party is divided on fundamental questions.

Mr. Roosevelt has raised an army of militant Republicans who intend that his radical policies shall be continued; while another mighty force in the party proposes to put an end to them; the contest is a desperate one and will be waged not only at the convention but at the polls.

Secretary Taft has fatal elements of weakness; he was the pioneer of the judiciary in discovering that the Interstate Commerce Law was an instrument for disarming labor unions when, for its real purposes, this act was practically moribund. Organized labor, therefore, will have a motive to oppose him which has never before affected a Republican candidate.

The drastic action of President Roosevelt and Secretary Taft in the Brownsville affair has probably alienated the colored vote throughout the country, and this vote may prove to be the balance of power in such states as Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Kansas, West Virginia, Oregon, Washington, Missouri, Montana, New Jersey, Rhode Island and possibly some other states. The opposition to the administration in New York is so intense that it is doubtful if Secretary Taft can carry this state.

The defeat of Secretary Taft is doubt-

less seriously planned by the conservative forces in the Republican party. The bitter attack by Governor Black at the Home Market Club indicates that the protected interests will be against him and these are the main source of the Republican campaign fund. The railroad and trust interests will also be marshaled against Secretary Taft.

It is thought by many that President Roosevelt is planning his own nomination, but this does not seem possible. The President has put his refusal upon the ground of deference to the anti-third-term principle, and, apart from this, he could not honorably put Mr. Taft into the field and then use his delegates for his own nomination; such purposes should not be lightly ascribed to the President.

It is likewise probable that if Secretary Taft can be defeated in the convention President Roosevelt would fall with him. There are indications that contested delegations will come from the South and the reactionary interests supposed to control the National Committee will probably use these contests to defeat Secretary Taft, and such a course, whether successful or not, would embitter the contest and create a mighty schism in the party.

Governor Hughes seems to be the alternative to Taft, but as he can only be nominated by the overthrow of the Roosevelt forces, there is every reason to believe that his candidacy would swing hundreds of thousands of Republicans into the Democratic column. The prospects, therefore, on the Republican side are doubtful. That this is appreciated by the Republicans themselves is evident from the numerous statements made by

the representatives of all the Republican factions that the contest this year is a doubtful one. No such confidence appears to exist among Republicans as enemies of Mr. Bryan in the Democratic party seem to entertain.

The Democratic situation presents a very different aspect. Not in the history of the party has there been such unanimity as now prevails in behalf of Mr. Bryan's candidacy. There appears also to be an enthusiasm in his behalf which has not been paralleled since the convention of 1896.

The politicians of Washington are agreed that Mr. Bryan is invulnerable as a candidate. The last stand of the reactionary elements in the Democratic party is apparently being taken upon Governor Johnson's candidacy. It is the current report that Mr. Hill and his railroad interests are behind the candidacy of Mr. Johnson. Governor Johnson's secretary, Mr. Day, and other friends attempted to push his candidacy in North and South Dakota and Wisconsin; they received no encouragement in North Dakota; secured the support of only two out of fifty-six of the South Dakota State Committee, and so failed in Wisconsin that Governor Johnson's name was not mentioned in the convention.

The efforts of Mr. Day, representing Governor Johnson, have aroused a contest in Minnesota led by the National committeeman from that state, Mr. T. T. Hunson, and there is some doubt whether Governor Johnson can secure his own delegation against Mr. Bryan in that state.

The candidacies of Judge Gray and Mr. Harmon appear to make no impression on the political situation. Mr. Bryan will probably be the nominee by acclamation of the Denver convention.

Never has he had the confidence and affection of the people as he now holds it. The admiration and respect which he aroused in all countries during his trip abroad have strengthened him in the estimation of the American people. His patriotism is believed by all men to be a supreme factor in his ambition, and his lofty private character and genuine Christianity have won the favor of many Republicans who did not appreciate his true character in 1896 and 1900.

The revelations of corruption in high finance and the immoral influences of our dominant commercialism have satisfied many honest Republicans that a man like Mr. Bryan would be a purifier of our social and political atmosphere. The methods of abuse and misrepresentation are no longer available to the opposition. The confidence in Mr. Bryan is increasing daily and probably no man in the history of our Republic has been as strong after defeat as Mr. Bryan has already shown himself to be.

The action of the banks in the recent panic has embittered many of our people and again reminded them that high finance has no patriotism and is an unrelenting despot.

There is a prevalent feeling that legitimate financial interests would be safer under Mr. Bryan than under President Roosevelt or one who represents his policies, and it is not unreasonable to believe that a vast number of our business men will turn to Mr. Bryan in the coming election.

Against a disrupted Republican party, the chances for success are most encouraging and upon Mr. Bryan's nomination, probably all internal opposition will cease and the Democrats of every state in the Union will rally enthusiastically to his support.

GEORGE FRED. WILLIAMS.

PERNICIOUS LAUDATION OF THE RICH.

BY HON. JOHN D. WORKS.

THERE is an unfortunate tendency, at this present time, to divide the people of this country into classes not based upon titles of nobility as in other countries which is bad enough, nor upon merit or standing, intellectually or morally, but upon the possession of wealth on the one part and the lack of it on the other. The man who possesses large stores of this world's goods, however obtained, is placed in one class, the man of intellectual attainments in another, and the man who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow in still another; and, unfortunately in the estimation of many, the man of money is placed above all others. Brain and brawn are at a discount as compared with gold.

The newspapers of the country are largely responsible for this elevation of money above the man, riches above worth, the display of wealth above intellectual attainments and nobility of character. The millionaire travels in his private car and the newspapers herald his coming and going with pictures of himself, his family, the servants and employes who wait upon him, and the car in which he travels, with nauseating detail and fulsome praise of his establishment and the wealth he displays. His every movement and what he says are chronicled with offensive detail and if he condescends to do things in the way of ordinary and less favored people, it is remarked upon as a condescension much to be wondered at and commended. The families of the rich display their wealth by flaunting the outward evidence of it in the faces of the supposedly less fortunate poor, and those who are without a surplus of material means. Their servants and attendants are put in a class below them by the menial uniforms or other garb they are required to wear.

The coachman on the box of the carriage displays his own degradation and the offensive display of the lordly gentleman or lady from whom he takes his orders, in gaudy habiliments which stamp him for what he is, a menial without independence of intellect or character, without the semblance of the independent American citizen. The members of the four hundred display their wealth and the characteristics of this supposedly favored class by lavish expenditures and useless extravagance often accompanied by conduct which, but for their wealth would bring them into merited contempt and put them in the lowest instead of the highest class, while the poor shiver with cold and cry for bread. The race track, the gilded saloons, the gambling hells are perpetuated and sustained by the rich, and bring ruin and sorrow to the poorer classes as well as degradation of character and impurity of life to themselves.

Does the general public resent this offensive and dangerous display and misuse of wealth? Is its degrading effect upon the institutions of the country and the lives and character of its people appreciated? Do we stop to think that the massing of great fortunes in the hands of those who make no better use of them than this is a dangerous menace to our free institutions and to the character and independence of our people? Not if we are to judge by the course of the average newspaper of the day or the fawning sycophancy of the times, which seeks to find favor and place with the rich, at the expense of self-esteem and the higher motives and instincts of true and independent manhood. The newspapers are constantly filled with the details of the movements, the display, the possessions, the personal appearance

and attractiveness of the rich, the undeserving as well as the deserving. Indeed the undeserving are given more space because their performances are more sensational and therefore more attractive to the morbid lovers of news of that character.

This laudation of the rich and publication of their excesses in the public press of the country, is one of the great evils of the times. It is an offense not only against the general public but against the worthy people who are struggling, conscientiously, with a burden of too much money, and endeavoring to make it a blessing to themselves and others instead of an evil. For there are the worthy rich as well as the worthy poor in spite of the many temptations of wealth. To such the newspapers laudation and impudent prying into and publication of their private affairs, personal appearance and traits of character, must be peculiarly distasteful and offensive. One of these, to whom public notice, so often accorded to the rich, is unwelcome and distasteful, is entitled to sympathy. To those possessing a surplus of this world's goods whether by inheritance or by their own honest endeavor or business sagacity, who are using that surplus for the relief of those less fortunate, or for the advancement of education or the dissemination of knowledge along right and practically-useful lines, a generous sense of gratitude and appreciation is due, the more so because of the great temptation either to add to the already overflowing store of riches or to expend their surplus unworthily in quest of their own material pleasures. These instances are, unfortunately for all concerned, comparatively few in number and stand out as conspicuous examples of generous manhood and womanhood in an age of sordid money-getting and money-worship.

One of the great evils of this pernicious laudation of the rich is its tendency to increase the desire to acquire wealth rather than the better and nobler things of life. The other side of the

story, the responsibilities, the burdens, the lack of satisfaction and contentment in extreme wealth, is rarely mentioned and little thought of. It is the glamour of riches, the opportunity and means it affords to gratify worldly passions and desires that are kept before those who know so little of the disappointments of such a life, the more substantial benefits of the simpler life of those who supply their needs by honest labor or right business methods and personal endeavor the corroding influence of idleness, the result of the lack of incentive to effort, and the tendency to regard as the only means of happiness the things that can be had only for money, to the exclusion of a more spiritual life, unselfish devotion to the good of others, and the doing of good works because they are good, and not for gain of money or material and worldly pleasure. By this constant laudation of the rich the weaker minded and less worthy of their number are made to feel that they are a class to themselves, superior to those who live by personal effort, the deserving rich are brought into disrepute or disrespect with right-minded people, those who cannot afford it are induced to emulate their extravagance and display, often to their disgrace and final ruin, making criminals of many of them; the poor are made discontented often revengeful in disposition, many of whom have cause, if they only knew it, to congratulate themselves that they are as they are and not as many of the rich are. To be "poor and contented is rich enough," and riches are often the cause of the most poignant discontent and unhappiness, breaking up families, separating husband and wife and dividing relatives and friends.

The possession of wealth should have no weight whatever in determining the worth of an American citizen or his standing in the community in which he lives. Its possession is as often as not a badge of dishonor, the material evidence of unworthy business methods, grasping avarice and disregard of the rights of

others. The man of wealth should be judged, not by what he has but by the means by which he acquired it and the use he is making of it. To advertise him to the world as something better than his fellows because of his large possessions and the display made of them, should be taken as a disparagement of him as a man and citizen and be so regarded by him. To praise him for his wealth and emulate his extravagant use of it, should be taken as proof that he has nothing better to praise, emulate or commend. What credit is it to any man that he has amassed a fortune? None. Much less is he to be commended if he is revelling in material pleasures and living a life of idleness on inherited wealth. There is something wrong in the make-up of a people who judge a man by the money or property he has accumulated. There is something wrong in the press of the country that holds up the rich as worthy of public notice simply because they are rich, and with the people who take pleasure in the newspaper laudation of such, as a class, and the details of the lives and doings of some of them which should cause any true American to bow his head in shame.

Socialism and anarchy are the legitimate outcome of the arrogance and display of wealth. The placing of one class in subserviency to another in a country where all men are guaranteed the equal rights of citizenship is certain to breed discontent among those who labor for a living, and violence on the part of the more ignorant or lawless. We decry the struggle and controversy between labor and capital, but it is less serious, the offenses of the unconstrained power of concentrated wealth against the laboring classes is not as prolific of evil and permanent injury to the institutions of a free country, as this asserted superiority of the rich to the poor and the growing tendency to make of it a class distinction. It is not so much that the rich are growing

richer and the poor poorer that we hear so much about, as that the rich are claiming to be superior to the poor, only because they are rich, and that this claim, so foreign to our form of government, grows in strength and arrogance as the rich grow richer and the poor poorer. It is aggravated too, by the subserviency of the less independent and self-respecting of the poorer classes to the claims of the less scrupulous rich and their willingness to look up to them as a class above them. This has resulted, in part, no doubt, from the importation into this country of the serfs of foreign nations, who neither know nor care to know the rights and advantages of independence. But the fault is not confined to the foreign element of our people. Too many native American citizens submit to this degradation with apparent willingness, to their shame be it said. It is not alone the tendency to build up classes, to separate the capitalist and the laborer in interest and sympathy one for the other, to create and foster discontent and anarchy, to elevate the rich, however undeserving, and degrade the poor, however worthy, it is the far-reaching and degrading effect on our people as a whole, on the entire body politic, of this placing of riches above honesty, industry, nobility of character; this mad scramble for money above everything else, that fans the flames of avarice, selfishness and greed, and smothers the finer feelings of love for our fellow-man, honesty in business, and unselfish generosity.

We cannot be blind to the fact that we have departed from the paths of rectitude, individual and civic purity and simplicity of life laid out for us by our forefathers, and which is so necessary to be followed if we are to preserve the integrity and purity of our lives and of our institutions as a free republic in which equal rights are guaranteed to all.

JOHN D. WORKS.

Los Angeles, California.

CHRIST, THE SICK AND MODERN CHRISTIANITY.

By B. O. FLOWER.

RECENTLY a number of leading monthly and daily journals, among them *The Century*, *The Outlook* and the *New York Times*, have devoted much space to the work of some well-known clergymen in Boston and Chicago in establishing medico-religious dispensaries in connection with their churches. Rev. Elwood Worcester and his associate, Rev. Samuel McComb of Emmanuel Episcopal Church of Boston, and the Rev. Samuel Fallows, Bishop of the Reformed Episcopal Church of Chicago, are the leading ministers engaged in the present attempt to harness medicine and theology in the same team. All these gentlemen have been at pains to explain their method of work, which has also been favorably presented by a leading Boston regular physician, Dr. Richard C. Cabot. In every explanation of their attempt to heal the sick by these leading representatives of orthodox Christianity, the clergymen and their friends have been at great pains to make clear the fact that they accept the position which the medical doctors are tardily admitting—namely, that a certain number of functional diseases may be cured by suggestion, but that the methods of *materia medica* should be relied on in all cases of organic disorders. And yet, singularly enough, all these priests belong to orthodox church fellowships whose historic attitude has been very clear in maintaining the inerrancy of the Scriptures and the Divinity of Christ. Hence the refusal to accept the Bible teachings in regard to the potential healing of "all manner of disease" by the realization of the supremacy of the spiritual over all material limitations and the substitution of a theory of the possible cure of a few diseases in which mental

suggestion is the chief therapeutic agent, throws into bold relief the practical repudiation of the position so strenuously maintained by the churches to which they belong. For when it is remembered that all the great orthodox churches hold to the doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the New Testament; that not only their millions unquestioningly accept this, but that it is in accordance with the creeds and the historic position of all these churches; when we further remember that the churches also hold that Christ is the very Son of God, never having a human father; that He is the second person of the Holy Trinity, the position so painstakingly taken by these orthodox clergymen to show that they do not believe in attempting to cure any disease unless a medical doctor has declared that the patient has no organic trouble, serves to emphasize in a startling manner the fact that modern orthodox Christians refuse to accept certain things which, if their position in regard to the inerrancy of the New Testament and the Divinity of Christ be true, must be accepted without question as binding on Christians—certain facts that it is infidelity to the teachings of the Nazarene to deny.

Not in years has the illogical and untenable position of the great orthodox faiths which hold to the dogma of the Trinity and the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures been thrown into such bold and startling relief as since the general agitation made by the advocates of the new union of clergymen and physicians in their effort to check the growth of Christian Science by religio-medical substitution for the position taken by Jesus and the Primitive Church and adhered to by the Christian Scientists.

By this we do not wish to imply that

Doctors Worcester and McComb and Bishop Fallows are sinners above others in this respect; but certain it is that their new religio-medical work and the explanation of their position have emphasized the fact that the great orthodox churches whose millions of adherents would drive from the pulpits clergymen who had the temerity to deny the inerrancy of the Scriptures, do not believe the very things they claim to be the Divine Word of God.

These strictures do not apply to the Unitarians or to the comparatively few liberal religious scholars whose research into the genesis of the New Testament writings has led them to reject the theory of the plenary inspiration of the Bible and to deny the miraculous conception and certain other parts of the New Testament. These persons may take the stand assumed by these clergymen to whom we have referred and yet be consistent.

But when we confront the great orthodox religious world, we find ourselves in the presence of dogmas that change the whole aspect of the case. The creeds or beliefs of every one of the great Trinitarian churches, whether Roman Catholic, or Protestant, hold that Jesus was the very Son of God, having no human father; that he is the second person of the to many incomprehensible Trinity; that He is divine—in fact, Deity. Furthermore, the great orthodox Christian churches believe in the inerrancy of the Scriptures. They profess to accept the wonder-stories of the miraculous conception and the miracles as truths whose literal verity is not to be questioned. While it follows as a necessary and inescapable sequence to the dogma of the Trinity and the inerrancy of the Scriptures, that the words of Jesus must be accepted as the utterances of Deity, and, of course, as absolutely binding on those who accept Him as God.

Now with these facts in mind, about which there is no controversy, let us look at the teachings of the Great Nazarene in regard to life and death, sickness and

health, and their necessary implications as to the supremacy of the spiritual over the physical.

Jesus, according to the testimony of the authors of the Gospels, made no distinction between functional and organic diseases. Indeed, no fact is clearer than that to him all idea of physical causation was subordinate to the idea of spiritual supremacy. He made no class distinctions, such as those in the orthodox churches are to-day making in their attempt to cure disease in what they claim to be the Primitive Christian way. To Him the organic disease was no less amenable to cure through spiritual recognition of man's oneness with God and the dominion which He believed to be resident in the children of the All-Father who had been created in the image and likeness of God, when they recognized or realized their own divine nature and their oneness with God, than were functional disorders. Leprosy, congenital blindness and other diseases that by no stretch of the imagination could be called "merely functional," as well as the raising of those pronounced by the physicians dead. Thus we find that the ruler's daughter who had been laid out in death, the son of the widow of Nain who was being borne to the cemetery, and Lazarus who had been three days in the grave, responded as readily to the prayer of faith and understanding as did those afflicted with palsy, lameness and disorders that might be classed as functional.

If in the presence of these three cases of death we are met with the objection that they were merely instances of suspended animation, trance or pseudo-death; that the doctors had blundered and pronounced dead and the undertakers were burying or had buried the living; that these instances were merely the same mistakes that physicians are liable to make, the answer is that we are considering this question now only from the view-point of orthodox Christianity; so such excuses are no excuses, for the

supposed inspired writers declared the persons to have died, and in the case of Lazarus Jesus Himself declares that he was dead.

One step further. Jesus was, according to the Gospels, crucified, pierced in the side, buried, and on the third day rose from the dead. No trance or functional screen will serve here to shelter those who hold to the inerrancy of the Scriptures. What then? We are told that Jesus was a very God; He was the Lord of Life and health, and we must not question what He said or did, but that He did things which it was and is impossible for His disciples to do. Very well. Let us advance another step. Jesus, we are told, sent out His twelve chosen students or apostles and commanded them to "heal all manner of sickness and all manner of disease."*

Nor did He stop here. He further commanded them to "heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils."† And the apostles did as commanded.

Did these grave organic and so-called incurable diseases, like leprosy, yield to the prayer of understanding? Luke tells us that "they went through the towns, preaching the gospel, and healing everywhere."‡

Ah, but we are now told that the apostles were peculiarly set apart by Christ for their special work of furthering His church and being His representatives when He left. To them was given special power. This brings us to a third consideration.

Jesus did not seem to believe that any special gift of healing, such as cleansing the lepers and even raising the dead, was confined to Him or to His twelve apostles. In fact, there is nothing in the teachings of Jesus more explicit than that the gift of healing was to be a mark of discipleship, and we are taught clearly His idea that God was a God of the

living and not of the dead; that the Lord of Life was all-powerful and that it was not His will that any should suffer; that the All-Father was omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, all in all, and that those who came *en rapport* with Him, who learned to understand or realize their sonship with the God of whom they were the reflection or image, could accomplish all things and gain whatsoever they asked, so long as their hearts were pure and they kept *en rapport* with the Divine life or the great Source or reservoir of Life and Love. For we are told that after this Jesus sent out other seventy and commanded them, when they entered a town, to "heal the sick that are therein."§ Moreover, the seventy appear to have been quite as successful as the twelve apostles, for we are told that "the seventy returned again with joy, saying, Lord, even the devils are subject unto us through thy name."||

Nor will it do to attempt to juggle with the facts by claiming that Christ only delegated this power to those with Him during His earthly ministry; for His teachings and the subsequent New Testament narratives and injunctions, as well as the chronicles of the early Church, are all against this position. Moreover, what words in the Bible are plainer or more explicit than these from Mark, which it is represented were the final injunction of Christ after His resurrection and immediately before His ascension: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. . . . And these signs shall follow them that believe: In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues. They shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover."¶

Again, Christ's teachings in regard to prayer are equally explicit and reveal the

*Matthew, 10: 1.

†Matthew, 10: 8.

‡Luke, 9: 6.

§Luke, 10: 9.

||Luke, 10: 17.

¶Mark, 16: 15, 17, 18.

same overmastering belief or conviction on His part that those who came *en rapport* with the Divine Life, with the spiritual dynamo of the universe which we call God, became so spiritually positive that their supremacy over material limitations was absolute. On one occasion He said: "Therefore I say unto you, What things soever ye desire, when ye pray, believe that ye receive them, and ye shall have them."*

Again He says: "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you."†

The early Church history as chronicled in the Acts of the Apostles is almost as rich in instances of cures of almost all manner of diseases, and even of the raising of the dead, as is the story of the life of Christ and His earthly ministry. Thus we find, for example, the case of the congenital cripple who had never been able to walk a step and who was daily borne to the gate Beautiful of the Temple to ask alms, and whom Peter instantly cured through a realization of the supremacy of the spiritual;‡ the case of Æneas, instantly cured by Peter after he had been bed-ridden for eight years with palsy;§ and the still more wonderful case of Tabitha, or Dorcas, who had died and had been laid out in the upper chamber ready for burial, when it occurred to her friends to notify the apostle Peter, who immediately repaired to the house of mourning, and in answer to his prayer she was restored whole and well to her friends.||

Again, in the case of the man at Lystra, another congenital cripple, we have the description of a life that had never known what it was to walk, instantly, in obedience to the august declaration of the Apostle Paul, leaping and walking, to the amazement of the people, who declared in their wonder that the Gods

had come down in the likeness of men.*

During the ministry of Paul in Asia, as he journeyed from city to city, his demonstrations of the spiritual power over disease everywhere enabled him quickly to spread the Gospel. He is related to have cured various diseases, and even insanity, by absent treatments.† The young man Eutychus, who fell from the third loft and was taken up dead, it is reported was restored by the Apostle Paul.‡

The demonstration of the power of the apostle's thought over the venom of the viper is also described in the story of Paul gathering the bundle of sticks, when a viper came out and fastened on his hand, but he shook it off into the fire and felt no harm; and when the natives beheld that instead of his body swelling and his falling down dead, he suffered no harm, they believed him to be a god.§ And this narration is followed by the account of the cure of the father o, Publius, the chief man of the island¶ who was stricken with bloody flux.||

The apostle James makes the positive and unequivocal declaration that "the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up."‡ Here, it will be noted that the supremacy of the spiritual over the material limitations is as clearly stated as it was in the passage from Mark, where Christ is represented as commanding His disciples to accompany their preaching with the healing of the sick, and where He distinctly declares that the sign of discipleship will be the power to demonstrate the supremacy of health over disease by the appeal from matter to the spirit or to God.

From what we find in the Acts of the Apostles and in the teachings of the New Testament, and from other chronicles relating to the Primitive Church before it became corrupted, it is apparent

*Mark, 11: 24.

†Matthew, 7: 7.

‡Acts, 3: 6-8.

§Acts, 9: 33, 34.

||Acts, 9: 36, 39, 41.

*Acts, 14: 8-10.

†Acts, 19: 12.

‡Acts, 20: 9.

§Acts, 28: 3-6.

||Acts, 28: 8-9.

¶James, 5: 15.

that the apostles, the early preachers and the early Christians all alike took Jesus seriously and did precisely what He so solemnly commanded, and that their power was no less potent or pronounced than Jesus'. Indeed, to those who believe in the inerrancy of the Scriptures and who hold that Jesus was divine and therefore not a victim of illusion, it would seem that there is no escaping the conclusion that Christ held that diseases of all kinds, organic no less than functional, were absolutely subservient to spiritual domination. He knew no distinction between functional and organic in the treatment of disease. He did not believe, as we have seen, that cures through the recognition of what He believed to be the omnipotent power of a God of Love, were limited to any kind of disease. Furthermore, He did not believe that the power to cure disease or to make man recognize his spiritual supremacy or essential divinity, was owing to any peculiar power resident in Himself. Indeed, He expected greater things from His disciples, if they remained faithful to His teachings and to the recognition of the spiritual law which He held to be supreme. For He says on one occasion: "He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do."* He believed that the more men came *en rapport* with Deity or in at-one-ment with God, the greater would be the recognition of their rightful power or the dominion which the Creator had given to man, and that with that recognition would come more and more complete supremacy over all physical conditions. Christ never seemed conscious of any limiting laws which prevented victory, save the lack of a realizing sense of God's power or dominion, given to His children when He created them in His image and likeness. Only the unbelief in spiritual supremacy, the materialistic thought that environed Him, and the complete dominance of

sense perception that He encountered on every hand were regarded by Christ as obstacles to the manifestation of victory over all forms of disease and unhappy conditions. That He Himself felt the effect of this unbelief born of materialism, and the necessity of His at times getting away from its deadly atmosphere, is abundantly indicated in the Gospels. Thus we find that in certain places Christ could do no mighty works because of the unbelief of the people.

Again, how real must have been His realization of the need of spiritual strength which led Him to withdraw at night alone into the mountains to pray—that is, to commune with the Infinite Father and realize His oneness with God.

On one occasion the disciples could not cure a case of so-called obsession, or what modern physicians would term insanity in a violent form. Christ promptly cured the case, and in answer to the disciples' question as to the reason why they were unable to effect the cure, Jesus did not claim any special power resident in Himself, but intimated that He had simply gained greater power, through spiritual absorption and prayer, than they possessed; that is, that through prayer He had come more completely *en rapport* with the divine or spiritual reservoir of Life and Love. These and other passages that might be cited prove clearly that in Christ's consciousness there was no question but what through holiness and spiritual supremacy man could come so into oneness with God as to reflect the supreme spiritual truth and overcome inharmony, disease and unhappy conditions incident to the material life.

Recently Dr. McComb in a paper in *The Century* referred somewhat slightly to those who are to-day treating disease as Jesus, His apostles and the early Christians are represented as doing, by referring to their method as one "in which men and women are treated as if they were disembodied spirits." "We distinguish," he continues, referring to

*John, 14: 12.

himself and his theological associates, "with science, between 'organic' and 'functional' disorders, and we believe that the legitimate sphere for moral and psychical methods is that of functional and not organic."

The Rev. Dr. Worcester, rector of Emmanuel Church and head of the medico-religious dispensary to which we have referred, shows what the modern orthodox churches, that have been forced to take notice of the amazing growth of Christian Science, due largely to the thousands of cures effected after physicians had passed the death sentence on the patients, offer in lieu of the clear, positive and direct teachings of Jesus and their result in His ministry and in the early church, if orthodox Christianity is correct in regard to the inerrancy of the New Testament. Dr. Worcester in the *New York Times* recently said in referring to their work:

"By turning over to doctors those persons who require medical treatment we have not only lost no patients, but almost all of those whom we have treated ourselves have been greatly benefited, and many have recovered entirely.

"The functional nervous disorders treated by us at Emmanuel Church include neurasthenia, hysteria, psychasthenia, mild melancholia, fixed ideas, phobias, and bad habits.

"One important part of our work has been the treatment of alcoholism both in men and women; also drug habits, sexual perversion, etc."

Rev. Samuel Fallows of the Reformed Episcopal Church is another orthodox clergyman who has come into prominence by an effort to mix Christian healing with modern medical practice. In the *New York Herald* Rev. Dr. Fallows recently said:

"My treatment is no secret.

"I first employ the psychic method—I give human suggestions and persuasion. I appeal to the reason, and thus encourage the troubled and hopeless. I iterate and reiterate certain common-sense ideas,

until the sub-consciousness of the individual before me is reached.

"I used the best of Christian Science and the best of *materia medica*. . . . Linking the curative principle included in Christ's teachings with the best in medicine, I think I have found the most hopeful of all remedies, for hope is revived and confidence restored."

Now certain facts in this connection are worthy of consideration. The orthodox church as such upholds the inerrancy of the New Testament and claims that Christ was God in human form; yet its practice clearly proves that it either does not believe that Christ spake wisely or truthfully when He taught and commanded His disciples to cure "the lepers" and "all manner of disease," or else it does not believe in the inerrancy of the Scriptures.

If these men will come out frankly and take the position of the Unitarians or that of the liberal religious leaders who reject the doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, if they will say to the world that they do not believe the alleged miracles were ever wrought, upon which the Christian faith has been so largely nourished through the ages, then their stand will be consistent. But all those churches which hold to the divinity of Christ and the inerrancy of the Scriptures, and refuse to accept the teachings of the New Testament in regard to the cure of disease as taught by Jesus, are discrediting Christ and His claims by their recreancy in regard to these things.

One of the many eulogistic articles that have recently been written concerning the work of Emmanuel Church appeared in *The Outlook*. It was from the pen of Dr. Richard C. Cabot, the well-known Boston physician. At the outset the good doctor says something that is eloquently suggestive as to the reason that has led to this sudden harnessing together of religion and medicine by the two professions that for over twenty years have ridiculed Christian

Science as crazy idealism. He says: "Partly because the church has lost its interest in the human body, and partly because the doctors have lost their interest in everything else, comes Christian Science, and triumphs."

Here we have the secret of this belated religio-medical activity. Dr. Cabot points out the fact that: No one can be treated at Emmanuel Church without the diagnosis and approval of a physician. Each patient brings a letter from his physician, or, if he has none, is referred for examination to one of the physicians of the parish, who have agreed to examine, free of charge, all who apply for admission to the Health Class. If the patient is found to have no organic disease and to be otherwise suitable for psychical treatment, he is then taken in charge by Dr. Worcester, Dr. McComb, or one of their assistants."

Of the remedial means resorted to "suggestion," he observes, "is the one most used."

Dr. Cabot further states that he has studied the records of the cases treated between March, 1907, and November of the same year, a period of seven months. He found that there had been 178 cases taken. All, of course, were persons whom the physicians had declared to be affected merely with functional disorders. Of this number, 82 were treated for neurasthenia; 24 for insanity; 18 for fears and fixed ideas; 22 for alcoholism; 10 for sexual neuroses; 5 for hysteria; and 17 miscellaneous. Of this number, 55 appear to have dropped out of sight, as the reports show that the results of the treatment in these cases are unknown. Most of them probably received little or no benefit, or they would most likely have reported results. Forty-eight were known not to have been improved. Twenty-eight reported slight improvement, and 47 were much improved. Thus it will be seen that 103 were either not improved at all or did not see fit to report results; 28 were but slightly helped, making a total of 131; while 47

were much improved. We are glad to know that Dr. Cabot and the reverend gentlemen who are at the head of this movement feel much encouraged at the above results following these sifted cases of persons who were only suffering from functional diseases, although to us the results seem surprisingly meager. From our observations we are thoroughly convinced that if Christian Science treatment of the sick had not been far more successful, this church would never have made such surprising and steady gain in America; yet it must be remembered that Christian Scientists take Jesus' words and the statements given in the Bible in regard to disease, quite seriously. They believe He was neither untruthful nor ignorant; that He meant what He said when He declared that the healing of the sick in His name was one of the signs that marked His discipleship. They believe the Bible record of the cures made by Jesus, the apostles, the seventy and the early Christians after Christ, to be historical verities which prove the truth of Jesus' teachings in regard to sickness. And to the thousands and tens of thousands of persons who have been cured after regular physicians have failed to benefit them, and in numbers of cases after the regular doctor had pronounced a death sentence on them, their cures, together with the new exalted faith and moral enthusiasm that they have derived from the new understanding of the Christ truth, have led to a belief that the founder of Christian Science has rediscovered the truth which Jesus taught, lived, practiced, and which was a priceless heritage of the church before the days of Constantine,—a heritage that largely explains the rapid spread of primitive Christianity.

But to return to the central thought of this paper. Do the millions of orthodox Christians who accept plenary inspiration and the Divinity of Christ, and do the ministers of the churches whose creeds teach these things, carry the sign that Jesus declared should prove them

His disciples? Do they attempt to do as He solemnly commanded them to do in the presence of sickness? There can be but one truthful answer to this question. Even those who are driven by the rapid growth of Christian Science to do something, adopt a method that frankly discredits Jesus' theory and claim and the results that are said to have followed His treatment and that of His disciples. Jesus commanded the disciples to heal "all manner of disease," to "cleanse the lepers" and raise the dead; and if the Bible report is true, the Nazarene and His disciples during the life of Christ on earth and after the establishment of the Christian Church, did these things. Organic disease was as quickly and successfully met as were functional disorders, if the records of the New Testament are trustworthy, and if the Bible, as the great orthodox world claims, is inerrant,

there can be no question on this point. Hence is it not perfectly clear that the attitude of orthodox Christianity to-day in regard to the treatment of the sick indicates all but universal infidelity to the long-cherished and defended theological position of the orthodox churches touching plenary inspiration and the Divinity of Christ? And if the Bible is to be taken as the very Word of God, it necessarily must be true. If Christ is the very Son of God, He would not have been ignorant of the laws of life. This, it seems, ought to be a very solemn thought for the millions who think they believe in the inerrancy of the Bible and the Divinity of Christ. It may also help them to understand one great reason for the astonishing growth of Christian Science during the last two decades.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Massachusetts.

A SOCIALIST'S DEFINITION OF SOCIALISM.

BY CARL D. THOMPSON,

Social-Democratic Member of the Wisconsin State Legislature.

WE HAVE had Socialism defined and described by its critics and its enemies in nearly every magazine and newspaper in America. It is no more than fair to the non-Socialist readers to say nothing of fairness to the millions of Socialists in the world to have Socialism defined by the Socialists themselves.

It is a well-known fact that the enemies of a cause never state its purpose or program fairly. The critic, though he states facts, may nevertheless so arrange those facts and so emphasize certain ones and so omit others as to entirely distort the whole and mislead the reader.

Socialism, after all, is a relatively simple, definite and clear proposition. And yet we have the amusing spectacle of

philosophers, magazine writers, thinkers and critics attempting to tell their readers and hearers what Socialism is, and adding confusion worse confounded to the chaotic ideas already abroad.

Socialism is a principle offered as a guide for political procedure in our present social and economic conditions. It is not a set, unalterable program to be forced upon society. And the principle is this: Whenever in the development of economic institutions such as the railway, mines, manufactures, telegraph, express or the like, these institutions reach a point where their private ownership enables the owner to exploit the people—then they should be socialized—publicly owned and operated

The final purpose of Socialism is to eliminate from society all unearned incomes. In order that each member of society may have for his own that amount of wealth which is the result of his own individual effort, it is absolutely necessary to eliminate such unearned incomes. The task of Socialism, therefore, is to trace all these unearned incomes through all the intricate and complex processes of our present economic life back to their sources; to discover the methods by which they arise, and the means by which they may be stopped.

Now it is pretty generally understood and admitted that unearned incomes arise from one or another sort of monopoly privilege. Reduced to its last analysis this rests upon some form of private ownership of some form of public utility. It is the purpose of Socialism to discover every utility that gives rise to an unearned income and when so discovered to apply to it the principle of public ownership, and thus, by the reduction of the cost of the service to those who use it, and the increase of wages to those who work upon it gradually eliminate the unearned incomes.

Non-Socialists do not agree to this. They agree only this far, that certain conspicuous fortunes have been unjustly amassed. They agree, for example, that such fortunes as those of Rockefeller, Gould, Harriman, Morgan and the like should be limited. They do not see that *all unearned incomes* are unjust and should be eliminated. This is the fundamental difference between Socialists and non-Socialists.

Furthermore, as Socialists, we are willing to concede the difficulty of determining absolutely the point at which some certain forms of property in their development may become social in their nature and require the application of public ownership. But we deny that it is necessary to be able to draw this line of demarcation since there are so many conspicuous and unquestionable examples of the private ownership of public utilities

that are building up vast fortunes drawn from the life and labor of the common people. Furthermore, many forms of property are in process of transition and may to-day be of such a nature as to produce little, if any, unearned income, which under changed circumstances and new conditions may become the sources of such incomes. Therefore there may be certain forms of property that do not require the application of public ownership *now*, which may later on. This is the case in the land and machinery of the small farmer as I shall show later.

The point to emphasize is that Socialism is a *principle* the application of which is to be made wherever and whenever unearned incomes arise, and this principle is to be progressively applied as rapidly as possible and to be carried as far as necessary in order to eliminate all unearned incomes and guarantee to every individual the full products of his toil of whatever kind it may be.

With this principle in mind Socialism may be broadly defined as democracy plus collectivism. These two terms need perhaps a word of explanation and definition in order to make our meaning clear.

Socialism, it is true, has always been presented as a working-class movement. But in this connection it should be understood that by working-class is meant not merely the manual laborer, but all of the people who render a useful service and live by reason of their own personal efforts of one kind or another. "We call ourselves the labor party," says Liebknecht, "because the vital interest and the strength of numbers of the working class alone have the power to establish the order aimed at by Socialism. And mark well, under working people we do not understand merely the hand workers, *but every one who does not live on the labor of another*. Besides the city and country laborers must be included also the small farmers and traders which groan under the burden of capital, even as the laborers do. Yes; in many cases

yet more. There are hundreds of small masters who are obliged on Saturday to run about for hours in order to borrow the week's pay for their workers, and who are happy if their profit is equal to the wages of a factory laborer."

Let it be clearly understood therefore, that the Socialists always include, under the term working class, all the useful members of society.

Furthermore, although Socialism is distinctly a class movement, and is always so presented, it must not be overlooked that the victory of Socialism will in its nature put an end to all classes and all class-rule. Socialism does not create class struggle. It only reckons with it as a fact, and force which must be dealt with and used as the means for putting an end to the struggle. But as the Socialist movement comes into power, its victory means the victory of Democracy. "In place of the present class-rule, we will institute a free government of the people. A clear statement of our program stamps as a slander the assertions of our opponents that Socialism will secure the ruling power in the state for the labor class. We have already said that the idea of mastery is above all undemocratic and consequently in opposition to the principles of Socialism. All demands for liberty made by democracy are likewise demands of the Social-Democracy."*

"Social-Democracy means the rule of the people in the providence of the social relations of men as well as in that of politics; the just, wise, dignified arrangement of state and society."†

"The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class to win the battle of Democracy."‡

This, then, constitutes the first essential element of Socialism. To use phrases which are familiar to American people

the first and fundamental element in the program of Socialism is to establish as a reality "a government of the people, by the people and for the people," and then to extend that government to the social and economic affairs of the world.

As details for the accomplishment of this principle, the Socialists stand for universal, equal and direct suffrage wherever that is not already in effect; for direct-legislation by the people including the initiative, referendum, right of recall and proportional representation; for the merit system in the administration of collective or governmental institutions.

Who, then, need fear Socialism? Only those who fear democracy.

The second element of Socialism above referred to is collectivism. Under this term we mean to include the collective or common ownership of such of the means of production and distribution as are social and monopolistic in nature. The monopolies and trusts, and all private ownership of such public utilities as give rise to the exploitation of the people, are to be progressively taken over by the municipalities, states or nation and henceforth owned by the people and operated in the interests of all.

From this the position of the Socialists on the question of private property will be clear. Socialists the world over are the most firm and consistent defenders of private property. They all believe in it and always have.

But we believe that in order to guarantee every individual private property in the products of his labor, it is necessary to abolish the private ownership of public utilities. Socialism then would establish the public ownership of all public utilities and leave all personal wealth and all lesser instruments of production so long as they are individually used, in the hands of individual owners.

Socialism by no means contemplates that the government should own everything. Nor does it propose that *all* the means of production and distribution should be owned by the state.

*Liebknecht, *Socialism; What It is and What It Seeks to Accomplish*. P. 8.

†Ibid, p. 4.

‡Communist Manifesto.

This last proposition seems to be the most common stumbling block of our critics. The writer of a recent article in this magazine tried to show that the difference between the single tax and Socialism was at this point. The Socialists, he claimed, stood for the common ownership of *all* the means of production and distribution, while the single-taxer stood for the common ownership of only those utilities which were public or social in their nature. But as a matter of fact, the Socialists do not and never have stood for the public ownership of *all* the means of production and distribution. A spade, a wheel-barrow, a horse and wagon, a carpenter's set of tools, are all means of production. Yet no scientific Socialist ever dreamed that these should be collectively owned.

We go farther. Even the lesser means of production such as farmer's tools, small independent factories and little stores, so long as they are used by their individual owners as their means of wealth production need not be socialized in order to carry out the principle of Socialism.

Our critics do not seem to be able to get this into their minds, and seem strangely reluctant to admit this point. Professor Parsons, for example, refuses to admit it after it is shown to him. In his article on "The Truth at the Heart of Capitalism and Socialism" in the January *ARENA*, he insists that the Socialists *do* stand for the collective ownership of *all* means of production and distribution, in spite of the fact that Professor Will, one of our well-known American Socialists, and a very scholarly man, had pointed out in the October, 1906, issue of *THE ARENA*, that neither the Socialist platform of the Socialist party in this or any other country, nor the authoritative writers here or in Europe have ever taken that stand. And yet Professor Parsons insists upon it and adds in a footnote Professor Will's idea that small competitive industries which have not been consolidated into big monopolies should be left under individual

competitive management is rank heresy from the standpoint of orthodox socialism."

The Professor is entirely mistaken. The purpose of Socialism from the first has never been as he states. Even Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto say distinctly: "We by no means intend to abolish this personal appropriation of the products of labor. All that we want to do away with is the miserable character of this appropriation under which the laborer lives merely to increase capital, and is allowed to live only in so far as the interest of the ruling class requires it." And farther on, "You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. You reproach us, therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is, the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society." "All that it (Socialism) does is to deprive the individual of the power to subjugate the labor of others by means of such appropriation." In other words, from the first, the purpose of Socialism is to prevent the exploitation of labor through the appropriation of unearned incomes.

And from the time of Marx down to the present, there has not been a single writer of the scientific, Socialist movement who has not held distinctly to this position.

Karl Kautsky who represents perhaps the most radical and advanced element of the Socialist movement of Germany says distinctly in his pamphlet, *The Socialist Republic*:*

"Moreover, not only does Socialist production not require the confiscation of non-productive wealth—it does not even require the social ownership of all instruments of production.

*P. 32.

"That which renders the Socialist system necessary is *large production*. Production in common requires common ownership of the means of production. For the same reason that private ownership in the implements of labor is repugnant to the system of production in common when carried on in large production, so likewise would common ownership in the instruments of labor be repugnant where production can, and must necessarily, be carried on by separate individuals. *Production in such cases requires the private ownership by the worker of his tools*. There are industries that are still carried on upon this small and individual system, and which tend to be absorbed by larger ones. The transformation of these into social industries, in other words, the transformation of the instruments requisite to them into social property, would be a matter of policy, to be determined in each case by its special circumstances. With regard to these industries, it were senseless to make any sweeping declaration except that, speaking generally, the nationalization of such instruments of production would be purposeless; the aim of Socialism is to place in the hands of the producer the requisite implements of labor."

Or, again, a French Socialist writer, DeVille, says, "The only property that Socialism wishes to transform is the property no longer made use of by the individual owners thereof."

This principle of private ownership of such means of production as are not public in their nature, is well illustrated in the discussion by Socialist thinkers of the question of agriculture. Emil Vandervelde, the brilliant leader of the Belgium Socialist movement, speaking on Socialism, and the Capitalistic transformation of agriculture, quoted in Ensor's *Modern Socialism*, says: "From the point of view of distribution Socialism (which aims at uniting in the same hands property and labor) has no fault to find with peasant property (that is, the private

ownership by the small farmer of his land and machinery). In this case there is a wedlock of property and labor. The cultivator is drawing from his instrument of labor—what he produces as the result of his labor; and from that *all Socialists agree in saying that there is no ground for bringing pressure to make peasant property come into the public domain.*"

Or again, Karl Kautsky, in his *Social Revolution*, speaking on the "Remnants of Private Property in the Means of Production," says, distinctly: "It is not to be expected that all small private industries will disappear in this manner (by transformation to public ownership). This will be especially true in agriculture. . . . The proletarian governmental power would have absolutely no inclination to take over such little businesses. As yet no Socialist who is to be taken seriously has ever demanded that the farmers should be expropriated, or that their fields should be confiscated. It is much more probable that each little farmer would be permitted to work on as he has previously done."* . . . The struggle of Socialism "is not directed against the little people that are themselves exploited, but against the great exploiters."†

"Along with agriculture, the small industry in business comes into consideration. This also need not completely disappear at once. . . . It may be granted that the small industry will have a definite position in the future (under Socialism) in many branches of industry that produce directly for human consumption."

"Nothing is more false than to represent the Socialists society as a simple, rigid mechanism whose wheels must run on continuously in the same manner. The most manifold forms of property in the means of production—national, municipal, coöperatives of consumption and production, and private, can exist

*P. 159.

†P. 162.

beside each other in a Socialist society."

"The same manifold character of economic mechanism that exists to-day is possible in a Socialist society. Only the hunted and the hunting, the annihilated and being annihilated of the present competitive struggle are excluded and therewith the contrast between exploiter and exploited."*

Jean Jaures, famous leader of the French Socialist movement, in his "Studies in Socialism," discussing the question of method, says, "I am convinced that in the revolutionary evolution, which is to lead us to communism (Socialism), *we shall have for a long time* the juxtaposition of collectivist property, and individualist property, of communism (Socialism) and capitalism. This is the fundamental law of great transformations."†

Indeed every authoritative writer, as well as every platform expression of the Socialist movement anywhere in the world, emphasizes the above position.

This ought to be sufficient to end once for all the absurd criticism that Socialism does not allow of private property.

Indeed, it is well understood by Socialists everywhere that the new social order which they seek to establish will have at least three different forms of the tenure of property: (1) public ownership of public utilities; (2) private ownership of non-competitive and non-monopolistic property; and, (3) to this may be added the coöperative ownership and operation of some forms of industries by coöperative societies. This latter form of property is especially well developed already by the Socialist movement in Belgium.* It is also being developed in nearly every other section of the European Socialist movement.

And all of this is perfectly consistent with the principles of Socialism as understood and taught by the Socialists of to-day. Indeed no other interpretation of Socialism is possible

CARL D. THOMPSON.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

LINCOLN'S MESSAGE TO YOUNG MEN.†

BY PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS, PH.D.

A BRAHAM LINCOLN was born in a log cabin in Kentucky. As a boy he had a life of poverty and hardship. Without the aid of wealth or pull of any kind, without a college training or any education to speak of except what he got for himself by well-directed reading and experience, and in spite of a homeliness that was almost phenomenal, he became an honored and successful lawyer, member of the legislature and member of Congress, and finally rose to be President of the United States.

**Social Revolution*, pp. 158-167.

†P. 146.

‡Address by Professor Parsons in Fanueil Hall on Lincoln's Birthday, 1908, to the Federation of Boys' Clubs.

How did he do it? Why did Lincoln rise from poverty and adversity to the highest honor in the gift of man? What were the causes of his success? What is the inspiration his life has for us?

First: Lincoln developed his bodily powers. He worked hard; got plenty of fresh air; ate plain, wholesome food, and lived a simple, clean, natural life. He did not weaken his body and mind with liquor or tobacco, or late hours, or any other form of dissipation or evil habit.

Second: He cultivated his mind by careful, well-planned and persistent reading and observation. He had less than one full year in school and there were no

**Social Unrest*, Brooks, Chapter XI.

libraries within his reach in his young manhood. But he managed nevertheless to get some good strong books, and after his hard day's work was done, he read them by the light of a pine knot on the hearth. And he did not read carelessly, as so many do to-day, running quickly through a book and throwing it aside for another without attempting to master anything. Lincoln digested what he read. He picked out the most important things, wrote them down and went over and over them until they were fixed in his memory and became a part of his mental make-up. So he put the strength of each book into his life.

Third: Lincoln took care to develop the elements of character that make for success and well being. He observed that in the long run men of industry and honor, care, promptness, reliability, persistence, open-mindedness, generous sympathy and lofty purpose, won the highest success and the fullest respect of their fellow men. He learned also that genuine service, useful work well done, and the friendship, love and approbation of right thinking men and women are the keys to happiness. So he cultivated the virtues that make for strong, fine lovable character—the virtues he admired in others—while trying to avoid the defects he disliked in others. In short, he did his best to develop in himself the highest type of manhood of which he was capable.

One of the most valuable traits, next to the sterling qualities above mentioned, is the love of humor—the appreciation of a joke and the ability to make one. Lincoln cultivated humor. He always saw the funny side of things as well as the common sense and the right and wrong of everything that came his way. He accumulated a fund of humorous stories and used them to entertain his friends and to illustrate and illumine the points he made in argument. The power thus developed to weld logic and fun together became one of the leading elements in his popularity and success. The habit of humor became so strong that even in

the midst of the war, weighed down by cares and anxieties such as have rarely pressed upon any man, he kept his sweetness and was seldom out of touch with any bit of fun or frolic or possibility of humor the occasion might afford. Many stories of his wit are told. For instance, they asked him one day, "How long ought a man's legs to be?" and he said at once: "They ought to be long enough to reach from his body to the ground." One day a government clerk split the seat of his trousers and they started a subscription to buy him another pair. When the paper came to Lincoln, he wrote: "I can give nothing for the end in view."

Fourth: Lincoln studied himself. He cultivated the ability to stand off and look at himself as he would look at another person. He learned that value of calm self-judgment. He was not afraid to look himself in the eye. He tried to see himself as others saw him. He obeyed the twelfth commandment, "Know thyself." He analyzed his thoughts, motives, ambitions, strong points, limitations and possibilities, and endeavored to form impartial judgments about himself. So habitual did this attitude of mind become that he was able to receive and appreciate criticisms of himself very much as if they were made about a third person. One of the stories that illustrate this side of Lincoln's character is as follows: A man who wanted a favor from the Government was referred by President Lincoln to Secretary Stanton with a note asking the Secretary of War to grant the man's request. After a time the man came back to the President.

"Well," said Lincoln, "did you see Stanton?"

"Yes," said the man.

"What did he say?" asked Lincoln.

"Stanton says you must be a fool if you think he's going to do that."

"Did Stanton say that?"

"Yes."

"Well," said President Lincoln, after a moment's pause, "I guess it must be

so then. Stanton's most always right."

Most men would have been angry, but Lincoln took Stanton's remark with the same quiet, impersonal, judicial temper as if it had related to a third party in respect to whom he had no emotional bias, or perturbation of mental or spiritual vision.

As a result of studying himself and his possibilities, Lincoln found out early in life what line of work he was best adapted to, prepared for it carefully and thoroughly, and devoted himself with energy and perseverance to the task of building up a successful career in his chosen field.

He worked at farming, rail-splitting, lumbering and running a flat-boat. He was a teacher, postmaster, captain in the Black Hawk war, store-keeper and surveyor. He was earnest and conscientious in all and successful in all except store-keeping. The town was too small, and the store failed. He was not specially adapted to mercantile life even under the best conditions. He did not have the money sense. Neither his interests nor abilities were commercial. Military service, boating, surveying, farming did not give scope for his best powers either. Aside from his great physical strength, his special abilities lay in the direction of expression and friendliness—the power of clear and forceful speaking, and facility in making friends. No matter what he was doing—farming, surveying, keeping store, etc., he was always telling stories and discussing public questions with groups of his friends and acquaintances every chance he got. His main delight and power were in expression and good fellowship, and he naturally gravitated to them no matter what work he was doing to earn a living. These abilities adapted him to the law and public life where power of speech and making friends have so large a part in achieving success. His bodily strength fitted him for such heavy work as blacksmithing, and he debated with himself whether he should learn that trade or the law. It would be comparatively easy to get a

start in blacksmithing for little capital would be required and he could earn his living probably at once; whereas it would cost much time and money to make himself a good lawyer and get practice enough to support him. While physical power and an easy open way invited him to blacksmithing, he knew that his higher powers, his distinguishing traits of mind and character, adapted him to public life and the law, and he obeyed the call in spite of the difficulties in the way. He found friends to help him in his studies and his entrance to civic life and legal practice. He was elected to the legislature of Illinois when he was twenty-five years old, and began the practice of law in Springfield when he was twenty-eight.

You know the rest; how he gradually built up a good practice, went to Congress, became a power in his state and was chosen chief executive of the nation in 1860 at the age of fifty-one. If he had remained a store-keeper or a surveyor, or boatman, we probably never would have heard of him. He would have done his work well and made an honest living, and put his spare time into telling stories and discussing public questions with his neighbors. His best powers and enthusiasms would have been separated from his work. They would have sought an outlet in his leisure hours, while his work would have been simply a means of earning a livelihood. It was because he studied himself to find out and develop his best abilities, and persevered in preparing for and entering upon a field of usefulness in which his highest aptitudes, abilities and enthusiasms could find full scope and expression and be united with his daily work—that was the reason, one of the fundamental reasons, for his great success.

Have you found out in what direction your chief abilities lie, in what line you are best adapted to achieve success, and the methods and principles to be followed in your upward progress? If not, is it not time you began to study yourself and

your possibilities with a view to making a clear decision and building up a successful career in the calling to which your aptitudes, capacities, interests and ambitions best adapt you?

Lincoln's message to you is that no matter how poor you may be, nor how many disadvantages you may labor under from lack of education, etc., if you will study yourself carefully, find out what service you are best adapted to, prepare yourself for the field of work in which

your best abilities and enthusiasms will have full play, persevere till you find an opening in that field and earnestly strive to do the best work you are capable of, you have every reason to expect success. The world is hungry for the efficiency that is born of adaptation, thorough preparation and enthusiastic devotion, and it pays high prices for such service not only in money but in social position and public regard. FRANK PARSONS.

Boston, Massachusetts.

HOW AND WHY CLARA BARTON BECAME INTERESTED IN CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

BY EUGENIA PAUL JEFFERSON.

CLARA BARTON'S eyes are the sweetest in the world. They challenge you to tell only what is absolutely true; they appeal to that which is best in you; they shine with a love-light that is all their own. They are dark eyes and have a questioning in them like those of a child seeking truth.

Miss Barton's hair is dark also. It is parted in the middle and smoothly drawn back behind her ears. She reminds one of the sweetest type of the New England woman. There is a gentleness in every movement, a softness in the voice, and, above all, that beautiful quality of humility so rare, but which characterizes the woman who has done so much for humanity.

Glen Echo is a suburb of Washington, and it is there that Miss Barton has built a home to shelter her peaceful years. The style of architecture is odd and original. I do not know of anything quite like it. The hall reminds one somewhat of the interior of a vessel with two decks above, giving plenty of light to the floor below. The station of the trolley line nearest the house is called Red Cross.

Miss Barton is a very active woman. She is president of the National First Aid to the Injured Association and the Children's Star League. She has a secretary, but works herself, sixteen hours a day, and frequently takes long journeys.

My call upon Miss Barton, apart from the pleasure of renewing our friendship, was principally to thank her for the splendid tribute to Mary Baker Eddy recently given in the *New York American*. In speaking of this interview Miss Barton said that she had been besieged with newspaper reporters wanting to interview her upon all subjects. They were all women, and Miss Barton described them at length, saying that she was much impressed by them. Finally one of these discovered that she was interested in Christian Science and was studying the text-book, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, by Rev. Mary Baker G. Eddy. The young lady called and was graciously received. She asked for an interview for her paper, requesting that Miss Barton tell her all about Christian Science. The disappointment of the reporter can be imagined when Miss Barton told her that she didn't really

know anything about Christian Science, as she had only been looking into it for about a year, and would not dare (as yet) to give an opinion on so vast a subject.

"That would hardly be fair to Christian Science, would it, Miss Barton?" I remarked.

"It would be very unfair, my dear," was the reply, "and so I told the young lady, who then asked me what I thought of Mrs. Eddy. 'Ah!' I said, 'Now—now you ask me something that I can talk about honestly. Mary Baker Eddy should have the respect, admiration and love of the whole nation, for she is its greatest woman.'"

Then followed the interview published by the *New York American* January 6, 1908, which called forth such a message of appreciation from Mrs. Eddy, who, knowing the storm of opinions sure to follow such a recognition of good done humanity, says that "Because Miss Barton is a veritable soldier, patriot, philanthropist, moralist and stateswoman, she can bear the blows."

Surely not their faintest echo should reach the little glen which secludes Clara Barton.

Miss Barton had related the story of how she became interested in Christian Science in a previous visit made to her a year ago. She said that she would now have no objection to having it known. She has taken her position and will not turn back.

"I cannot understand," said the great leader of the Red Cross movement, "why people should antagonize Christian Science. It accords perfectly with all I have ever been taught, for, like Paul, 'I was free born' and have always known God as Love; and this is just what Christian Science teaches, so I have had nothing to give up in accepting it. I remember," and here the dear woman folded her hands reposefully in her lap, her eyes gazing far off through a sunlit window as she arrested for a moment the flight of time, "in my girlhood going to my mother with some childish fault.

She very wisely sent me to father to make my confession to him, which I did, and then asked him if he thought God would punish me. 'No, my child,' he replied. 'God never punishes; it is the sin which punishes itself.' So you see," added Miss Barton, "with such training and brought up under such teaching, what had I to give up for Christian Science? I have always believed it."

Miss Barton, as president of the National First Aid to the Injured Association, was called to their convention, which was held in Boston, June, 1906, at the same time the new addition to the First Church of Christ Scientist was dedicated at the annual communion.

While it is true that "the Kingdom of God cometh not by observation" of the material things, it was through the observation of the law and order which ever governs a great body of Christian Scientists that the attention of Miss Barton was first called to the subject during this convention.

"As the result of my work among the injured and sick, both in wars and great calamities," said the humanitarian, "my mind had been trained to look for trouble, for accidents and disorder wherever great masses of people were assembled, and the ordering out of the police to protect the city, etc. What I had expected from that great crowd of twenty or thirty thousand people was so conspicuous by its absence that it set me to thinking, What does this quiet mean? Nothing out of the ordinary occurred; everything was orderly, so much so that the policemen might all have gone to church themselves. But an accident did occur. An automobile, a 'Seeing Boston,' filled with visiting Christian Scientists from different parts of the country, became unmanageable, the chauffeur lost control, the car and its living load was overturned at the bottom of an embankment. Ah! I reflected, now we will have a proof. The proof being seen, I think right then and there, although unconscious of it at the time, I

accepted Christian Science as something better than I had known, without ever having seen its text-book, without ever having heard an argument, but I saw the argument in the attitude of those bruised and injured Christian Scientists, who courteously refused surgical aid, who, when the pain seemed so great that they must cry out, sang instead."

Miss Barton could appreciate this more than the average thinker, for she knew what courage it takes not to give way to pain. She has seen too much of it in the hospital; she did not have to be told what courage meant. When she later read in the papers that all those who had been injured were able to attend the service for which they had traveled so far, she asked herself, What have they got that I have not? What do they know that I do not know?

A policeman in relating his experiences of that day said that in all the crowds he handled at the different hours of service, he had heard only one cross word spoken, and that he spoke himself.

Nor was this all Miss Barton saw, for she noticed that nobody was blamed for the accident, no law-suits for damages followed.

When she left Boston, her thought still filled with what she had seen, she went to visit a friend in another city. Upon retiring to her room at night she saw upon her table some Christian

Science literature. She opened it and began to read.

Upon greeting her hostess the following morning, Miss Barton remarked, "I found some Christian Science literature upon my table last night."

"Yes," her friend replied, "we were going to take it out, but something told us to leave it. I hope you didn't mind."

"Mind!" replied Miss Barton. "Why, my dear, I sat up half the night reading it."

It was the first of the writings of Mary Baker Eddy she had ever seen. From that home Miss Barton went to another city to visit and there again she found Christian Science literature in her room. In her surprise, turning to her friend she questioned, "Is all the world a Christian Scientist, and I did not know it?"

Miss Barton asked her friends why they had not written or told her about Christian Science before. Their reply was that she had been so occupied in other ways of binding up the wounds of her fellow-man that they had feared she might not be interested in the divine method. Miss Barton showed them their mistake by ordering to have sent to her home at Glen Echo all the published writings of the discoverer and founder of Christian Science, Rev. Mary Baker G. Eddy.

EUGENIA PAUL JEFFERSON.

Washington, D. C.

THE EDITOR'S QUIET HOUR.

THE POET AS A PROPHET OF FREEDOM AND SOCIAL RIGHTEOUSNESS.

THE MIND of the poet is not unlike a delicate, sensitive plate. It catches all the varying influences that play about it, and were it not for the inner light that burns ever in the soul as the shekinah was supposed to illumine the Holiest of Holies, the magic and sweep of sensuous life and the seeming charms of materialistic existence would most likely sweep it into the vortex of death. Not unfrequently the fleeting and illusionary weave a spell at once baleful and compelling. Then we see the theater of the mind an arena in which warring forces expend their energy creating perpetual inharmony and often causing the light of day to go out while yet the sun is far from the meridian. Lord Byron affords such an example. Here we see the divine and the animal, the power of life and light and the power of the sensuous world incessantly struggling for dominion. In Shelley, too, this tragic war was waged.

But though all children of genius are peculiarly sensitive to the multitudinous agencies for good or ill that environ them, the dominant influence of the poet is far more often found on the side of human emancipation and progress than in the ranks of materialism, reaction and slavery. Nor is this strange, for the poet enjoys the broadest and truest vision. To him are given thoughts beyond the reach of the masses. He sees, feels and knows something of what men in all stations experience and are cognizant of. Something of the cosmic heart and brain and vision is his rich heritage. Hence in crises of civilization or national life, or in moments of spiritual awakening and exaltation, he becomes the voice of progress articulating the divine message, arraigning slothful conventionalism and self-satisfied egoism, enunciating the duty of the hour, and giving clear and strong the marching orders of civilization.

The prophet-poet is preëminently an awakener and a diffuser of light. Out of the darkness of the remote past, even to the present hour, from time to time his voice has rung forth from the watch-towers of progress. At the time when Athens was basking in the very

noon-day of her glory; when art and literature vied with philosophy; when she was the heart of the world's civilization, her people were little mindful of the misery of the poor. Her women occupied very subordinate states in life, and the contempt of the people for the slaves was well-nigh universal. Then it was that we find the poet Euripides raising his voice for the oppressed and uttering words strange to the self-absorbed and complacent world in which he lived. In speaking of this great poet of the ancient world who lived more than four hundred years before the dawn of our era, Professor Botsford well observes:

"No ancient writer seems so modern as Euripides. None knew human nature so well or sympathized so deeply with it, especially with women and slaves, with the unfortunate and the lowly."

Most of his great examples of virtue and heroism were women, while of the poor slave, for whom few indeed had a word of sympathy, Euripides said:

"Tis but a single thing that brands the slave with shame—his name. In all else no upright slave is a whit worse than free-born men."

The "enormous advance in humanism" that marks the writings of Euripides was such that "his contemporaries could not understand or appreciate him." But the secret of this and of his modernity is found in the cosmic mind, the wide range of vision and profound feeling of the true poet nature.

It was not, however, till the dawn of the democratic era, when the ideal of freedom and justice based on fraternity took possession of the popular imagination, that the prophet-poet came into his own. Since then, at every crisis, in every great moment where the old and the new have grappled for the victor's wreath, in every hour when the conscience of civilization has awakened under the compulsion of a new light which beckoned to a higher, nobler vantage-ground, the poet has been the articulate voice of progress and civilization. And inasmuch as the same grand ideal runs along the entire line of progress; inasmuch

as the major motive of the music to which an upward-moving civilization steps is the same; inasmuch as the same eternal ethical verities are always present, marking the same struggle between egoism and altruism, between the ideal of selfishness and the divine aspiration for brotherhood, we find a wonderful kinship between the spirit of Euripides and that of our nineteenth-century poets. More than that, the words that came as a "Thus saith the Lord," or as marching orders for the conscience life of the people as society was preparing to take an upward step, are usually found applicable for the next great step when the hour strikes for another advance movement—often quite as appropriate as though they had been written for the special struggle in progress; for in all the striving since the dawn of the democratic era we find the same battle being waged—a battle between the fundamental principles of democracy and those of class-rule; between progress and the rights of man, and reaction and special privilege for the few. In order that we may appreciate this, let us consider some lines written as the last great ethical crisis in our history was hastening to its climax. Here we have the prophet-poet on the watch-tower, beholding the peril and appealing to the wisdom and heart of the nation to be great enough to be just while yet there is time to avert the supreme tragedy of war.*

"Up, then, in Freedom's manly part,
From graybeard eld to fiery youth,
And on the nation's naked heart
Scatter the living coals of truth!
Up,—while ye slumber, deeper yet
The shadow of our shame is growing!
Up,—while ye pause, our sun may set
In blood, around our altars flowing!

"Oh! rouse ye, ere the storm comes forth,—
The gathered wrath of God and man,—
Like that which wasted Egypt's earth,—
When hail and fire above it ran.
Hear ye no warnings in the air?
Feel ye no earthquake underneath?
Up,—up! Why will ye slumber where
The sleeper only wakes in death?

"Up now for freedom!—not in strife
Like that your sterner fathers saw,—
The awful waste of human life,—
The glory and the guilt of war:
But break the chain,—the yoke remove,
And smite to earth Oppression's rod,
With those mild arms of Truth and Love,
Made mighty through the living God!"

*J. G. Whittier.

The same great issue is before America to-day. True, the scenes have been shifted on the stage, the actors are not the same, but the struggle between democracy and class or privileged interests is present. Indeed, we to-day are facing the most stupendous crisis that has confronted the Republic since Yorktown; and at no time in our history have these words of one of our great poets of freedom been more applicable than to-day.*

"Forever ours! for good or ill, on us the burden lies;
God's balance, watched by angels, is hung across
the skies.
Shall Justice, Truth and Freedom turn the poised
and trembling scale?
Or shall the Evil triumph, and robber Wrong pre-
vail?

"The Crisis presses on us; face to face with us it
stands,
With solemn lips of question, like the Sphinx in
Egypt's sands!
This day we fashion Destiny, our web of Fate we
spin;
This day for all hereafter choose we holiness or sin;
Even now from starry Gerizim, or Ebal's cloudy
crown,
We call the dew of blessing or the bolts of cursing
down!

"By all for which the martyrs bore their agony and
shame;
By all the warning words of truth with which the
prophets came;
By the Future which awaits us; by all the hopes
which cast
Their faint and trembling beams across the black-
ness of the Past;
And by the blessed thought of Him who for Earth's
freedom died,
O my people! O my brothers! let us choose the
righteous side."

While the dull eyes of the people are riveted on the fat, sleek, prosperous, time-servers who strut across the boards absorbed in self and seeking to win the plaudits of the populace instead of serving them and lifting humanity, the poet beholds the true victor in the apostle of truth and freedom:†

"Thou livest in the life of all good things:
What words thou spak'st for Freedom shall not
die;
Thou sleepest not, for now thy Love hath wings
To soar where hence thy Hope could hardly fly.

From off the starry mountain-peak of song,
Thy spirit shows me, in the coming time,
An earth unwithered by the foot of wrong,
A race revering its own soul sublime."

*J. G. Whittier.

†James Russell Lowell.

Sometimes the poet walks the streets and observes things as they are and their true significance. He is not misled by the shallow prattle of thoughtless echoes who see in gold, no matter how acquired, the insignia of respectability; who imagine that materialistic splendor and power are evidences of worth and enduring greatness. He peers behind the mask, he sees things as they are. Were he to-day to walk the highways of our great metropolis, at one end of the city he would behold the throne of power of skilled gamblers, the money-changers and high financiers who play with stacked cards when not coining money out of water and with it absorbing a nation's wealth, to the moral and physical injury of eighty million people. Elsewhere in the same city he would behold thousands on thousands huddling in noisome quarters, in attics, over-crowded tenements and cellars, existing in terrible poverty, most of it uninvited; poverty that saps hope from maturity and robs childhood of the vitality necessary to strong and useful manhood. And jostling the denizens of this under-world of extreme poverty that is blighting man, matron and child, he would see vice luring and crime beckoning; all environing conditions pressing downward; moral disintegration at the base, fed by the injustice, indifference and moral criminality at the top. He would see what Hugo pictured so graphically in thus painting the social pit of the *Old Régime*:

"These burdened ones are silent; they know nothing, they can do nothing, they think nothing; they simply endure. . . . They are hungry and cold. Their indelicate flesh appears through their tatters. Who makes those tatters? The purple. The nakedness of virgins comes from the nudity of odalisques. From the twisted rags of the daughters of the people fall pearls for the Fontanges and the Chateauroux. It is famine that gilds Versailles. . . . The group of little ones is wan. This whole mass expires and creeps, not having even the power to love."

Nor is this all. The poet would see other abominations in our great metropolis. The selling of virtue for bread—nothing is more grimly tragic than that; yet there is something far more loathsome and abhorrent, a form of prostitution before which the degradation born of hunger dwarfs into insignificance. He beholds maidens selling themselves and paying dowries of millions to acquire the titles of degenerates and roués of the Old

World, or of men of alien tongue, blood and religion. He sees also the frightful injustice born of inequality, always present where the materialism of the market has choked out the flowers of spirituality. Here are banquets given to pet dogs and monkeys while little children within cannon-shot are starving to death.

Now the poet beholds this apotheosis of commercialism, but he refuses to salute as the great city the modern metropolis of the Republic dedicated to freedom and to equality of opportunities and of rights. Instead, he lifts his voice in portrayal of the city that is to be, the city based on morality, sanity, justice and freedom:*

"The place where the great city stands is not the place of stretch'd wharves, docks, manufactures, deposits of produce,
Nor the place of ceaseless salutes of new comers, or the anchor-lifters of the departing;
Nor the place of the tallest and costliest buildings, or shops selling goods from the rest of the earth,
Nor the place of the best libraries and schools—nor the place where money is plenteist,
Nor the place of the most numerous population.

"Where the city stands with the brawniest breed of orators and bards;
Where the city stands that is beloved by these, and loves them in return, and understands them;
Where no monuments exist to heroes, but in the common words and deeds;
Where thrift is in its place, and prudence is in its place;
Where the men and women think lightly of the laws;
Where the slave ceases, and the master of slaves ceases;
Where the populace rises at once against the never-ending avarice of elected persons;
Where fierce men and women pour forth, as the sea to the whistle of death pours its sweeping and unript waves;
Where outside authority enters always after the precedence of inside authority;
Where the citizen is always the head and ideal—and President, Mayor, Governor, and what not, are agents for pay;
Where children are taught to be laws to themselves, and to depend on themselves;
Where equanimity is illustrated in affairs;
Where speculations on the Soul are encouraged;
Where women walk in public processions in the streets, the same as the men,
Where they enter the public assembly and take places the same as the men,
Where the city of the faithfulest friends stands;
Where the city of the cleanliness of the sexes stands;
Where the city of the healthiest fathers stands;
Where the city of the best-bodied mothers stands
There the great city stands."

*Walt Whitman.

Sometimes the poet as an august messenger of progress seizes upon great facts of history in such a way as to appeal to the heart and conscience of the living, and by the light of the heroic past reveals the path of present duty. Thus to-day, when on every hand the foes of freedom are striving to seduce the people from allegiance to the fundamental principles of democracy and make them look with favor upon the strange gods of imperialism, militarism, class-rule and other abominations that fly in the face of the teachings of the great Declaration and which would wrest the soul from the Republic, how true are these words:*

"The word of the Lord by night
To the watching Pilgrims came,
As they sat by the seaside,
And filled their hearts with flame.

"God said, I am tired of kings,
I suffer them no more;
Up to my ear the morning brings
The outrage of the poor.

"Think ye I made this ball
A field of havoc and war,
Where tyrants great and tyrants small
Might harry the weak and poor?

"My angel,—his name is Freedom,—
Choose him to be your king;
He shall cut pathways east and west
And fend you with his wing.

"Lo! I uncover the land
Which I hid of old time in the West,
As the sculptor uncovers the statue
When he has wrought his best.

"I will divide my goods;
Call in the wretch and slave:
None shall rule but the humble,
And none but Toil shall have.

"I will have never a noble,
No lineage counted great;
Fishers and choppers and ploughmen
Shall constitute a state.

"Go, cut down trees in the forest
And trim the straightest boughs;
Cut down trees in the forest
And build me a wooden house.

"And here in a pine state-house
They shall choose men to rule
In every needful faculty,
In church and state and school.

"And ye shall succor men;
'Tis nobleness to serve;
Help them who cannot help again:
Beware from right to swerve.

*Ralph Waldo Emerson.

"I break your bonds and masterships,
And I unchain the slave:
Free be his heart and hand henceforth
As wind and wandering wave."

From the heroic past with its solemn lessons, the poet often turns to the future, and with prophetic vision sees and describes the new which must replace the old, and as he hints at the glory that is to be the heritage of man, he also reveals the pathway over which the human caravan must travel to reach the goal.*

"O golden age, whose light is of the dawn,
And not of sunset, forward, not behind,
Flood the new heavens and earth, and with thee
bring
All the old virtues, whatsoever things
Are pure and honest and of good repute,
But add thereto whatever bard has sung
Or seer has told of, when in trance and dream
They saw the happy isles of prophecy!
Let Justice hold her scale, and Truth divide
Between the right and wrong; but give the heart
The freedom of its fair inheritance.
Let the poor prisoner, cramped and starved so long;
At nature's table feast his ear and eye
With joy and wonder; let all harmonies
Of sound, form, color, motion, wait upon
The princely guest, whether in soft attire
Of leisure clad, or the coarse frock of toil,
And, lending life to the dead form of Faith,
Give human nature reverence for the sake
Of One who bore it, making it divine
With the ineffable tenderness of God.
Let common need, the brotherhood of prayer,
The heirship of an unknown destiny,
The unsolved mystery 'round about us, make
A man more precious than the gold of Ophir,
Sacred, inviolate, unto whom all things
Should minister, as outward types and signs
Of eternal beauty which fulfils
The one great purpose of creation, love,
The sole necessity of earth and heaven."

Sometimes also the poet pauses to limn the features of the new Moses who is to lead the children of democracy out of the Egypt of materialistic commercialism into the Canaan of freedom based on justice. Such a picture has been splendidly drawn by the greatest living poet of democracy in these lines:†

"Thrilled by the Cosmic Oneness he will rise,
Youth in his heart and morning in his eyes;
While glory fallen from the far-off goal
Will send mysterious splendor on his soul.
Him shall all toilers know to be their friend;
Him shall they follow faithful to the end.
Though every leaf were a tongue to cry, 'Thou
must!'

He will not say the unjust thing is just.
Not all the fiends that curse in the eclipse
Shall shake his heart or hush his lyric lips.
His cry for justice, it will stir the stones

*J. G. Whittier.

†Edwin Markham.

From Hell's black granite to the seraph thrones!
Earth listens for the coming of his feet;
The hushed Fates lean expectant from their seat.
He will be calm and reverent and strong,
And, carrying in his words the fire of song,
Will send a hope upon these weary men,
A hope to make the heart grow young again,
A cry to comrades scattered and afar:
*Be constellated, star by circling star;
Give to all mortals justice and forgive:
Licence must die that liberty may live.
Let Love shine through the fabric of the State—
Love deathless, Love whose other name is Fate.
Fear not: we cannot fail—
The Vision will prevail.
Truth is the Oath of God, and, sure and fast,
Through Death and Hell holds onward to the last."*

Thus we find the poet is the many-sided teacher of divine truth. He interprets nature and opens the eyes of the sleeper to the spiritual unfoldments on every hand. He takes us into the Holiest of Holies of our being,

even to the inner temple of spiritual life, and lifts the veil, revealing the shekinah of love that should ever radiate its light and warmth over our every thought and act, but which too often is ignored as the gold-crazed priests of old Jerusalem ignored the spiritual light when they made the Temple the throne of money-changers and gamblers, the "Father's house a den of thieves." From nature and the deeper things of the spirit he turns to philosophic thought, to the realm of intellect, and solves the riddle of the ages by the light of the interior vision. Then he faces civic life or the social state, and becomes the august way-shower of righteousness, the prophet of progress and apostle of democracy.

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"RACE LIFE OF THE ARYAN PEOPLES."*

A BOOK STUDY.

By B. O. FLOWER.

I.

THE AUTHOR of this *Race Life of the Aryan Peoples* is peculiarly well fitted to successfully perform the important work which he has undertaken, as he possesses a combination of qualities rarely found in a single author who essays historical writing. He is, first of all, a modern critical scholar in the best sense of the term. The work evinces on every page not only wide research and careful sifting of theories and evidence, but also the scientific spirit which enables a writer to intelligently and judiciously weigh rival claims and facts of evidential value.

This is not saying that his conclusions are necessarily at all times accurate, and indeed, as we shall see, we think the author has in certain instances been misled by giving undue emphasis to certain historical phenomena. But there are none of the errors of haste and immaturity that mark so many pretentious

volumes at the present time, and for the most part the work may be taken as authoritative in character.

A history, however, may possess this indispensable requisite and yet be prosy and wanting in the suggestive quality and the wide philosophical outlook that make philosophic history and historical criticism at once interesting and inspiring. But Dr. Widney is not only a modern scientific critical scholar: he possesses the poet's rich imagination and the philosophical insight and broad range of vision that enables him to so vividly see the probable race life of the people with whom he is concerned, as to readily convey his own thought imagery to his readers; while by taking together the mass of undisputed facts he is able to show probable reasons for diversity of characteristics and various historical facts and significant results that have been inexplicable to most earlier historians; and a final excellence of the work is found in its graceful, flowing style. It is a style simple, lucid and admirably adapted for the work in hand.

*"Race Life of the Aryan Peoples." By Joseph P. Widney. In two volumes. Cloth. Pp. 700. Price, \$4.00 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

II.

The story of the Aryan in the Old World and the New constitutes a wonderful tale full of charm and interest.

"Every masterful race of the world's history," says our author, "has its epic. It is the tale of the fathers told to the sons. But side by side with the spoken epic is another, unspoken, yet truer and deeper. It is the tale of the race life, not told in words, but lived in deeds alone. And the epic lived is always more wonderful than the epic told. The true epic is found, not in the story of the battles or of the deeds of the rulers, but in the race life. In the perspective of time men become less, man grows greater. Race life is broader, deeper, richer than the life of any man, or of any men."

It is the tracing of the race life of the most masterful of all the peoples of earth with which this work is concerned. After giving the reasons for concluding that the cradle of the Aryans was the highlands of Central Asia, Dr. Widney describes the general characteristics, or the probable type of man that the primitive Aryan was while he yet lived in the invigorating highlands of his native home. Next the reader is introduced to the Indo-Aryan, the division of the primitive stock that probably first left the fatherland. In the Sanskrit we find the oldest written record of the Aryan, dealing with the branch of the race that crossed the mountains and descended to the rich tropical lowlands of India, where they probably overmastered the negroid population, then the masters of the land, after which the commingling of the blood of the races and the moral enervation of the tropics, so unfavorable to a temperate-zone race, led to a deterioration of the original stock in many respects.

Our author holds that two facts are noticeable and should always be borne in mind when considering the race life of a great people: If it goes out of its zone, it deteriorates or dies. If it mingles with an inferior race, the weakness of each people seem first to come to the front in the progeny, and the general effect is a decided deterioration of the more masterful and virile race. The earliest record of the Aryans show that their ancestors came from the temperate zone, a land of winter as well as summer; and the early records also have all the gladness and sunshine of childhood.

"Out of the mass of the Vedas," says our author, "the Hymns to the Maruts, or storm gods, stand as probably the most ancient, certainly the nearest in freshness and spirit to the original race home. They are the folk-songs of the childhood of a race. As you read you feel that you are back in the days when the world was yet fresh before men, and full of hope. It is that race childhood when as yet the close sympathetic touch with the physical world around has not been dulled. It is the glad abandon of youth—or is it that the centuries have hid the shadows? Yet it could not be entirely this, for the thrill of early pastorals, as of a May morning, is in it, with the rain-drops glistening on the spring leaves, and all nature astir with the awakening. This can never be entirely simulated. The old cannot sing the songs of youth; the weight of the years is too heavy. There will creep in the somber undertone of the contralto of life. Horace may laugh, but the laugh is not the laugh of Plautus. It has in it the covert bitterness of a sneer, the sneer of a heart no longer sweet with youth; for Rome grew old at heart quickly. But these songs—they float to us across three thousand years with the freshness, the crispness, the cheer, of the morning breeze from the mountains. They have in them the sigh of the wind in the upland pines, the early call of the birds, and the varied, homely sounds of a primitive folk life as it wakes from the sleep of the night to go afield for the labors of the day. They are full of the lowing of the kine, the herdsman's cries, the whistle of the plowman, and the floating of the great cloud-shadows across the sloping, grassy hillsides. We should forget the three thousand years and remember only that it is a song of the living, as much so as the morning song of the plowman to-day as he drives his team afield in the early dawn by the banks of the Ohio or the Isis."

Next we follow a second stream of Aryan life, the Irano-Aryan, whose record "is to be found partly in the Avestas. . . . They show the soul of a primitive folk reaching out and groping into the darkness about them. The great value of these hymns to the student of folk life lies, as was the case with the Hymns to the Maruts, in the fact that they afford a picture of the folk life and the folk mind which reveals to us, as we read between the lines, what manner of man that old Irano-Aryan was. It is not of the upper Persian

plains that they speak. They, too, like the hymns of the Indo-Aryan, reach back to an older race life and an older race home in yet another land. . . . The picture as given in the Gathas, the most ancient of the Irano-Aryan hymns, is of a folk, tillers of the soil, yet still semi-pastoral in habit, and in much the same state of primitive civilization as the Indo-Aryan as he is pictured in the Hymns to the Maruts. Yet it is a picture of one who has pierced more deeply into the mysteries of the spiritual world than his brother Aryan of the Vedas.

"The picture of that older Irano-Aryan homeland is much the same as the picture given in the Vedas of the older Indo-Aryan home before they had come in their race migration to the headwaters of the Indus. It is a region of woodlands and pastures, of winter snows and summer rains; a land rich in cattle and domesticated animals; a land of grain-fields and harvests. It is a picture also of an organized social order. They have the 'house chief,' the 'village chief,' the 'tribe chief.'"

Probably after these sections of the parent stock had fared forth to the rich alluvial and tropical plains of India, and to the less luxurious but warm and genial lands to the south and southwest of the fatherland, the pressure of population again became so great that other bands moved forth in search of home and sustenance. Some of these streams moved westward, south of the Caspian; others took the northerly route, and they were later followed by other bands and tribes who in time, as the population again increased and new generations came, were followed by still other hordes from the primitive cradle.

Among the first of those who took the southern route and entered Europe, were probably the races that become the builders of the first Grecian civilization,—a civilization that is all but forgotten; for, as our author shows, the Greece that is known to history was not the first Greek civilization. The excavations of the ancient cities and the legends of Homer speak of a civilization that ante-dated the Greece of which we know.

Very interesting are the explanations advanced by Dr. Widney to account for the fact that the Greeks became a maritime people, while their brother Aryans who settled Italy never were in any sense a seafaring folk; and why the northern Aryans, the

Teutons who settled on the borders of the Baltic around Denmark, also became a seafaring or maritime folk. It was in the plastic childhood time of these races in their new home, when race traits were taking on persistent characteristics, that we find the Greeks and the Teutons settling on the island-studded and irregular shores of the Egean and the Baltic. The islands and the ragged coast invited the new-comers to utilize the water, and thus, step by step, they ventured forth, first on rude rafts and boats, later on vessels that were fairly seaworthy. And as time passed the waters became a congenial element, a friend, a provider of food, and a highway for intercourse; and the once timid landman, the descendants of the highlands of Central Asia, became great maritime peoples.

After the Greeks, our author considers the Latins and Celts. Then he takes up the northern streams, and rarely have we read an historical discussion in which reasonable speculation and philosophical observations played a large part that was so absorbingly interesting, so instructive and rich in suggestive trains of thought, as the chapters in which our author discusses "The Teuto-Aryan," "The German," "The Norse Man," and "The English Man." To the English he gives special consideration, regarding the Anglo-Saxon as the most masterful of all earth's peoples. First we are introduced to him in his Baltic home; later as the master of Britain and the maker of England.

The last six chapters deal with "The New Faith," "The People *versus* Ecclesiasticism," "The Puritan," "English Speech," "English Literature," and "Work—and the Burden of the Years." These chapters are an extremely important contribution to the historical literature that no intelligent Anglo-Saxon can afford to overlook, for the treatment is as masterly as it is convincing and absorbingly interesting.

Apart from the history here given, the work is very rich in food for thought of a vital character. The following brief extracts will furnish an illustration. The author is describing the probable future of Germany, as he forecasts the probable future of all the great Aryan peoples who are now real factors in civilization, and after noting various handicaps and perils that confront Germany, he thus refers to the exhaustion of this people through militarism:

"But in it all is another and more subtle danger to the German future from which even tardy alliance with her kin cannot save her. How long can the German people endure the strain of even her present enormous and disproportionate armaments without exhaustion? The over-militarism of Germany is as the overtraining of the athlete; for the time there is an excessive development of muscle and apparent vigor; but it is at the expense of enduring vitality. It is invariably followed by premature exhaustion. France under Napoleon is an instance to the point. No race, no nation, can habitually go beyond the limit of its normal strength without impairment of vitality and inevitable reaction. There is a danger line to race life, and that danger line is crossed when the drain begins to exceed the normal powers of recuperation. A nation or a race is as a man; the morning must find the waste of the previous day replaced, or deterioration quickly sets in, and decadence soon follows. The trouble is that both men and nations are apt to see this too late."

Another very suggestive philosophical observation is found in Dr. Widney's chapter on "The Making of England." He is discussing the great reserve power of the Anglo-Saxon, in contradistinction to that of the Aryans on the Continent, and in this connection he observes:

"It is also a question of no little interest, How much of what we call nerve in certain races, the calm, cool equipoise which gives the staying quality in times of continued stress, and which is in marked contrast to the impulsive but short-lived enthusiasm of others, may be due to the heredity of long exemption from constantly recurring harassment of siege and battle? This nerve tension has been upon the races of Mid- and Southern Europe for ages. It has been as the sword of Damocles at every feast; the shadow of a cloud over every household; the unbidden guest at every wedding dance. It has worn upon the mother carrying her unborn babe, giving a prenatal cast of nerve strain to the yet dormant life. It has followed that life through the youthful school-days with the thought of the conscription, and the exile from home of enforced army life. And all this has not conduced to a reserve of nerve power. It has worn insensibly upon the race. Every physician knows the greater tendency to convulsions, to epilepsy, and to the whole

train of nervous diseases which have their primal origin in lack of nerve power, as shown in children begotten and reared in times of civil strife or of home peril from foreign wars. These race harms the Englishman in the unassailable security of his home lands has for ages escaped. Yet he has not entirely escaped; for the Englishman both in the old home and the new across the ocean has had his civil wars. And then when he was still young he knew the harrying of the Northman upon his shores. The cloud recurred for a space when the bale fires were lighted for the coming of the Armada. And then it cast its shadow once more over English homes when Napoleon's flotilla was gathered in the French ports just over the narrow strait, and the Channel fleet kept watch for English firesides. Yet, as contrasted with the unrestful lives of the Continental peoples, scarcely out of one war of invasion before the threat of another has been upon them, the home life of the Englishman has for generations been one of security and repose. And the result shows in the steadier nerve, the greater reserve of endurance under long strain which is the Englishman's heritage."

Dr. Widney's observations on the future of the Anglo-Saxon, due to his vast possessions in the temperate zones, will prove of interest to all English-speaking readers:

"There is one thing, however, which Britain did for the English-speaking peoples which no one else could have done, and which, if it had not been done when it was, and as it was, would have changed the whole after-history not only of all the English-speaking peoples, but of the world as well. Probably in the retrospect of the ages the greatest of all Britain's works will be seen to have been the seizing of the vast uncivilized regions of the temperate zone while they were yet open to contest, and holding them to be settled by the English peoples. Whether with deliberate foresight, or by a race instinct which is sometimes wiser than race wisdom, or whether in obedience to some unseen planning back of, and higher than men, the Briton seized upon and with grim tenacity held these lands as against all others. North America, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa—they were the only remaining unoccupied possible homelands for Aryan peoples; lands in which the Aryan blood might breed Aryan men free from deterioration or decay. It was the remaining untaken Aryan cli-

matic belt of the world that the English man of Britain seized and held. Other regions might be held as tributary lands by Aryan peoples, but here only, of the untaken lands of the world, could Aryan men build up permanent homes and multiply. It settled the fate of the world; and it gave to the English man alone, of all Aryan peoples, the leadership. Others might hold tributary lands and gain wealth from them; he alone could breed his own race in his new lands and increase. Herein, as much as in race capacity and energy, lies the secret of the English man's rapid rise to power in the world. And it came through command of the sea. Howard in the English Channel, and Russell at La Hogue, settled the question of a wider empire than men dreamed of. It was more than a Catholic succession, and the fate of the House of Stuart, that those sea-fights decided. It was the fate of America, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the islands of the oceans, the strategic points for the world's navies, the vantage-points of the world's commerce, which were in the scale that turned in favor of the English peoples; and with these the whole after-history of the world. It marked the beginning of the receding tide with the Latin. Louisbourg, Trafalgar, Santiago de Cuba, and Manila were only the far-off resultants. Whatever remains yet to be written of the English man of Britain and his world work, let this stand first, that when, with a land hunger which was all-consuming, and instinct wiser maybe than his reason, he seized and held the as yet open lands of the great temperate climatic belt of the globe, he made the English peoples who were yet to be, heirs in fact to the supremacy of the world. It is the debt which English men of all lands owe to that older English man of Britain."

III.

The second volume of the work deals with the Aryan in the New World. It contains twenty-five chapters in which are discussed such subjects as the following: "The New Race Home Oversea," "The Anglo-American," "The Westward March into a New Continent," "In the Heart of the Continent," "The March into the Desert," "The American Aryan," "Physical Surroundings in the New Race Home," "Mental Characteristics," "Political Changes and Slavery," "The

Future and the American People," "The Race Problem in America," "Imperialism," "Earth Hunger," "Races that are Passing," "Aryan versus Aryan," "War and World Powers," and "Race Types and Race Problems."

This volume is quite as rich in interest as the preceding discussion, and indeed, for Americans, more so; because it is largely concerned with our nation, her development and destiny. We do not for a moment endorse the author's views in regard to imperialism or his justification of war and the crushing of the weak by the more masterful. This, which to us seems to be a serious defect of the work, will be noticed more fully at the close of our criticism.

The splendid philosophical grasp of the author is constantly apparent, though, as we shall see, he at times has allowed himself to be carried away by the seeming triumph of materialistic ideals in government so that he has become blind to the supreme mission of the Republic as the conservator of full-orbed democracy which embodies the justice and fraternity that is the soul of the Golden Rule and the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount. In noticing the results that have followed the settlement of the New World by the great European powers, Spain, France and England, Dr. Widney makes some profoundly thoughtful observations in explanation of the reason why the Anglo-Saxon became the masterful and dominant power in America, in spite of the early advent and the far greater advantages enjoyed by both the Spaniard and the Frenchman. His discussion on this subject merits serious consideration.

"Possibly of all causes," he observes, "leading to Teutonic supremacy in the New World, more important than priority of settlement, or advantage of location even, is the law of pure blood. The Teuton, and more especially the English Teuton, who for reasons yet to be considered became the dominant strain of Teutonic blood in America, has more largely than the other peoples kept his blood free from admixture with inferior races. Theorize as we may about the original oneness of all mankind, the practical fact remains that now the races of men are many and unlike. And a further fact is also well established, That the limits within which race bloods may be crossed without resultant deterioration are not broad, but narrow. In the great groupings of the families of mankind

the lines of demarcation are well established, and may not lightly be transgressed. Transgression means too often to the resultant progeny an inheritance of the vices, the weaknesses of both the parent bloods, the possession of the virtues, the strength of neither.

"We possess a striking example of the baneful effects of the mixing of Aryan with non-Aryan bloods in the history of the Latin settlements in America. In the sixteenth century the best blood of Spain—and it was a strong, adventurous, aggressive blood, the blood of the Spain of Carlos V. when Spain was the dominant power of Western Europe, and her banners on every battlefield from the gates of Granada to the dikes of Holland, while her fleets sailed every sea—that strong, aggressive blood was poured like a flood into the fairest regions of the Western Continent. From Cape Horn to the banks of the Mississippi it, and its congener the Latin Portuguese, held all the land. No other race in Europe was powerful enough to even dispute possession. Yet that blood has left as its heirs to all these broad regions only the mongrel broods of the south lands, Indian, Negro, Latin, all mixed and mingled into one. The Ibero-Latin failed to take his home with him. The mother of his children in the new land had never known the shores of Spain or the banks of the Tagus. The blood of Conquistador was smothered in the baser tide that surged in the veins of the great subject Indian peoples. Cortez, De Soto, Ponce de Leon, Pizarro, Coronado, left progeny—but no successors. Spanish America to-day, after all the four centuries, with its ever-recurring revolutions and its inability to maintain settled governments, shows the ferment even yet unended. Will it ever end? Possibly only with the incoming of a newer race, stronger, purer-blooded.

"Upon the north, a century later, came to the banks of the St. Lawrence the man of the France of Louis XIV.; and now France, the France of 'Le Grand Monarque,' had succeeded Spain as the dominant power of Western Europe. And now the sturdiest blood of the Celto-Latin began to try its fortunes in a virgin land. Before it lay the deep direct waterway of the St. Lawrence leading to the heart of the continent, and along this the first settlements were made. Beyond were the Great Lakes and all their

branching river lines tapping the lands. And again the whole interior of a continent opened up to a Latinized blood. It was a possibility of empire such as has fallen to but few peoples. And behind stood as backer and supporter all France. But like the Ibero-Latin upon the south, the Frenchman also left his family behind. The mother of his children in the new land was not of Aryan blood; and the tawny-faced voyageur with his half-breed lineage roams over the lands of his knightly sire and his nameless mother, while another, not of his blood or kin, rules in the land and is filling it with his homes. Most potent of all the factors which have cost the Latin his empire in the New World may be classed the debasing of his stronger Aryan blood by this crossing with an alien and a dying race.

"Unlike Spaniard and Frenchman, the Teuton brought his family with him. The mother of his children was of his own land, his own faith, his own blood. No extensive crossing with Indian blood ever took place. The brand of a social ostracism has ever been placed upon the man who has transgressed the unwritten code of the race by a *mesalliance* with an inferior blood; and the progeny takes caste with the race of the mother, not of the father. And this phase of the family and social life of the Teutonic race in America has back of it a race history long antedating the days of Jamestown and Plymouth Rock. Of all the Aryan bloods of Europe the Teutonic is probably the purest. Celt, Latin and Slav have no such clear family escutcheon. The baton sinister which casts a shadow across the shield of the other branches of the Aryan folk of Western Europe from admixture with the pre-Aryan bloods, has made little, if any, mar upon his. Other races have had to die out before him, or remain as an inferior caste at his gates. In this instinctive pride of race blood the Teuton and notably the Anglo-Teuton, stands side by side with his kinsmen the Iranic Parsee and the Brahmanic Hindu. Immeasurably beyond all other causes it has been the Teutonic home, and the law of pure blood, that has given America to the Teutonic peoples. It was the Teutonic wife that settled the question of race empire in America."

Of the future of our country our author entertains roseate views, as will be seen by the following:

"From the English man of America the

stress of battle is as yet scarcely lifted. The Indian, the Latin, the Briton, the battle with nature to subdue a continent, and then the long struggle with slavery, culminating in the Civil War, and added to these the unceasing effort to assimilate an ever-swelling flood of alien blood, all these have kept his energies taxed to the utmost. The load is only now beginning to lift; and the day of his race exaltation is scarcely yet upon him. Yet the seeding has been a liberal one—a continent with its vastness and variety for a home; food supply such as even Egypt in the days of the Pharaohs never knew; wealth untold; the Old World shackles upon freedom of thought broken; a blood strong and virile; and a life still strenuous but not exhausting; and now world-empire before him. It surely is no niggardly seeding. If the law holds good, the harvest, though delayed, should yet be bounteous."

We should share these pleasant anticipations of our country's future, could we feel sure that the Republic would return to the old paths and be true to the vision of the fathers. If the Republic is faithless to the high trust that has been imposed upon her; if she persists in denying to others the things she once claimed for all, she can hope for no such glorious to-morrow as might be hers did she remain true to the spiritual ideal that dominated her early life.

And this leads us to notice what seems to us to be a fatal flaw in this great work. The author's conclusion touching imperialism and the forcible aggression of master races is abhorrent to us, and is probably due to his having misread history, or rather to his failure to see that the fundamental injustice involved in war and the victories of force has ever been to a great degree, if not chiefly, the root cause of the final destruction of the mighty civilizations of the past. Following on the heels of imperialism, centralization and the victories of the aggressive conquerors ever come wealth, and despotism disguised in many ways and justified by numerous ingenious sophistries, and class lines that tend to obliterate equality of opportunities and of rights. The root of the evil lies in the acceptance of the vicious theory of destiny, of the right of might, and other theories that shoulder aside the law of brotherhood or the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount. And though frequently the masterful peoples who have ruthlessly crushed the weak seem to have tri-

umphed for a time, and, indeed, there may be generations of apparent greatness, as was the case with Rome after the overthrow of the Gracchi until her seemingly invincible power crumbled, yet all departures from fundamental ethical verities on the part of civilizations or nations no less than individuals are marked by moral disintegration. The seeds of death are sown when the high spiritual laws of justice, brotherhood and right are made subservient to materialistic concepts,—lust for gain, power, show and physical gratification earned at the expense of others. This, it seems to us, is a supreme truth for nations to learn. It was on the recognition of this truth that our nation was founded. The Declaration of Independence, the Magna Charta of the new order, faced the morning of a new day,—the age of free government based on democracy. And it is the refusal to recognize this newer and nobler concept that constitutes the great defect of this work. The author turns from the ideal of democracy and embraces the ancient reactionary Old World idea of imperialism, with its justification of forcible aggression. But for this fatal failure to recognize the vital point that differentiates a democracy from class-rule; but for this rejection for materialistic triumphs of the spiritual ideal that is the soul of a true republic such as the authors of the Declaration conceived, this work would stand preëminent among historical surveys of civilization as they relate to the Aryan races. Because of the great excellence of the work and the marked ability with which the theme in general is treated, it is especially important that readers be warned against its plausible fallacy and fundamental weakness in this respect,—a weakness born, we think, of a failure to recognize the supreme fact that the uninterrupted onward march of man and civilization cannot be hoped for if we who have reached the altitude attained when our nation was born, we who incorporated the Golden Rule and the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount into the fabric of national life, fall back into the night of reaction and materialism, erecting the golden calf of commercialism as a fetiche or wandering after the strange gods of imperialism and militarism instead of remaining true to the loftiest vision that ever made a people great,—a vision that made America long the moral leader of the world.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Massachusetts.

"NEW WORLDS FOR OLD."*

A BOOK STUDY.

By B. O. FLOWER.

MR. WELLS' *New Worlds for Old* is, we think, the best book for popular reading on Socialism that has yet appeared. The author is one of the most pleasing writers of the day. His style is clear, smooth and lucid. He possesses the faculty of making any subject about which he writes so interesting that though the matter under discussion may not especially appeal to the reader, he will soon be so charmed with the presentation that he will be loath to lay it aside until he has reached the conclusion of the discussion. But quite apart from and above the author's engaging literary style rise the three supreme excellencies of the serious writer: knowledge of the subject considered, sincerity of purpose, and the moral enthusiasm of a conscience awakened to the dignity and noble responsibilities of life. All these are characteristic of the work in hand.

It is always worth something to know the motive impulse behind a work; to know the feeling and purpose of the author. Does he view his subject as one intensely in earnest, or merely as an intellectual gymnast or as a cynic seeking popular favor? If he is actuated by a noble idealism, by that moral enthusiasm that marks the altruist, his message will make a more direct appeal than if we feel that he is a brilliant cynic who glories in his intellectual ability, but who cares little for the moral issues involved. In the following from a brief description of a trip taken by Mr. Wells and a friend along the Thames Embankment, from Blackfriars Bridge to Westminster, on a moonlight night, in order to enjoy the beauty and mystery of the scene, we come very near to the heart of the author's purpose in writing the present volume. The two men fared forth expecting thoroughly to enjoy the scene and that "with a fitful moon and clouds adrift, on a night when the air was a crystal air that gladdened and brightened, that crescent of great buildings and steely, soft-hurrying water must needs be altogether beautiful."

**New Worlds for Old.* By H. G. Wells. Cloth, pp. 333. Price \$1.50 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

"But we were dashed by an unanticipated refrain to this succession of magnificent things, and we did not cry, as we had meant to cry, how good it was to be alive! We found something else, something we had forgotten.

"Along the embankment, you see, there are iron seats at regular intervals, seats you cannot lie upon because iron arm-rests prevent that, and each seat, one saw by the lamp-light, was filled with crouching and drooping figures. Not a vacant place remained, not one vacant place. These were the homeless, and they had come to sleep here.

"'Great God!' cried I. 'But must life always be like this? I could die, indeed, I would willingly jump into this cold and muddy river now, if by so doing I could stick a stiff dead hand through all these things into the future—a dead commanding hand insisting with a silent, irresistible gesture that this waste and failure of life should cease, and cease forever.'

"'It can be done,' said my companion.

"'It could be avoided,' said I.

"'It shall be in the days to come. There is food enough for all, shelter for all, wealth enough for all. Men need only know it and will it. And yet we have this!'

"'And so much like this!' said I.

"So we talked and were tormented.

"It was clear to us: the thing for us two to go upon was not the good of the present nor the evil, but the effort and the dream of the finer order, the fuller life, the banishment of suffering, to come.

"Each in our measure must do. And our reward? Our reward is our faith. Here is my creed to-night. I believe out of me and the Good Will in me and my kind there comes a regenerate world—cleansed of suffering and sorrow. That is our purpose here—to forward that. It gives us work for all our lives. Why should we ask to know more?"

Here, then, we catch a glimpse of the strong

moral purpose that inspires the author of *New Worlds for Old*. He has made an exhaustive and painstaking study of Socialism. Especially has he striven to know the movement, its trend and dominating impulse, from mingling with Socialists, from conversing with the great leaders, particularly in England and America. In speaking in a general way about his investigations and conclusions, he observes:

"The present writer has long been interested in the Socialist movement in Great Britain and America and in all those complicated issues one lumps together as 'social questions.' In the last few years he has gone into it personally and studied the Socialist movement closely and intimately at first hand; he has made the acquaintance of many of its leaders upon both sides of the Atlantic, joined numerous organizations, attended and held meetings, experimented in Socialist politics. From these inquiries he has emerged with certain very definite conclusions as to the trend and needs of social development and these he is now rendering in this book.

"Socialism, then, as he understands it, is a great intellectual process, a development of desires and ideas that takes the form of a project for the reshaping of human society upon new and better lines. That in the ampler proposition Socialism claims to be. This book seeks to expand and establish that proposition and to define the principles upon which a Socialist believes this reconstruction of society should go. The particulars and justification of this project and this claim, it will be the business of this book to discuss just as plainly as the writer can."

The chapters dealing with "The Fundamental Idea of Socialism" and with the first and second main generalizations of Socialism are especially worthy of consideration. The chapter in which he discusses "The First Main Generalization of Socialism" is a masterly plea for the higher civilization, in which the author shows that civilization waits on the child, and that unless society puts forth every rational means possible for the development of strong, normal children, reared under a wholesome environment, civilization must necessarily disintegrate. He shows that comparatively few children at the present time have such environment, either in the homes of the rich or those of the poor. And what is true in the city of the deplorable conditions

in the homes of the toilers, is largely also true of the poor in the rural sections of Great Britain. He concludes this discussion by this masterly concrete statement of the first main generalization of Socialism:

"The ideas of the private individual rights of the parent and of his isolated responsibility for his children are harmfully exaggerated in the contemporary world. We do not sufficiently protect children from negligent, incompetent, selfish, or wicked parents; and we do not sufficiently aid and encourage good parents; parentage is altogether too much a matter of private adventure, and the individual family is altogether too irresponsible. As a consequence there is a huge amount of avoidable privation, suffering and sorrow, and a large proportion of the generation that grows up, grows up stunted, limited, badly educated, and incompetent in comparison with the strength, training and beauty which a better social organization could endow it.

"The Socialist holds that the community as a whole should be responsible, and every individual in the community, married or single, parent or childless, should be responsible, for the welfare and upbringing of every child born into that community. This responsibility may be delegated in whole or in part to parent, teacher or other guardian—but it is not simply the right but the duty of the state—that is to say, of the organized power and intelligence of the community—to direct, to inquire, and to intervene in any default for the child's welfare.

"Parentage rightly undertaken is a service as well as a duty to the world, carrying with it not only obligations but a claim, the strongest of all claims, upon the whole community. It must be paid for like any other public service; in any completely civilized state it must be sustained, rewarded and controlled. And this is to be done not to supersede the love, pride and conscience of the parent, but to supplement, encourage and maintain it."

In the discussion of "The Second Main Generalization of Socialism" our author shows how the great natural sources of wealth the treasure-house of earth, which the Common Father has provided for His common children, through being monopolized and held from the multitude, result in extreme misery and wretchedness for millions; while this unjust seizing and holding of wealth that should conserve the best interests of civilization and aid in the development of all the people

dwarfs and deadens the finer sensibilities and takes from the genuine happiness of the privileged few. He shows how the administration of the great public utilities or natural monopolies, by being in the hands of classes or groups, results in the exploitation of the many and the injury of society. And finally, after a strong and brilliant massing of acts, he makes the following concise statement as the second main generalization of Socialism:

"The idea of the private ownership of things and the rights of owners is enormously and mischievously exaggerated in the contemporary world. The conception of private property has been extended to land, to material, to the values and resources accumulated by past generations, to a vast variety of things that are properly the inheritance of the whole race. As a result of this, there is an enormous obstruction and waste of human energy and an entire loss of opportunity and freedom for the mass of mankind; progress is retarded; there is a vast amount of avoidable wretchedness, cruelty and injustice.

"The Socialist holds that the community as a whole should be inalienably the owner and administrator of the land, of all raw materials, of all values and resources accumulated from the past, and that all private property must be of a terminable nature, reverting to the community, and subject to the general welfare."

These two generalizations give in a few words the heart of the Socialistic contention, and with these contentions luminously amplified, Mr. Wells passes to a consideration of "The Spirit of Gain and the Spirit of Service." Seldom has there appeared an essay so mentally stimulating and morally inspiring as this discussion.

"I want now to point out," says our author, "that Socialism seeks to ennoble the intimate personal life, by checking and discouraging passions that now run rampant, and by giving wider scope for passions that are now thwarted and subdued. The Socialist declares that life is now needlessly dishonest, base and mean, because our present social organization, such as it is, makes an altogether too powerful appeal to some of the very meanest elements in our nature.

"Not perhaps to the lowest. There can be no disputing that our present civilization does not discourage much of the innate bestiality of man; that it helps people to a measure of continence, cleanliness, and mutual

toleration; that it does much to suppress brute violence, the spirit of lawlessness, cruelty and wanton destruction. But on the other hand it does also check and cripple generosity and frank truthfulness, any disinterested creative passion, the love of beauty, the passion for truth and research, and it stimulates avarice, parsimony, over-reaching, usury, falsehood and secrecy, by making money-getting its criterion of intercourse.

"The gift for getting is the supreme gift, all others bow before it.

"Now this is not a thing that comes naturally out of the quality of man; it is the result of a blind and complex social growth, of this set of ideas working against that, and of these influences modifying those. The idea of property has run wild and become a choking universal weed. It is not the natural master-passion of a wholesome man to want constantly to own. People talk of Socialism as being a proposal 'against human nature,' and they would have us believe this life of anxiety, of parsimony and speculation, of mercenary considerations and forced toil we all lead, is the complete and final expression of the social possibilities of the human soul. But, indeed, it is only quite abnormal people, people of a narrow, limited, specialized intelligence, Rockefellers, Morgans and the like, people neither great nor beautiful, mere financial monomaniacs, who can keep themselves devoted to and concentrated upon gain. . . . Just a small minority have and get—for the most part either inheritors of riches or energetic people who, through a real dulness toward the better and nobler aspects of life, can give themselves almost entirely to grabbing and accumulation. To such as these, all common men who are not Socialists, do in effect conspire to give the world.

"The anti-Socialist argues that out of this evil of encouraged and stimulated avarice comes good, and that this peculiar meanly, greedy type that predominates in the individualist world to-day, the Rockefeller-Harriman type, 'creates' great businesses, exploits the possibilities of nature, gives mankind railways, power, commodities. As a matter of fact, a modern intelligent community is quite capable of doing all these things infinitely better for itself, and the beneficent influence of commerce may easily become, and does easily become, the basis of a cant. Exploitation by private persons is no doubt a necessary

condition to economic development in an illiterate community of low intelligence, just as flint implements marked a necessary phase in the social development of mankind; but to-day the avaricious getter, like some obsolescent organ in the body, consumes strength and threatens health. And to-day he is far more mischievous than ever he was before, because of the weakened hold of the old religious organization upon his imagination.

"A world of Rockefellers, Morgans and Rothschilds would perish miserably after a vigorous campaign of mutual skinning; it is only because the common run of men is better than these profit-hunters that any real and human things are achieved.

"This fact must be insisted upon that most of the whorl of the world and all the good work is done to-day for some other motive than gain; that profit-seeking not only is not the moving power of the world, but that it cannot be, that it runs counter to the doing of effectual work in every department of life."

Again he observes:

"Our social system, based on Private Ownership, encourages and glorifies this spirit of gain, and cripples and thwarts the spirit of service. You need but have your eyes opened to its influence, and thereafter you will never cease to see how the needs and imperatives of Property taint the honor and dignity of human life. Just where life should flower most freely into splendor, this chill, malign obsession most nips and cripples. The law that makes getting and keeping an imperative necessity poisons and destroys the freedom of men and women in love, in art, and in every concern in which spiritual or physical beauty should be the inspiring and determining factor. Behind all the handsome professions of romantic natures the gaunt facts of monetary necessity remain the rulers of life. Every youth who must sell his art and capacity for gain, every girl who must sell herself for money, is one more sacrifice to the Minotaur of Private Ownership—before the Theseus of Socialism comes.

"Just as the private ownership of all that is necessary to humanity, except the air and sunlight and a few things that it has been difficult to appropriate, debases work and all the common services of life, so also it taints and thwarts the emotions and degrades the

intimate physical and emotional existence of an innumerable multitude of people."

Another chapter richly worth the reading is entitled "Would Socialism Destroy the Home?" Mr. Wells draws a graphic picture of the homes of the multitudinous poor in our great cities, and even in rural England, taken from authoritative sources. Next he turns his attention to the mothers and the children of the rich; after which he proceeds to show how Socialism comes not to destroy but to save the homes, not of the few but of all the people. One of its master ideas is the securing of conditions that shall give the child the chance, which under present conditions, he does not have in our civilization. Mr. Wells points out that under the competitive and anarchistic order that prevails we find a large percentage of the people in all of our great cities without any homes. Thus in London, between 1891 and 1895, more than one-fourth of all the deaths in that city occurred in the workhouses or other charitable institutions. But space forbids our giving as extended a notice of this very able discussion as we could desire. It is, however, a chapter that all thoughtful people should read.

Following this discussion, Mr. Wells asks and answers the question: "Would Socialism Abolish Property?" Other chapters deal with "The Middle-Class Man and Socialism," "Some Objections to Socialism," "Socialism a Developing Doctrine," "Revolutionary Socialism," "Administrative Socialism," "Constructive Socialism," "Some Arguments *ad Hominem*," and "The Advancement of Socialism."

This book is, in our judgment, the very best popular treatise on Socialism that has appeared. It is a book well calculated to clear the confusion in the minds of many well-meaning people who have not had the time or disposition to study the profounder treatises on Socialism and who have been to a great extent prejudiced by the persistent misrepresentations of the public press. Even those who may be extreme individualists should carefully read *New Worlds for Old*, for it will broaden their view-point and give them another angle from which to see the basic truths of social life, and it will show how the Socialists meet the various objections advanced against the faith that is a religion with millions of men throughout the civilized world to-day.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

Resurgam. A poem. By John Elliot. Frontispiece in color. Cloth. Pp. 20. Price, \$1.00 net. New York: John Lane Company.

THIS is a poem of great excellence. It possesses the imaginative quality that marks true poetry, while it teaches one of the most important lessons that man to-day has to learn.

The poem opens with the representation of one who has been overtaken by the greatest of all sorrows—the loss of one who had become all the world to him. The mourner gives himself up to plaintive moanings and futile repining, becoming more and more self-absorbed and consequently a curse to himself and a burden instead of a blessing to others. How many have had the terrible experience vividly portrayed in these lines

"Just one life—and a living Death;
One boon asked—and the answer 'Nay!'
Just one soul, for the eager breath
Of fire to scorch—and blast—and slay.

"Night by night have the Phantoms come
Of Love long lost and of Days long dead,
And mocked at Sleep—while the Spirit dumb
And writhing, has shivered—and burned—and bled."

This experience has come to many, very many; and how many wrap themselves in their grief as did this mourner when he cried:

"From an empty sea, to an empty shore—
Numb and helpless—a thing apart—
Cast, but a derelict evermore—
What has the world for a broken heart?

"The World cares nothing. Why should It mourn?
Mine is the night—*It* loves the sun.
A wounded thing is a thing of scorn.
A shadowed life is a life to shun."

To the selfish and self-absorbed sufferer a Voice comes from the Silence, bidding the soul to awake from its wretched slumber while the world is calling for just the help that can only be given by those who have passed through the fiery furnace of affliction.

*Books intended for review in *THE ARENA* should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, *THE ARENA*, Boston, Mass.

"Turn from self. Are you all alone?
Look on the throng that has felt the fire,
And yet tills bravely the seed that's sown
Without one hope of the 'World's Desire.'

"Stretch your hand to a kindred touch.
'Maimed and broken?'—but so are you.
He who has suffered overmuch,
Must do the work that is left to do.

"Fill your heart with the world's stern work;
Lose your woe in the World's great woe:
Blame not others, because you shirk—
You, who are needed because you *Know*."

The Voice dwells on the essential nobleness of those who are faithful to the trust, who make their experience a sustaining power for others who have never before tasted of the bitter herb.

"Those who labor, and ask no pay,
Who hold the torch, though their eyes are blind—
And walk with Grief on the darkened way,
Knowing Despair one step behind;

"Who stand erect, with head held high,
Unbowed by sorrow; too strong to fall;
Too proud to murmur; too brave to *die*:
They are the Men among them all;

"Who hold for others Love's brimming cup,
With never a drop to quench *their* thirst;
They are the leaven that raises up
The World to God from the depths accursed.

"Struggle onward, and match their worth;
Pour your blood on the thirsty seed;
Till, with Anguish, the barren earth;
Live your life like a Man indeed.

"Depths unsounded your feet may tread;
Heights unguessed are before your eyes;
Waken the Soul you thought was dead;
Watch for the sun that yet may rise."

The Voice is heeded, and the result that must and ever will follow consecration and unselfish labor for others reacts on the awakened soul in the new gift of life—a glory that is a benediction.

"Look! for they go—the ghostly years.
Look! for it ends—the endless night.
Look! for my eyes are blind with tears.
Ah! God bless it! The light! the *light*!

"Up! and onward, with bleeding feet,
From the noisome depths where the Shadows dwell.

Up! though the wings of the Furies beat
Round the awful court of Earthly Hell.

"Night still lies on the stony road;
Grief stands, mocking each step I take;
Care still clings, with its heavy load,
But my eyes have seen, and my heart's awake."

At length the soul, wrapped in midnight
grief so long as it was lost in self-absorption
or in selfish concern for its own gratification
and pleasure, by forgetting self in the service
of others passes from the night into the day
and beholds the splendor of a dawn more
radiant than its eyes had ever before been
capable of perceiving.

"Flaming dawn in the Eastern sky,
Clouds unrolled from a waking Earth,
The sun leaps up, and the shadows fly,
And the Day of Days has had its birth.

Color surges across the trees.
Listen! I hear a bluebird sing.
The air awakes to the hum of bees,
And—over the meadows walks the Spring.

"Peace, and rest on the tender grass;
Deep, sweet breaths of a purer air;
Shadows, only where swallows pass;
Fragrance and melody everywhere:

"Meadows of green, and white, and gold;
Bobolinks swinging on grasses long;
Happiness, more than the heart can hold,
Blossoming out in love and song.

"Yonder the clouds that once were dark,
Are blushing pink in the morning glow,
And, high above them, a singing lark,
Like Hope, is calling to all below.

"For Hope's awake, and the heart is warm,
And the grass is green on the sunny way.
Out of the cold, and dark, and storm—
Thanks to the God who gave—To-day.

"Peace to the earth, and all is well;
For the heart knows all that the birds would sing;
For Love has broken the bonds of Hell,
And—over the meadow walks the Spring."

Whether as a sermon impressing an august
lesson, or as a true poem, this little work is
worthy the attention of all those who love
the beautiful in life and literature.

Mrs. Eddy and the Late Suit in Equity. By
Michael Meehan. Authorized edition.
Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 371. Price, \$2.25.
Concord, New Hampshire: Michael Mee-
han, publisher.

IT IS WELL that a reliable and exhaustive
history of the famous suit in equity, instigated

by certain enemies of Christian Science and
brought with so-called "next friends" as the
stalking-horses, should appear in substantial
form for preservation, as this suit was one of
the most amazing and in many respects one
of the most portentous civil suits ever institu-
ted in the Republic. It involved questions
that had a vital bearing on the religious free-
dom while it raised issues of a still more inti-
mate bearing on the rights of aged people. It
was one of the gravest recent outrages that
have been attempted through the agency of
the courts. Happily, its complete collapse
not only defeated the infamous designs of the
New York *World* and probably other backers
of the attempted outrage, but it served to
remove a vast amount of prejudice born
chiefly of ignorance and misrepresentation,
that was current in regard to Mrs. Eddy and
the tenets of Christian Science. As events
transpired, it proved precisely the reverse in
its results from what the enemies of Christian
Science desired, and served, as is the case with
most attempts at religious persecution, to
greatly stimulate interest in the religion
assailed.

The present volume has been prepared by
the editor of the Concord *Patriot*, a journalist
who for many years has been well acquainted
with the founder of Christian Science and
who holds her in high esteem.

In the early part of the work Mr. Meehan
shows that the New York *World* and *McClure's*
Magazine sent men to Concord with the
evident purpose of trying to get up some
sensational matter that would be injurious
to Christian Science and its founder, by inter-
viewing citizens of Concord. They met,
however, with dismal failure, in so far as
securing what they wanted from reputable or
responsible citizens was concerned. The
leading citizens of Concord with one accord
frowned upon the discreditable attempt, and
where the reporters had evidently desired
criticisms and attacks upon Mrs. Eddy, they
received only words of praise and respect.
Notwithstanding this, the journalists pro-
ceeded to manufacture a lot of sensational
falsehoods in lieu of facts.

When Mr. Meehan found out the character
of the matter that was to be sent on to the
World, he wrote to Mr. Pulitzer, informing
him of the facts and urging him not to allow
the *World* to be prostituted by being made
the vehicle for the dissemination of falsehoods
and baseless slander. The protest, however,

had no effect and the *World* followed up its false and disreputable papers, as was shown by THE ARENA a year ago last January, with an effort to bring the case into the courts. Senator Chandler was employed, and a man was sent West to try and induce Mrs. Eddy's son to lend himself to the disreputable plot.

Following this exposure and the pillorying of the *World*, Mr. Meehan gives a full and exhaustive history of the case in all its bearings, including the reports of the hearings before the masters and the interviews of the masters with Mrs. Eddy, "in which interviews Mrs. Eddy made very clear to the world her mental capability." The volume also contains the expert opinions of Dr. Allan McLane Hamilton of New York and Dr. Edward French of Massachusetts, the noted alienist specialists, on the mental acuteness of Mrs. Eddy. There are also many pages given to biographical sketches of leading persons engaged in the controversy. The volume is illustrated with a frontispiece photograph of Mrs. Eddy and photographs of Judges Aldrich and Chamberlain, General Streeter and other attorneys, together with leading members of the First Church of Christ Scientist of Boston.

Some Neglected Aspects of War. By Captain A. T. Mahan. Cloth. Pp. 197. Price, \$1.50 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THIS volume contains four essays by Captain Mahan, together with a chapter on "The Power That Makes for Peace," by Henry S. Pritchett, and one on "The Capture of Private Property at Sea," by Julian S. Corbett. The book is a plea in justification of war and the fostering of a strong military arm on the part of government, rather than a broad-visioned, statesmanlike plea for peace. It is largely concerned with the old opportunist sophistical plea for the strengthening of the military arm as the best provision for peace, which in effect is to fill the imagination of the youth and the people with military ideals, military arguments and military object-lessons instead of with the ideals of peace and the ethics of the great Nazarene. The arguments of the volume frequently remind us of those long advanced by the upholders of monarchical government, in which the special pleaders for class-rule strove to prove the impossibility of popular government. It

is a book that will tend to chloroform the conscience of Christendom instead of making it vigilant and aggressive for practical measures that would compel international arbitration and render possible the cutting down of armaments that are now such a crushing burden on industry and one of the most demoralizing influences known to Christian civilization.

If half the money spent annually on armaments by the United States government were devoted to wise and practical ways and means for the cultivating of arbitration, in which real statesmen instead of political demagogues and opportunists should be placed to the front for the securing of a rational program, there can be little doubt but what two or three nations, like England and France, could be induced to unite in concert with the United States, with the result that a mutual agreement for arbitration among these powers could be arranged; and then step by step measures could be pushed forward which would inevitably create such a sentiment that various other christian lands would hasten to join the league of the people, with the result that soon international arbitration would be as settled a fact as is international law.

What is most needed is statesmanship imbued with the spirit of Christ instead of the spirit of Caesar; strong, earnest, practical men of faith instead of opportunist politicians and soldiers imbued with the spirit of war.

Books like the present volume do, in our judgment, incalculable injury by catering to the military spirit, probably the most sinister influence in civilization to-day, and by discouraging moral idealism and the faith that makes nations great.

The Stuff of a Man. By Katherine Evans Blake. Cloth. Pp. 423. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS novel, by the talented author of *Heart's Haven*, has a double interest. It is one of the most wholesome, charming and human love romances of the year, while at the same time it is the best study of the negro question that has been made in fiction.

As a story it will appeal to lovers of the simple, present-day American life. The characters are well drawn. True, Mrs. Blake is not so strong in character analysis or so keen in dissecting motives as is that other brilliant



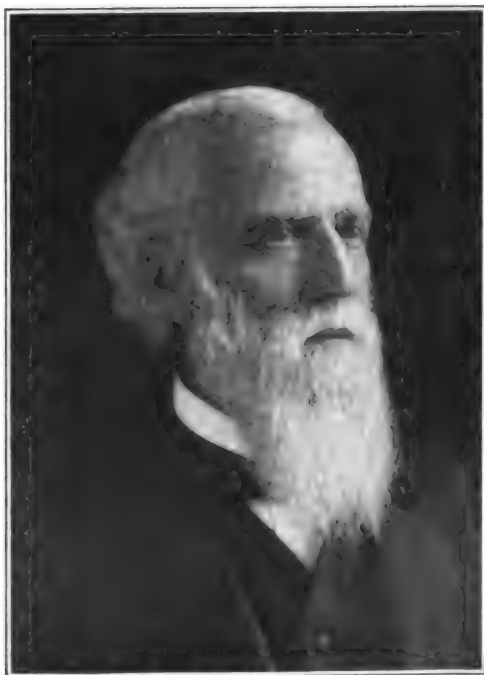
KATHERINE EVANS BLAKE,
Author of "The Stuff of a Man," "Heart's Haven."

young Indiana novelist, David Graham Phillips, who in some of his books, notably his latest novel, *Old Wives for New*, gives us a vivid example of psychological realism in the revelations of the undraped souls of his characters. But it must not be supposed that her treatment is merely descriptive or superficial. From time to time she lifts the curtain and gives her readers glimpses of the holiest of holies of the characters around which the chief interest centers, and there are here given some fine typical characters. Philo Dorsey, the fine, broad-visioned philanthropist, the friend of the black man and devout worshiper of a God of Love, is one of the best-drawn characters in the novels of the season, and he is as lovable as he is true to life. All his family exhibit the same fine characteristics—a blending of love with superb courage that wherever found or described, whether in life or literature, inspire and uplift. Judge Bridges Ochiltree is another admirably drawn typical figure. His antipathy to the black man voices the sentiment of the prejudice-blinded and emotion-swayed negro-baiting element of the South. Clay Hardesty, the brilliant young Kentucky attorney, who is the hero of the

story, grows in greatness through the magic influence of love and the upward-compelling power of a lofty-minded girl. In little Winkie we have another fine piece of character-drawing and this is also true of several other characters, notably that of Damoris Ochiltree, Burnette Dorsey and Bennie Shafter.

The scene of the story is laid in an Ohio River town in Indiana. A philanthropic woman leaves a fortune to her nephew, Clay Hardesty, provided he will carry forward a plan she has for solving the race problem in a miniature way—a solution that she hopes will prove suggestive. Clay has lived in Kentucky and has been under the influence of the general prejudice against the negro. His attorney, Judge Ochiltree, has the most pronounced aversion to the negroes of any one in Blufftown, the scene of the romance. On the way to this town the young lawyer comes in contact with two young women, Damoris and Charlotte Ochiltree, both playing prominent parts in the story, Damoris being a dominating figure only second in strength of character to her grandfather, Philo Dorsey.

The story abounds in incidents and dramatic episodes, some scenes being very strong,



J. P. WIDNEY,
Author of "Race Life of The Aryan Peoples."

and at all times the reader's interest is held. But an excellence even greater than that which constitutes the story a beautiful and wholesome love romance of common American life is the masterly, just and judicial treatment of the negro question. Here all the varied and complex phases, including the unpleasant and sinister aspects of the great problem, are met with a superb courage only equalled by delicacy in their presentation. Mrs. Blake does not idealize the negro. She sees him exactly as he is, but she does place responsibility where it should be placed and without preaching makes a powerful appeal to the innate sense of justice in the Anglo-Saxon.

It is a strong, fine and vital novel, and as a piece of literature it is far superior to the author's excellent first novel, *Heart's Haven*.

Humorous Hits and How to Hold an Audience.

By Grenville Kleiser. Cloth. Pp. 326. Price, \$1.00 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THIS work contains over twenty pages devoted to "How to Hold an Audience," in which "The Voice," "The Breath," "Modulation," "Pausing," "Feeling and Energy," "Gesture and Action," "Impersonation," and "Imagination" are briefly considered;

after which appear about two hundred selections, most of them humorous, all suited for public delivery. The book contains a very admirable selection, embracing many old favorites and several new pieces some of which have been prepared expressly for this volume. It is an admirable volume of popular selections for the purpose for which it is designed.

Primitive Secret Societies. A Study in Early Politics and Religion. By Hutton Webster, Ph.D. Cloth. Pp. 228. Price, \$2.00 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

THIS work in the brief compass of a little more than two hundred pages gives a vast amount of interesting and valuable information relating to primitive secret and religious societies and initiation rites and their bearing on the development of the social and race life of the various savage tribes. Much of the matter is given only in the barest outline. The copious foot-notes and references, however, constitute a very complete bibliography which will enable any one who so desires to make a more exhaustive study of the subject. It is a book that will be of special interest to students of sociology and anthropology.

AMY C. RICH.

PRESIDENTIAL POSSIBILITIES.



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HON. WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

See Editorial, "Presidential Possibilities," in THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.



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WILLIAM H. TAFT.

See Editorial, "Presidential Possibilities," in *THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT*.



TOM L. JOHNSON

See Editorial, "Presidential Possibilities," in **THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT**



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HON. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.

See Editorial, "Presidential Possibilities," in **THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.**



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HON. JOSEPH W. FOLK.

See Editorial, "Presidential Possibilities," in **THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.**



HON. WALTER CLARK, LL.D.

See Editorial, "Presidential Possibilities," in THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.



Johnson in Wilshire's Magazine.

BUMPING THE BUMPS.

NOW ON THE SQUARE, WOULDN'T IT
BE BETTER—



Savage, in the Chicago Daily Socialist.

IF LABOR SECURED
ITS LAWS IN THIS
MANNER

INSTEAD OF BEGGING
FOR THEM LIKE
THIS.



Handy, in Duluth News-Tribune.

SHADES OF CORNELIUS VANDERBILT AND
JAY GOULD:-

"Horrors!!! Look what's here."



Wahre Jacob (Stuttgart).

TIGHT MONEY.

It is the poor who are crushed first under the foot
of extortionate capital.



Doyle, in the Philadelphia Press.

UP THE HILL AND DOWN AGAIN.
The old adage of the "King of France" brought up-to-date in Germany.



Naughton, in the Duluth Herald.

THE MODERN ST. PATRICK OF AMERICA.



Reynolds, in the Tacoma Ledger.

"WATER, WATER EVERYWHERE, NOR ANY DROP TO DRINK."



H. M., in the Portland Oregonian.

TIME SOMEONE UNDERTOOK THE JOB.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

PRESIDENTIAL POSSIBILITIES.

The Outlook for Nominations.

IT IS usually hazardous to make predictions regarding the nominations for President, and this year is no exception to the rule. Hence the most we can safely do is to indicate the candidates that seem at the present writing to have the best chance to be selected by the two great parties.

There can be little doubt but what if a referendum of the Democratic party could be obtained, Mr. Bryan would receive an overwhelming majority of the votes cast. But nominating conventions, like our government since it passed from the people into the hands of great privilege-seeking monopolies, corporations and trusts acting through political bosses and money-controlled machines, are frequently anything but representative of the wishes of the electorate of the parties in question; and with the Democratic convention, owing to the two-thirds rule, the element of doubt in the selection of a candidate is necessarily much greater than would be the case if a simple majority of delegates could nominate. The great popularity of Mr. Bryan, based on the confidence of the people in his sincerity, incorruptibility, lofty patriotism and ability, and the further fact that he so largely represents the aspirations and ideals of fundamental Democrats and lovers of free government, will give him a majority of the delegates, in spite of the vast monetary resources and the pernicious activity of the would-be wreckers of the party. But the plutocratic contingent that pretends to be Democratic for the purpose of defeating the hopes of the people may succeed in preventing Mr. Bryan from receiving the necessary two-thirds vote. In that event, we think it most probable that some one wholly satisfactory to Mr. Bryan as best representing his ideals and convictions—such a man as Mayor Johnson of Cleveland, Governor Folk of Missouri, Chief Justice Walter Clark of North Carolina, or Senator Owen of Oklahoma, will receive the nomination. The fact that such papers as *Harper's Weekly*, edited by J. Pierpont Morgan's handy-man, Mr. Harvey, the New York

World, and other reactionary and plutocratic organs favor Governor Johnson would, to say nothing of other facts involved, render, we think, his nomination impossible at a time when the people are so aroused to the peril of popular rights and free government from the feudalism of privileged wealth whose throne is Wall Street.

Turning to the Republican party, the candidate that at this writing seems to have by far the best chance to receive the nomination is Secretary William H. Taft. A combination of things favor him which we incline to believe will lead to his nomination on the first ballot. Among these we briefly mention the following: (1) President Roosevelt has selected him as his successor, and the weight of the administration has been thrown in his favor. But this in itself might easily prove a source of weakness if the candidate were a different kind of man—for instance, a man like United States Senator LaFollette, whom the plutocracy and the corrupt bosses fear. In the case of Mr. Taft, President Roosevelt's attitude is a source of strength, because in addition to his gaining a large constituency who would oppose him were he not favored by the President, the plutocracy has been made to understand that if Taft is not nominated as Mr. Roosevelt desires, the President stands ready to accept the nomination; for though the President has not said this, his intimate friends have been permitted to industriously spread the idea, and this, we believe, will lead to Mr. Taft's nomination on the first ballot, because the plutocracy and the bosses barring the favors shown Mr. Taft by the President, have no objection to the nomination of the Secretary of War. Indeed, we very much doubt if, with the possible exception of Secretary Root, Mr. Cortelyou and Senator Crane of Massachusetts, there are any men in the United States who might by any possibility be nominated who would be more satisfactory to the "interests" than Secretary William H. Taft, for reasons which we shall presently consider. Therefore we believe the probabilities strongly point to the nomination of Mr. Taft.

Mr. Bryan: Man and Statesman.

For twelve years Mr. Bryan has been under the fierce light such as beats upon the throne. The plutocracy, with all its vast wealth, its army of retainers and hangers-on, its newspaper battalions, its political bosses and handy-men, has sought in every possible way to discredit him. He has been slandered and maligned, persistently and deliberately misrepresented in cartoon and editorial. Never in our memory has a statesman at once pure, clean, able, courageous and upright, been the object of such deliberate, unabating misrepresentation and calumny. And yet through all this he has maintained the serenity of soul that marks the man conscious of his own rectitude and determined to so live that he can walk arm in arm with justice and look love squarely in the face with no shadow of shame. His private life has been that of a model American; clean, manly, loving and just.

But many men are models in their homes and punctilious in observing outwardly the forms of religion, and yet when they come to business or political affairs they yield to a vicious and soul-searing opportunism that is marked at every step with moral criminality or deviation from the path of fidelity, virtue, integrity and honor. It has been this double standard of life that has marked corporation-rule and politics since privileged interests gained mastery of the political machines that more than all else has demoralized and debased American life while undermining republican government. And it is a crowning glory of Mr. Bryan's career that he has refused to yield to the seductive temptations of prevailing conditions and win personal or political success at the cost of moral integrity. He has ever been straightforward, sincere and loyal to what he conceived to be the highest interests of the people and the government. We, in common with many others, have frequently disagreed with his views; but we have never doubted his integrity or lofty manhood. He has often moved much slower than we could wish, for by temperament Mr. Bryan is a conservative rather than a radical; but it is greatly to his credit that he has never permitted the lure of personal success, fame, wealth or popular applause to lead him to swerve from the cause of the people or the principles of fundamental democracy.

Moreover, he has steadily advanced. Sometimes, as in the case of public ownership of

railways, his vacillation has been disappointing, but always in such cases it was because he believed that another experiment, as for example, public supervision, should be first tried. His caution and native conservatism desire progress to be made slowly.

He has long been a champion of Direct-Legislation. He is aggressively honest, sincere, loyal to the interests of the people, and the uncompromising foe of the triple reactionary evils which are threatening democracy: imperialism, militarism and plutocracy. Hence all the anti-republican influences, the powers of greed, the privilege-seeking and privilege-favoring hordes, are all opposed to the man whom they know to be able, incorruptible and faithful to the basic demands of democracy—equality of opportunities and of rights.

Mr. Taft: His Strength and Weakness.

Secretary Taft is one of the most genial of men, and fair-spoken. Few men can make a more pleasing appearance before all classes and interests than this plausible and sweet-spoken gentleman. True, his knowledge that he must not really antagonize the masters of the money-controlled machine is such that at times he is compelled to appear pitifully superficial and ignorant in the presence of the most vital political problems of the hour. For example, when asked what a man was to do who was unable to get work and who was starving, he cried, "God knows!"—an impotent cry of despair in lieu of a statesman's answer, that in a nation of measureless wealth like ours, if equality of opportunities and of rights obtained, instead of the mastership of monopoly and privilege, all would have ample employment who wished to labor, and that it was the supreme duty of true statesmanship to unceasingly work for changes that would bring about such equality of opportunities and of rights and abolish all forms of privilege that were enabling the few to acquire wealth that was justly being earned by the many. Such a reply as the above, however, would have seriously offended the masters of the money-controlled machine of his party; so we see him raising his hands in despair and crying, "God knows!" and thus leaving the question.

Again, his loyalty to the corrupt bosses and the masters of the political machine has made him fight Direct-Legislation, which he must know is the only practical and efficient method

for insuring a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Indeed, he has opposed it almost as zealously as have Boss Lodge of Massachusetts and other political bosses and handy-men of trusts, monopolies and corporations.

But as a rule the genial Secretary of War has been a most plausible and pleasing speaker before popular audiences. Thus he is preëminently the kind of a politician which the plutocracy most values for public office; for the privilege-seeking interests, the great corporation and monopoly chiefs, judge men not by their words spoken in public so much as by their actions when they are in positions of trust and vantage and by their secret pledges. Now Mr. Taft as Federal judge was altogether satisfactory to the plutocracy. The railroads have good reason to regard him as their "great and good friend."

We have already shown our readers how the most authoritative organ of the high-finance interests of Wall Street has found Secretary Taft altogether satisfactory as a candidate. So the political bosses and corporation handy-men love him as cordially as they dread and hate LaFollette in the Republican party or Bryan, Folk and Mayor Johnson in the Democratic party. The notorious Boss Cox of Ohio is to-day hand in glove with Brother Charlie Taft, working for the nomination of the Secretary. In Massachusetts we find Boss Lodge, the master of the machine, and ex-Congressman Samuel Powers, the corporation handy-man, the two leaders of the Taft movement. No man whom the plutocracy feared would have the support that Mr. Taft is receiving from such sources to-day. If he is nominated he will have the liberal support of the great corporation interests; and for the reason that the plutocracy does not fear him, while it is not anxious for Mr. Roosevelt to be nominated, we believe Secretary Taft will receive the nomination on the first ballot. If so, will he be elected? That is quite another question.

Other Candidates.

In the Democratic party, if Mr. Bryan should not have the necessary two-thirds vote, it is quite possible that a compromise candidate would be selected, but in that event it is highly improbable that any one satisfactory to the wreckers of the party who inflicted Alton B. Parker on the Democracy at the last election, would be selected. The people this

year are in no mood to listen to the Ryans, the Belmonts, the New York *World*, or *Harper's Weekly*, and it seems to us that instead of Governor Johnson, Judge Gray or Judge Harmon, the favorites of the reactionary and plutocratic wing of the party, either Mayor Tom L. Johnson, Governor Folk, Justice Clark of North Carolina, or Senator Owen of Oklahoma will be likely to be the choice of the party, provided the friends of Mr. Bryan fail to secure the necessary two-thirds vote.

Mayor Johnson would make an ideal candidate for those who believe in the democracy of Jefferson and the Republicanism of Lincoln. He is a man of unsurpassed executive and business ability who has consecrated his splendid talent to the highest service of his country and the furtherance of the ends of fundamental democracy with the same energy that the great Wall-Street high financiers and their handy-men have shown in plundering the people and debauching government for private gain. He is a strong champion of Direct-Legislation and all the principles and ideals that underlie a genuine democracy or government of the people, by the people and for the people. He is as transparently honest and sincere as Mr. Bryan, and he is a strong advocate of the great basic reforms such as public ownership of natural monopolies and the destruction of monopoly or speculative value in the common gift of the Common Father to His common children. He was a poor Southern boy who by persistent labor and natural ability rose to success. In many respects he would be, we believe, the strongest candidate the Democratic party could nominate.

Governor Folk was one of the great pioneers in uncovering the sea of corruption growing out of the union of the high financiers and the political prostitutes or bosses. For some years the reformers had exposed the conditions that obtained throughout the United States in city, state and nation, but their *exposés* were met with denials and denunciations accompanied by such epithets as anarchists, socialists, cranks and irresponsible demagogues. The multi-millionaire moral criminals and grafters felt their position so secure in society and their hold on the political machines and the bosses so great that they feared little. Their handy-men in government and the political bosses, operating the money-controlled machines were working

as perfectly constructed mechanism, with the result that the government was being debauched and corrupted in all its ramifications, popular rule was being destroyed, and the great thieves and their handy-men were becoming annually enormously enriched by systematic plunder of the people. As prosecuting attorney, Mr. Folk lifted the cover and revealed the corruptors, great and low, at work. No one official has given such impetus to the anti-graft crusade or the battle for civic morality as Governor Folk. He is a firm believer in Direct-Legislation and also in public ownership for cities, but not in government ownership of public utilities. In this respect he is out of accord with progressive democracy, but on other points he is in harmony with its ideals, purposes and aspirations. He would make a strong and, we believe, a successful candidate.

Chief Justice Walter Clark of North Carolina is another prominent Democrat who would make an ideal candidate for those who believe in the Democracy of Jefferson. He was a pioneer progressive Democrat when the South was as yet asleep to the perils of advancing plutocracy. He early antagonized the railways and the tobacco trust by refusing to do their bidding and as judge insisting on maintaining the cause of justice, regardless of the arrogant demands of the great corporations. For this reason, when he was nominated for Chief Justice of the state, the railways and the tobacco trust interests undertook to defeat him. The people, however, could not be bought or seduced to betray their friend. He was elected by the largest majority ever given to a judge in the state. He is a fundamental Democrat, a believer in popular ownership of public utilities, in the election of all judges, senators and postmasters by popular vote. He would make an exceptionally strong candidate, and if nominated we believe he would be elected.

Of the Republican candidates who are ostensibly in the field, Governor Hughes is probably the most prominent figure. He is being vigorously supported by ex-Boss Odell of New York. Mr. Ryan was one of his liberal campaign contributors last year when he ran for chief executive of the Empire State, although Ryan is nominally a Democrat. Mr. Hughes' great wealth, it is stated, was largely if not chiefly earned as a corporation attorney, and it is a significant fact that

he is enthusiastically endorsed and supported by a great number of the master spirits among the privilege-seeking interests, the corporation chiefs and high financiers. Mr. Odell has long been Mr. Harriman's handy-man. All these things would indicate that his nomination would insure an enormous campaign corruption fund; but it is quite a question whether this year any fund can be raised great enough to elect a candidate satisfactory to the panic-makers of Wall Street or the law-defying corporations.

Among the more frankly corporation and reactionary candidates who are dear to the privileged interests, trusts and monopolies, are Speaker Cannon, Vice-President Fairbanks, Senators Knox, Foraker and Crane, and Secretary Cortelyou. Any of these men would be altogether satisfactory to the high financiers, gamblers and corporation interests that are destroying popular government.

The man of all men among the avowed candidates of the Republican party who could enthuse the rank and file of his party and also call to his support hundreds of thousands of votes from independent and liberal Democratic ranks, is Senator Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin. In the battle of popular rights against reaction, class-rule and the dominance of privilege, through the money-controlled machine, Senator LaFollette stands squarely with the people and against the self-seeking enemies of popular government. In this respect his position is similar to that of Messrs. Bryan, Folk, Mayor Johnson and Justice Clark. He has proved himself an absolutely incorruptible statesman under the greatest possible temptations. He is a friend of Direct-Legislation, direct primaries and other fundamental democratic measures, and his record as Governor of Wisconsin constitutes the fairest page in the history of Governors of American commonwealths during the past quarter of a century. But because he is a real and not a pretended reformer, because he will not surround himself with plutocracy's chief handy-men and at critical junctures surrender the people's cause to the plutocracy, he is the one man in the Republican party that the masters of the money-controlled machine, the corrupt politicians and the corporation interests most fear. Every possible measure has been taken to discredit this statesman during his brilliant career. If the Republican party had not so completely fallen into the hands of corrupt bosses and

the gamblers, high financiers and corporation classes of Wall Street, and become so thoroughly manned, in office and out, by the retainers and handy-men of privileged wealth, there can be little doubt, but what Senator LaFollette would be the candidate selected at the convention, and if selected, he would be elected. But we do not believe that the Morgans, the Harrimans and the handy-men of privileged interests, such as Aldrich, Lodge, Penrose and their like, would permit the Republican party to nominate a genuine reformer.

Other Parties.

It is quite impossible even to predict at this

writing the probable nominations of the Socialist party or the Independence party which has recently been organized under the direction of Mr. William Randolph Hearst. That the Socialists will poll a very large vote is indicated by the growing interest in Socialism evinced by labor, largely on account of the contemptuous treatment of organized industry by the old parties, following repeated ante-election promises. We think it is hardly probable that Mr. Hearst will be the nominee of the Independence party this time, though he doubtless would be the candidate if he desired to be the standard-bearer.

DIRECT LEGISLATION AND POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

OWING to the fact that a number of states will this year take action on Direct-Legislation, and the further fact that the unscrupulous party bosses and their masters and sustainers, the privilege-seeking and republic-destroying corruptors of government, have become so thoroughly alarmed that they are seeking through their kept editors and in various other ways to mislead the people and thus prevent them from accepting the tools of democracy by which the present reign of graft, corruption and corporation domination can be peacefully and effectively brought to an end, we are constantly receiving letters from the friends of clean government and fundamental democracy in the states where the battle between reaction, class and boss-rule and democracy is being carried forward, asking for answers to many reckless and sometimes very ingenious and sophistical pleas that are being advanced by those who hold a brief for the public-service corporations and political grafters. As it is impossible to personally answer all friends who wish replies, we give below the most frequently asked questions suggested by the opposition, and brief answers to the same, feeling that in this way many thousands of friends of pure and free government will have at hand some facts that will enable them to promptly meet the charges of the controlled press.

(1) Is Direct-Legislation through the Initiative and Referendum inimical to a government of the people, by the people and for

the people, or opposed to the basic ideas of a democratic republic?

(2) Is it a radical, untried and dangerous experiment that would tend to unsettle government?

(3) Would Direct-Legislation prove costly in a state or community, and thus lead to the people having greater burdens to bear?

In reply to the first question, it would seem clear that a government of the people, by the people and for the people must be one in which the will, desire and wish of the people is carried out, and this brings us face to face with the great fundamental distinction between all forms of class-rule and popular rule or democratic republican government. In class governments the officials are masters of the many. In a republic, under popular franchise, they are, if faithful to their oath of office, the servants of their principals, the people. Under class-rule the governing power may be an irresponsible autocrat, an official bureaucracy, a privileged aristocracy, or some special class that rules directly or through servants responsive to it. In a representative democracy or a democratic republic, such as ours, the officials are servants and not masters. They are elected to represent the wishes of their principals the voters, who are their masters. A public servant may be ignorant of the wishes of his constituents or those who have placed him in power to represent them, and thus unwittingly vote against their wishes, interests and desires; or he may be a scoundrel who while pledging himself

to carry out the wishes of those who have placed him as their representative, betrays them to their enemies or to the tools of their enemies, the political bosses. In either instance it must be clear to every believer in popular government that the principals, or the real sovereigns and rulers, should not be left defenceless, the victims of betrayed trusts, the despoiled of their enemies. Clearly, if the theory of popular government is sound, the principals, that is, the voters, should have the power to right the wrongs, whether ignorantly or corruptly committed, and thus be protected from the possibility of being bound hand and foot and delivered to hands of exploiters and plunderers, as has been the history of American municipal, state and, to a great degree, national government since the public-service corporations and other privileged interests have become a dominant power in government, acting as a new feudalism through the party boss and the money-controlled machine.

If we are in the presence of a power within the government that time and again defies the wishes of the people, a power that annually levies extortionate taxes on the American masses of untold millions of dollars for the over-enrichment of the few, and at the same time is lavishing a fraction of this wrongfully-acquired wealth to debauch government and the various public-opinion-forming agencies, it must be clear to every patriotic American that the cherished government of the people, by the people and for the people has given place to a government of corporate and privileged wealth whose actual throne is not Washington but Wall Street, and whose master spirits are not the nominal heads of the government and of the legislative bodies, but the few great gamblers, stock-waterers and exploiters of the millions who have long manipulated corporations that have been proven to be systematic anarchists or law-defiers—a government of privileged wealth acting through corrupt party bosses and money-controlled machines. And he must indeed be a simple-minded and ignorant citizen who does not know that this is the deadly evil that all friends of honest government, of civic probity and free institutions have now to grapple with, if the Republic is to be anything more than an empty shell masking one of the most corrupt, oppressive and irresponsible forms of class government.

Direct-Legislation through the Initiative

and Referendum is merely a practical measure to maintain the priceless heritage which popular government has given to the people; the thing which differentiates a democratic republic from a class-ruled government.

In answer to the second query, at the outset it should be remembered that in every department of life changed conditions call for changes and readjustments. The discovery and utilization of steam and electricity have changed the whole face of the civilized world and require changes and readjustments in industrial and social life at every turn. New inventions are constantly bringing about radical changes throughout the manufacturing industrial and economic world. So in political life, conditions are wholly different from what they were a hundred years ago; but the principles which differentiate a free or popular representative democratic republican government from class-rule are precisely the same as when the Declaration of Independence was adopted and when our fathers strove to secure a practical popular government that should at all times be representative of and responsive to the will and desire of its principals or masters—that is, the majority of the voters.

With the revolutions that have followed the introduction of steam, electricity and multitudinous inventions, a new peril has arisen; not, as of old, a taxing power overseas that sought to deprive the American of his earnings, but an irresponsible, arrogant and avaricious power within our own borders that through corruption and the mastery of the money-controlled machine is becoming more and more the supreme dictator in government, and in so doing is wiping out the line of demarcation between a representative democratic republic and class-rule, or, rather, is overthrowing popular rule and substituting an intolerable, oppressive and manhood-demoralizing class-rule in its place,

All Direct-Legislation aims to do is to re-deliver the government to the people of city, state and nation. It is not untried. For fifty years it has been in practical operation in Switzerland, and no intelligent person in that Republic would to-day be reckless enough to predict its abandonment by the people. Professor Frank Parsons, Charles E. Russell, Carl Vrooman, and the well-known English economist and publicist, John A. Hobson, have all recently made personal examinations of the workings of Direct-

Legislation in Switzerland, and all with one accord declare it to have proved a positive success and an effective method for bulwarking free government. Professor Parsons said that he "did not find one man who wished to go back to the old plan of final legislation by elected delegates without chance of appeal to the people."

Mr. Hobson in a recent issue of *The Contemporary Review* summed up some of the benefits he had found to have resulted from Direct-Legislation in Switzerland, as follows:

"1. That it provides a remedy for intentional or unintentional misrepresentation on the part of elected legislatures and secures laws conformable to the actual will of the majority.

"2. That it enhances the popular confidence in the stability of law.

"3. That it eliminates much waste of political energy by enabling proposals of unknown value to be submitted separately to a quantitative test."

In Switzerland, according to Swiss statesmen and English and American thinkers who hold no brief for reactionary, class-rule interests, it has proved a wisely conservative and eminently practical method of rendering popular government a fact as well as a theory. In Oregon it has proved equally successful. On this point it is interesting to note the opinion of the most prominent representatives of the two dominant parties of the state, the Democratic and the Republican. Ex-Governor Chamberlain, the most popular Democratic statesman of the Pacific coast, with the success of Oregon in view, declared that he believed the Initiative and Referendum offered the only corrective for the evils in government to-day, his exact words being:

"I approve the formation of a National Initiative and Referendum committee, and firmly believe that the correction of most of the evils which afflict us will never be accomplished until the people take back the power which they have unconsciously surrendered to conventions, political machines and party bosses."

United States Senator Jonathan A. Bourne, the leading Republican statesman of Oregon, bears this unequivocal testimony to the value of Direct-Legislation:

"In my humble opinion, Oregon's Direct-Legislation system is the safest and most conservative plan of government ever invented."

There is no possibility of any sudden overturn of policies or principle by change of parties in office—no great change can be made without the consent of a majority voting on that particular question separate from all others. I am confident that a majority can never be had for a measure without there is good reason to believe it will advance the general welfare.

"The great majority of the American people are honest, intelligent and just; agitation and full discussion must inevitably result in their giving a wise decision. Should a mistake be made through lack of agitation and discussion, it can quickly be remedied by this system by again referring direct to the people. There is no occasion to wait for a change of administration or a change of party majorities in the state Senate or House. This system places direct responsibility on each individual voter for every law under which he lives.

"The initiative especially makes available all the statesmanship there is among all the people. Any man or group of men having a good idea can enlist for one or more campaigns and get it before the people for approval or rejection. No boss nor political machine nor corrupt legislator can prevent a fair hearing and decision by the supreme power, the sovereign people.

"The man afraid to trust the people should not be trusted by the people."

The objection to the cost of Direct-Legislation, that is, to the cost of securing a genuinely representative government and protecting the citizens against the corruption of the "interests," is a thoroughly dishonest plea. Direct-Legislation is opposed by all the corporations and grafters who are enriching themselves at the expense of the public, through corruptly acquiring franchises and special privileges. Had the people of the American cities and states possessed the Direct-Legislation privileges enjoyed by the people of Oregon and Oklahoma during the past quarter of a century, they would to-day be in possession of hundreds of millions of dollars that are now in the pockets of the great stock-watering gamblers and public-service chiefs and trust and corporation magnates whose headquarters are in Wall Street, and the political toole and handymen of these enemies of the Republic.

Some months ago *Municipal Affairs* of

Los Angeles, California, noticed this claim by taking its home city as an object lesson. It pointed out that Los Angeles had had the right of Direct-Legislation since 1903. Since then there had been a recall of one councilman, at a cost of \$1,000. A referendum at a special election had cost the city \$8,500. One referendum at a regular election had cost the city nothing. On the other hand, it showed that there had been one franchise graft worth one million dollars that had been allowed to die because of the fear of a referendum. It cost nothing. The total expense of the law, this paper pointed out, had been \$9,500 or \$2,375 a year since it had been in operation, and a total saving of at least one million dollars, or \$250,000 a year. This, said *Municipal Affairs*, is "a very modest charge for insurance against legislation that is disapproved by the people," to say nothing of the amount saved by the legal possibility of a referendum.

The real masters of the men who advance such reasons as the cost of the referendum against Direct-Legislation, are deeply concerned about the referendum, but it is not concern for the pockets of the people, but concern because the referendum renders it impossible for them to get into the pockets of the people against the will of the voters.

The exposure of the corruption of the government of St. Louis by the money of the public-service corporations, which paid several hundreds of thousands of dollars to corrupt officials in order to secure franchises belonging to the people, valued at many millions of dollars, affords but one example of numbers that might be cited to show how the failure to possess the referendum renders possible the robbery of a community of untold millions of dollars through corrupting the people's representatives and making them traitors to their government, traitors to the voters and false to their oaths of office. The attempt to loot Chicago a few years ago, on the part of the street-car corporations through the bribery of the city government, was only checked by what is known as a "petition in boots." Only the presence of a vast number of citizens who gave it to be understood that the people intended to hang the recreant politicians who "stayed bought" saved the city. Similar demonstrations later occurred

in Philadelphia, and quite recently this exasperation of the people at the recreancy of their supposed representatives has extended to small towns. Thus, a few months ago, at Whiting, Indiana, the city council tried to push a fifty-year traction franchise, in opposition to the known wishes of the sovereign people. When it was found that the council had determined to perpetrate the crime against the community, the enraged citizens, having no legal redress such as a referendum provision would give, went *en masse* to the chamber and forced an adjournment. One alderman was beaten and others barely escaped.

Thus we find that we are to-day in the presence of a condition in which the citizens of America, where the initiative and referendum do not yet obtain, are powerless in the hands of the corrupt and the corruptors, unless recourse is had to mob violence or a threat of mob-rule. City after city, state after state, has been robbed and plundered right and left by the men whose money is now being so lavishly used to second the efforts of corrupt bosses in the campaign against Direct-Legislation.

Direct-Legislation is the one peaceable and practical remedy that would render impossible the two greatest dangers that threaten the Republic to-day—namely, the despotism and exploitation of the people by class interests working through party bosses and money-controlled machines, and mob-rule invited by the powerlessness of the people to prevent party bosses from making up the slates dictated by the corporations, or to prevent men who are allowed by the boss to run from betraying the people they pretend to represent.

Justice Brewer of the Supreme Court, in his address in New York on November twentieth, as reported in the *Washington Herald*, uttered the master thought of the wisest twentieth-century statesmanship when he said:

"The more constant and universal the voice of the people, the nearer the approach to an ideal government.

"Initiative and referendum make public opinion the quality controlling. The more promptly and more fully public officers carry into effect such public opinion the more truly is government of and by the people realized."

RAILROAD REGULATION IN EUROPE.

THE MARCH magazines contain two leading articles that should appeal to readers of THE ARENA. One was Mr. Lincoln Steffens' very able paper on "W. S. U'Ren, the Law-Giver," a sketch which necessarily incorporates a graphic story of the victorious battle for Direct-Legislation in Oregon. Mr. U'Ren has been for many years a valued contributor to THE ARENA, and it is gratifying to find that at last his splendid service to the cause of fundamental democracy is being appreciated by men like Mr. Steffens.

The second paper to which we refer is that by Mr. Carl Vrooman on "Varieties of Railroad Regulation." It constituted one of the leading papers in *Van Norden's Magazine* for March. Mr. Vrooman is and has long been a special contributor to THE ARENA. His admirable paper in the January issue on "The Ultimate Issue Involved in Railroad Accidents" was undoubtedly one of the very ablest magazine articles dealing with this special phase of the problem that has ever appeared. His article in *Van Norden's Magazine* is also a masterly discussion; nor is this surprising when we remember the author's special qualifications to speak authoritatively on railways and other economic questions. After leaving Harvard Mr. Vrooman made political science and economic questions the subject of special and painstaking research. He was made one of the regents of the Kansas Agricultural College, a position he ably filled during his incumbency of that office. Later he went to Europe to make an exhaustive study of the railway situation in the various nations of the Old World. Two years were spent in a personal, painstaking and persistent investigation. He is therefore thoroughly qualified to discuss the railway question in all its bearings.

In his paper in *Van Norden's Magazine* Mr. Vrooman gives an authoritative outline history of the railway regulation experience of various European nations that have attempted to compel the private operators of the great arterial systems of the nation to consider the interest of the people and the rights of government.

In Switzerland, our author states that for

many years each canton or state attempted regulation with the result that there was much confusion and little effective regulation. In 1872 the republic took over the control of the railroads, a great forward step bringing order out of chaos, or, to use the writer's words, "substituting comparative unity of purpose and harmony of action for the antagonisms, misunderstandings and quasi-anarchy which had existed up to this time. Still there was much to be desired on the part of the people and the government, and in 1895 a radical measure was enacted, but by the time the systematic opposition of the railways had been overcome and the law so long demanded by the people, was enacted, the exasperation of the voters had resulted in whatever happens when reaction adopts the Bourbon tactics after the people have become aroused: The reforms that would have satisfied the voters, had the avaricious reactionaries been content to play fair and not try to defeat the people's just demands, no longer satisfied the nation when the railways were finally beaten at every point and forced to acquiesce. As America is traveling precisely the road Switzerland traveled, with, we believe, the same goal looming in the not far distant future, Mr. Vrooman's observations on this point are of special interest.

"The most striking thing about this Swiss railroad legislation," he says, "is the fact that, owing to the too successful efforts of the roads to prevent or delay the passage of sorely-needed reform measures, reform always came too late to be satisfactory. The temporary success of the railroads proved to be their final undoing. When on account of the long-continued tyranny and arrogance of the roads, public sentiment at last had been aroused to such a point that the public was able, in spite of railroad opposition, to inaugurate a vigorous policy of railroad control, it was found that the people had been too deeply stirred to be satisfied with a program of negative regulation which merely corrected the most glaring railroad abuses without securing the positive reforms demanded, such as higher wages with shorter hours for employées and lower rates with improved service for the public. As a result the demand for complete

ownership and management by the Swiss people of their arteries of commerce became steadily more popular, until finally it was embodied in the law of October 17, 1897, and was ratified by the astonishing referendum vote of over two to one."

From Switzerland Mr. Vrooman passes to Italy and traces the history of the attempt at regulation based on the example of Holland, in which there was an attempt at combining state ownership with private operation. In Italy the government did succeed in obtaining some regulation that promised to be effective; but here, as is ever the case where private corporations gain control of public utilities, it was the private company and not the nation that benefited in a financial way.

In passing it is well to note a rule that marks the history of private ownership of public utilities. Either the government is made to lose enormously for the abnormal enrichment of the few, or the people are mercilessly victimized. In our own country these crimes against organized society and struggling individuals are both in evidence. The mail-carrying swindle is one case in point, to say nothing of the systematic debauching of government; while the history of freight extortion, rebates and discriminations afford typical examples of how the individuals have been made to suffer by the lawless and avicious railway corporations.

Italy was victimized by the railroad corporations, but this was not the worst of it. The regulation for which so much was promised failed to regulate.

"Any one," says Mr. Vrooman, "caring for detailed information as to the railroad situation in Italy during the last few years of company mismanagement should consult the report which a second Royal Italian Railroad Commission made to Parliament May 18, 1903. It is an extraordinary document. The greater part of it consists of a voluminous and detailed account of the evils and inconveniences suffered by the Italian people during twenty long years of corporation management.

"The Italian *régime* of private railroad management had been a dismal failure. Soon after this momentous fact had been brought to light, a strike of railroad employées precipitated a political crisis which resulted in the passage of a bill April 22, 1905, providing for state operation of most of the Italian railroads from June 30th of that year. Thus

collapsed the Italian attempt to establish a permanently satisfactory system of state-regulated corporation-managed railroads.

"It was extremely unfortunate that so momentous a change should have been brought about as the result of a sudden and irresistible popular impulse, instead of as the result of a carefully thought out and vigorously carried out plan of political and economic evolution. It is because of the unpreparedness of the Italian government for this entirely peaceable, but at the same time thoroughly revolutionary step, that Italy has suffered so considerable an amount of industrial inconvenience during the present purely provisional *régime* of state management.

Much space is given to the "peculiar hybrid railroad system" of France. France, like Italy, appears to have been victimized by the railroad corporations. According to the theory entertained, as our author shows, "the railroads were held to be a public service.

"As a consequence the state was to decide what roads were to be built, how they were to be built and under what conditions they were to be operated. Moreover, the state was to be the heaviest investor and to have the privilege of paying all losses. But in order that the roads might be run more economically and efficiently than a state was considered capable of doing, they were to be turned over to a species of junior partner in the companies eagerly awaiting the golden opportunity.

The French government has been prodigal with the people's money when it came to favoring railroads, as is clearly shown. But there are some things to the credit of the government. Our author was unable to find a trust in France "which could be shown to be the direct offspring of a system of secret rebates and other discriminations." Another point in favor of the state is the arrangement by which, between 1950 and 1960 all the roads will become the property of the government, unincumbered. The drawbacks seem, however, to outweigh the favorable features, and Mr. Vrooman quotes approvingly the following words of President Hadley concerning attempts at railroad regulation:

"It is an interesting fact that a railroad which is owned and managed by the state, in its general policy is much more like our own railroads than is a road which is owned by a private company but strictly controlled by state regulations. In the latter case the state has no direct interest in making excep-

tions to its own rules. In the former it has. The rules which a state will make for itself are therefore less rigid than those which it will make for other people. This difference is strikingly seen in comparing the development of railroads in Belgium or Germany, where the state actually owns the leading roads, with that in France where it merely controls them. The former is much more untrammelled."

Mr. Vrooman notes the extremely unfavorable financial showing of the French-regulated roads, in so far as the government receipts are concerned, as compared with the government-owned and operated roads of Germany. There the single state of Prussia showed in 1905 a net profit of \$125,000,000 after deducting taxes paid into the local government treasury. In France the government does regulate the railways more positively and effectively than in any other country of Europe where the roads are under private control, and yet the result is far from satisfactory. On this point Mr. Vrooman observes:

"Here the question inevitably arises—how can these things be? How is it that the commercial, industrial and fiscal results of this splendid system of government control of corporation-managed railroads are so unsatisfactory? A corps of inspectors, all of whom are highly trained railroad specialists and all of whom are armed with extensive legal powers, seemingly ought to be able to secure an ideal railroad administration."

But they have signally failed to do what was naturally expected to be done. The basic reason for this failure is well stated by the author in the following words, which merit careful consideration:

"This highly unsatisfactory condition of affairs is all the more astounding when one considers the vast machinery of supervision which has been created to prevent it. For nearly three-quarters of a century the fertile minds of French law-makers and officials have exhausted every effort to devise new clauses for their contracts, and new laws and ministerial decrees for the perfection of this already highly elaborate system. *But the attempt to make up in ingenuity what a system lacks in vitality is vain.* The experience of France with railroad regulation, like that of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Denmark, Switzerland, Italy and of every other country that has tried it, goes to show that while such regulation is a step in the right direction, and a

highly important phase in the economic and political education of a nation, it is not, or at any rate it never has proved to be, a satisfactory final solution of the railroad problem."

Of the failure of all attempts at government regulation, Mr. Vrooman says:

"In France as in England and America, or *wherever private railroads exist*, these roads by the use of both fair means and foul have acquired an extraordinary influence over politicians and government officials, big and little. On this account railroad students and specialists are slowly coming to see that there is incomparably more political corruption in connection with the private corporation owned railroads of America, France and England, than in connection with the state railroads of Belgium, Germany and Switzerland, and that really efficient and satisfactory government 'control' of corporation railroads is a more difficult proposition than is the plan of complete state ownership and operation."

The history of the railroads of Europe has been a history of gradual substitution by nation after nation of government ownership for government regulation of the railways.

"The list of countries," says Mr. Vrooman, "in Europe and elsewhere, which have followed this line of procedure, is so impressive as to be almost startling—including as it does Germany, Austria, Hungary, Russia, Denmark, Switzerland, Italy, Japan and Mexico, together with Holland and France, which at the present time are preparing to follow suit. Moreover, this list might be made much larger if there were included in it the other countries, such as Belgium, Norway and Sweden, Natal, South Africa, New Zealand and the Australian colonies, which either began with state roads, or for some reason adopted a government *régime* before making a protracted trial of a system of private railroad monopoly."

In spite of the poison press and the tainted news bureaus; in spite of the attempts on the part of the great subsidized dailies to make men believe the vile calumny on American manhood implied in the claim that while Switzerland, New Zealand, Germany, Austria-Hungary and other nations are most successfully carrying forward government ownership and operation, the American people are such knaves or fools that they cannot do what their sister nations are most successfully accomplishing; and, finally, in spite of the vast corruption funds of the railways and other allied

high-finance rings, spent annually to debauch a government that would be comparatively free from corruption were it not for the unholy influence of privilege-seeking wealth, the day is rapidly approaching in which the people

will follow the example of Switzerland, and cease to allow themselves to be longer the dupes of the public-service corporations working through a subsidized press, political bosses and money-controlled machines.

THE DEGRADATION OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

How The Privilege Interests Captured and New Control The National House.

FOR A SCORE of years the plutocracy and the bosses that direct the money-controlled political machines have systematically endeavored to secure positions of advantage in every department of government for their handy-men; while they have been no less industrious in seeking to establish precedents that would soon have the force of law. Several bureaucratic rulings have been made to take the place of laws which Congress in its wisdom refused to pass. Innocent-looking bills have been slipped through Congress that may easily become powerful engines for the crushing of the people in the interests of the entrenched plutocracy or the oligarchy of privileged interests. Nor is this all. The plutocracy has been sleepless in its attempt to gain complete mastery of the two great legislative branches of government. It has succeeded, we imagine, beyond the most sanguine expectations of its most hopeful representatives in these respects, thanks to the fact that the controlled press has been silent when it should have cried aloud. The Senate has been packed with mercenaries or the handy-men of the corporations and political bosses subservient to the plutocracy.

But the House could not be managed in this way. Its representatives came direct from the people and could not be counted on, unless a scheme could be devised by which the power and control of the popular branch of government could be placed in the hands of a few men thoroughly satisfactory to the feudalism of privileged wealth. It was recognized that if this could be accomplished the House would no longer be a potent menace to the plutocracy; for the ways and means of corporate wealth were so multitudinous and far-reaching that it could easily secure the right man for its purpose to occupy the Speaker's chair—a man who could be counted on to select the Committee on Rules, a com-

mittee which under the new order, acting with the Speaker, is well-nigh all-powerful. This accomplished, the House would cease to be a great deliberative and legislative body and one of the most powerful educators of democracy in the world, and instead would become merely a registering department of government for the approval of such measures as the Speaker and the interests behind him desired; or, in cases where public clamor forced action on measures, the Speaker and the committees he named could be relied upon to forward bills that would be innocuous; or, if bills came from the Senate, like the beef-trust bill, for example, with features obnoxious to the trust interests, they could be changed as the privileged interests desired. It will be remembered, in the case of the beef trust, which is a typical illustration of this character, that a provision was made compelling the beef trust to pay the three million dollars necessary to protect the government against the morally criminal action of the trust in supplying the people with spoiled meat or drugged meat and meat prepared under filthy conditions. The trust proposed to advance the price of meat, but it would not have dared to advance the price beyond a certain figure; hence it proposed to make the American people pay the three million dollars for compelling them to supply the people with decent meat, while at the same time it would levy an added burden on the American meat-consuming public of many millions of dollars. Through Speaker Cannon and other handy-men of the beef trust in Congress, the provision of the Beveridge Bill was so changed as to shift the three million dollars from the criminal beef trust to the American taxpayers.

In view of the systematic advance of the plutocracy all along the line of government during the past quarter of a century, there can be no doubt but what this degradation of the House of Representatives until it has

ceased to be a popular representative body, was part of a deliberate plan of those who furnish gigantic corruption funds for campaign purposes at every Congressional and Presidential election, to defeat and destroy popular government for the enrichment and the enthronement of the privileged few and their tools.

**Captain Richmond Pearson Hobson's
Grave Charge.**

The recent submarine scandal affords a striking example of the way the House under the autocratic rule of Speaker Cannon strives to prevent all damning facts that threaten to reveal a new seething bed of corruption, from coming to light. When the charge of corrupt practices was made by Congressman Lilley in connection with the Electric Boat Company, the press demanded an investigation of the charges, but it was ten days before the clamor of the papers became so great as to force the reactionary and autocratic few who control Congress to even make the pretense of an investigation. The investigation was conducted in precisely the manner we would expect Tammany Hall to conduct an investigation into its corruption. Mr. Lilley was hampered instead of encouraged at every turn. His counsel was not permitted to question the witnesses. But that was only one of the various efforts to prevent an honest and searching inquiry into conditions. The following dispatch from the *New York World*, published on March thirteenth, affords an impressive and illuminating illustration of how this committee strove to screen the Speaker and prevent ugly facts from coming to light:

"All Washington is talking to-night of the sensational testimony given to-day by Captain Richmond Pearson Hobson before the special House committee investigating the Electric Boat Company bribery scandal. The former naval officer, whose truthfulness and high sense of honor are his distinguishing characteristics, was the trump card played by Representative Lilley in his effort to uncover submarine-boat corruption.

"Captain Hobson startled the committee by declaring that Lawrence Spear, of New York, a former classmate of his at Annapolis and later a fellow-officer in the naval con-

struction corps, had, as agent for the boat company, tried to influence him to vote for an appropriation for the purchase of submarine boats built by his company. The plan was that Hobson, in return for his vote, would be appointed to the Naval Affairs Committee, through the influence of the submarine company.

"For a moment there was dead silence after Captain Hobson had made this statement. Then he was pressed to tell with whom Spear had said the boat company had such influence. The witness promptly answered:

"'It was the Speaker.'

"There was a hasty consultation among the members of the committee and that phase of the inquiry was dropped.

"The news of Hobson's reply rapidly spread to the House and immediately became the only topic in the cloak rooms and the corridors.

"All wondered why it was that Hobson was not asked to state how Spear said his company could command the Speaker. Earlier in the day Lilley, on the stand, had told the committee that Captain Hobson had been approached in the submarine-boat matter; that Hobson had told him of an offered bribe some time ago, at the same time imposing secrecy. The witness said that not until Tuesday last had he been able to persuade Hobson to allow him to inform the committee of the facts."

Captain Hobson in his testimony stated that:

"While I was convalescent Mr. Spear called me on the 'phone one day and said he understood I wanted to get on the Naval Affairs Committee. He further said that he would be able to help me, as his company had influence to bring about the appointment if I stood right on submarines."

And as will be noted from the quotation from the *World* above, when pressed to state who the party was that Mr. Spear designated as the one who would help him to get him on the committee, he replied, "It was the Speaker."

Mr. Spear denies having offered this bribe to Congressman Hobson, but Mr. Hobson's reputation for veracity and the action of the committee in preventing anything like a thorough, searching inquiry, will have far more weight with the public than any denial of bribery by the man who, the Congressman alleges, offered the bribe.

The Revolt in The House.

Recently the autocratic action of the beef trust's great and good friend, the Speaker of the House, has been so pronounced that some Republican Congressmen have started a revolt which doubtless the privileged interests will see to it is crushed in its infancy; for none know better than the great criminals of Wall Street that with an old-time House of Representatives, a great forum such as it was in the days of Henry Clay, the plot of the plutocracy to destroy free government would be in great peril. There are strong, fine men sent to Congress every term who, if not gagged or ignored, as is the case at present, would electrify the nation as of old and lead to the crystallizing of democratic sentiment for fundamental reforms that would become too powerful for even the Rockefeller-Morgan-Harriman influences to check.

While we have little hope of any great reform in the House of Representatives until there has been a general house-cleaning on the part of the people, the present revolt is interesting and valuable as evidence from leading Republican authorities of the degradation of the House under the new anti-Republican and ultra-autocratic rule. The following from the *Boston Transcript* of March thirteenth sets forth the contention of Congressman Hayes, the insurgent Republican of the House:

"That practically every important committee of the House is 'packed' for or against certain legislation is one of the charges that is made by the leader in the present revolt against Speaker Cannon and the Committee on Rules. Strong language is employed by the men back of this movement in denouncing the Cannon methods of controlling legislation and shutting off free discussion on the floor of the House.

"This particular revolt is headed by Representative Hayes of California.

"The Speaker has the Republican membership so completely terrorized that any effort to curtail his autocratic power is foredoomed to failure.

"Individual initiative has about as much chance in this House as the Foraker opposition to Taft has in Ohio," said Representative Hayes to-day. 'A member of Congress, elected with all the privileges that go with membership here, might formulate the most meritorious bill that was ever drafted and still he would be unable to get a moment's con-

sideration for it on the floor unless the Speaker nodded his head. The rules of the House are so narrow and restricted and give to the Speaker so sweeping a power that there is no opportunity for individual merit to show itself in this body.

"In order to stand any show of passage a bill must be O.K.'d by the Speaker, put through the committee on his indorsement and wait for the moment when he will recognize some one to bring it up for consideration and adoption on the floor. This is all wrong and contrary to the spirit of our government. It should not have been necessary for the newspapers to have bulldozed the Committee on Rules into giving Mr. Lilley a chance to prove his charges of corruption. Any member of the House making charges of the kind uttered by Mr. Lilley should have the privilege of a prompt investigation of them rather than being compelled to crave the favorable action of the Committee on Rules and wait for a week or ten days before that body finally makes up its mind that it would be unwise longer to fly in the face of public sentiment by refusing an inquiry.'

"The most interesting charge that is made in this connection, however, concerns the method of making up committees to block one kind of legislation and promote another. It is freely alleged that the leaders of the House do this thing right along, and specific instances are cited in proof. It is asserted that the membership of committees, big and little, is constantly juggled with."

In speaking of the Post-Office Committee, the *Transcript's* correspondent says:

"It has been proved also that it is impossible to get the committee to cut down the present rate of compensation to the railroads for carrying the mails, which competent authorities assert is excessive.

"The House Judiciary Committee is so organized that dangerous looking bills may be referred to it with the calm assurance that nothing further will be heard from them. This committee has achieved great proficiency in the art of putting trouble-making measures to sleep and in discovering unconstitutional provisions in other bills that do not please the Speaker. The calendar of more or less radical bills held up in this committee is a long one and embraces a large proportion of the measures which are advocated by the labor interests and other elements that clamor for

legislation of the kind not approved by the Republican leaders."

A further word as to the disgraceful methods of the Speaker and how he plays the game as the "interests" desire it played, is given by the *Transcript's* correspondent in the following words:

"Mr. Cannon gave two illustrations of his way of running the committees in the make-up of the Agricultural Committee this year. The retirement of Chairman Wadsworth entitled Representative Henry of Connecticut to the chairmanship. Henry's views on the meat inspection bill, pure food bill and other reform legislation didn't suit those of Speaker Cannon. Accordingly Henry was overlooked when the committee was organized this year and Representative Scott of Kansas was made chairman. Henry thereupon became angry and refused to serve on the committee.

"Representative Davis of Minnesota wants the Government to establish agricultural high schools through the country. Cannon suggested to Davis that the scheme was visionary and expensive and told him to drop

it. Davis ignored the advice and was removed from the Committee on Agriculture, which had charge of the bill.

"Everybody in Washington understands that appointments on the Ways and Means Committee for the past six years have been dictated with special regard to the tariff views of the men placed there. The 1904 election removed four or five Republicans from this committee and their successors on the committee included only stand-patters, to render impossible favorable action on the revision measure."

Though, as we have stated, we do not expect any immediate results from the present revolt, the exposure of conditions by members of the dominant party at the present time, when the aggressions of the Wall-Street panic-making high-finance and corporation chiefs are enraging the people, cannot fail to have a salutary effect on the public. It will serve to show that a great, thorough, whole-hearted house-cleaning in the interests of pure government and popular rule is imperatively demanded.

PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS ON THE SUCCESS OF DIRECT LEGISLATION IN SWITZERLAND.

PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS, a member of the Boston bar, and an eminent authority on the Referendum, after his recent return from an extensive trip through Europe, said:

"In Switzerland, where the Referendum and Initiative have been so many years in use, the people are now substantially a unit in their favor. They have proved so useful in checking corruption and controlling monopoly, so wisely conservative and intelligently progressive, that even those who strongly opposed the Referendum before its adoption are now convinced of its value.

"I was recently in Switzerland for several weeks, visiting nearly all the most important cities and talking with men of every class—heads of government departments, presidents of cities, college professors, hotel proprietors, secretaries of chambers of commerce, lawyers, doctors, editors, business men and workingmen of every description—and I did not find one man who wishes to go back to the old plan of final legislation by elected delegates

without chance of appeal to the people. I talked with men whose pet ideas had been turned down by the Referendum, and with men who were strongly opposed to important measures adopted by the people, the nationalization of the railways, for example, but they were all convinced that on the whole the Referendum was a good thing—the people made some mistakes, they thought, *but they did far better than a legislature acting free of the popular veto.* There are no lobbies, no jobs, no machine legislation; everything is fair and honest, and even the legislators like it, because it gives them a life tenure practically (since the people frequently reflect the legislators at the same time that they veto some of their acts), and, more important still, it lifts the representatives into a purer atmosphere, adds to their dignity, increases the popular appreciation of their services and frees them from the suspicions that attach to them under the lobby-ridden system of unguarded representation, or government by an elective aristocracy having final power

to make laws the people do not want. Nothing could be clearer or more vigorous than the testimony of the Swiss people in favor of the Referendum.

"Some persons in the United States, whose interests and prejudices are against the Referendum, have made and are making serious misrepresentations in relation to the efficiency and popularity of the Referendum in Switzerland. They declare that it costs too much and that there is a growing reaction against it in the Swiss Republic. Both these statements are untrue. The cost of the Referendum is a mere bagatelle compared to the

value of the franchises and other public rights which are given away by our legislative bodies, without compensation to the people, because the absence of the referendum permits our legislators to bestow the people's property on private corporations which would stand no chance whatever of securing such plunder or robbing the people of their rights in any serious way, where the people have the veto power as they do under the Referendum. As to a Swiss reaction against the Referendum, it is purely the product of the imagination or the falsification of the enemies of real government by and for the people in this country."

RICHARD WAGNER ON THE DEMAND OF DEMOCRACY IN THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE AGAINST REACTION- ARY, CLASS AND PRIVILEGED INTERESTS.

WE HAVE before pointed out the interesting fact that the two greatest literary men of genius of Continental Europe of the nineteenth century were outspoken champions of the oppressed and disinherited ones. Both were apostles of equal rights and justice; both were prophets of fundamental democracy; and these men, one the greatest poet and novelist on the Continent in his day, and the other the greatest musical composer of the ages, were not only endowed with the rich imagination of great genius, but each possessed deep and profound philosophical insight together with a heart that throbbed in sympathy for the miserales of earth. We have many times made quotations from Victor Hugo's noble appeals for justice, freedom and fraternity, those fundamental principles which differentiate a genuine popular government or a democracy from class-rule. Now we desire to call the attention of our readers to some ringing words from Richard Wagner, which constitute at once a prophet's message and the articulate voice of advancing democracy's august demands.

These words, called forth when the noble minds all over Europe were marshalling the children of progress and democracy to oppose the rapidly advancing tide of reaction and class-rule incident to the union of many of the rich *bourgeoisie* with old aristocratic and monarchical factions to undo the great work so happily inaugurated by the democratic revo-

lution, are even more applicable to America of 1908 than they were to the Europe of 1848. Here is the message of advancing democracy as given by the master musical genius of the ages:

"I will destroy the existing order of things, which parts this one mankind into hostile nations, into powerful and weak, privileged and outcast, rich and poor; for it makes unhappy men of all. I will destroy the order of things that turns millions to slaves of a few, and these few to slaves of their own might, own riches. I will destroy this order of things, that cuts enjoyment off from labor, makes labor a load, enjoyment a vice, makes one man wretched through want, another through overflow. I will destroy this order of things, which wastes man's powers in service of dead matter, which keeps the half of humankind in inactivity or useless toil, binds hundreds of thousands to devote their vigorous youth—in busy idleness as soldiers, placemen, speculators and money-spinners—to the maintenance of these depraved conditions, whilst the other half must shore the whole disgraceful edifice at cost of overtaxing all their strength and sacrificing every taste of life. Down to its memory will I destroy each trace of this mad state of things, compact of violence, lies, care, hypocrisy, want, sorrow, suffering, tears, trickery and crime, with seldom a breath of even impure air to quicken it, and all but never a ray of

pure joy. Destroyed be all that weighs on you and makes you suffer, and from the ruins of this ancient world let rise a new, instinct with happiness undreamt! Not hate, not envy, grudge nor enmity, be henceforth found among you; as brothers shall ye all who live know one another, and free, free in willing, free in doing, free in enjoying, shall ye attest the worth of life. So up, ye people

of the earth! Up, ye mourners, ye oppressed, ye poor! And up, ye others, ye who strive in vain to cloak the inner desolation of your hearts by idle show of might and riches! Up, in miscellany follow my steps; for no distinction can I make 'twixt those who follow me. Two peoples, only, are there from henceforth; the one, that follows me, the other, that withstands me."

THE NEW YORK *WORLD'S* GALLANT FIGHT FOR PLUTOCRACY.

THE ARENA has exposed the New York *World* as one of the great wreckers of the Democratic party, showing clearly how disastrous has been the result when the party has listened to this reactionary organ.

Recently the Omaha *World-Herald* published two maps, one showing in white the states that cast a heavier vote for Mr. Bryan in 1896 than the same states cast for President Cleveland in 1892; and the second showing the number of states that cast a heavier vote for Mr. Bryan in 1900 than the same states cast for the New York *World's* candidate, Alton B. Parker, in 1904. These maps show so clearly the real sentiment of the Democratic party, which the New York *World* is striving so hard to misrepresent, that we reproduce them, together with the *World-Herald's* lucid editorial explanation of the maps.

"The *World-Herald* publishes to-day, on the first page, a couple of maps as a supplement to the New York *World's* 'Map of Bryanism.' These maps are accurate and fair, and they speak for themselves. It is impossible to study them and not realize Mr. Bryan's great strength as shown in his two campaigns for the Presidency.

"Mr. Cleveland, when he ran in 1892, was a very strong candidate. He had behind him a united and aggressive party, the prestige of an able and successful first administration, and the support of the moral sentiment of the country. And he achieved a glorious victory. He was elected. Yet a study of the map will show that in winning this victory, Mr. Cleveland, in thirty states, polled fewer votes than Mr. Bryan polled in those same states in 1896, and in only fifteen states did he receive a larger vote than was cast for Mr. Bryan. In the total vote Cleveland, who was elected, got 5,611,775 votes; Bryan, though

he was defeated, got 6,542,488 votes.

"The showing made by the second map is just as conclusive. It is true that Judge Parker was not as strong a candidate as Mr. Cleveland. But he represented the choice of the New York *World*, and the conservative element of the party. And, on election day, in only nine states did he poll more votes than did Bryan four years earlier, while in thirty-six states he ran far behind Bryan. His popular vote was 5,097,911, as against 6,371,961 votes cast for Mr. Bryan in 1900.

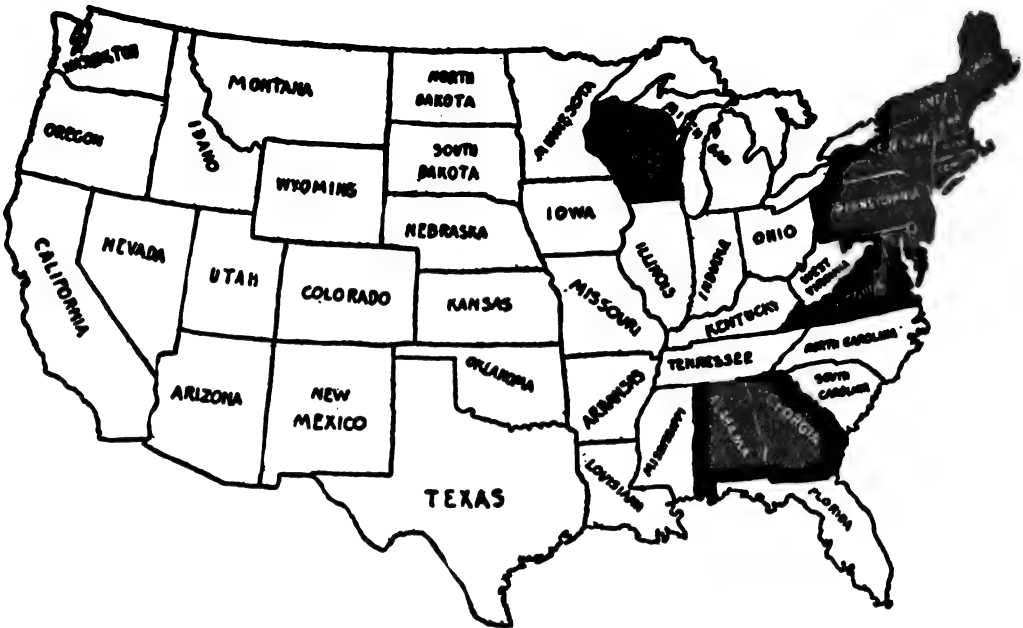
"The maps show that Bryan, the defeated candidate of 1896, was stronger than Cleveland, the successful candidate of 1892, in such pivotal states as California, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota and West Virginia, not to mention Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon, Washington, South Dakota and other states that will be debatable ground this year.

"The map shows that Bryan in 1900 was stronger than the *World's* candidate of 1904, not only in all the states named above except West Virginia, from which Mr. Davis was nominated, but that, in addition, he was stronger than Parker in such states as Connecticut, New Jersey and Wisconsin. Even in Pennsylvania, the seat of conservatism, he was stronger than Parker the conservative, and in New York, Parker's own state, the *World's* own territory, he ran only a little more than four thousand votes behind the vote given to Parker four years later.

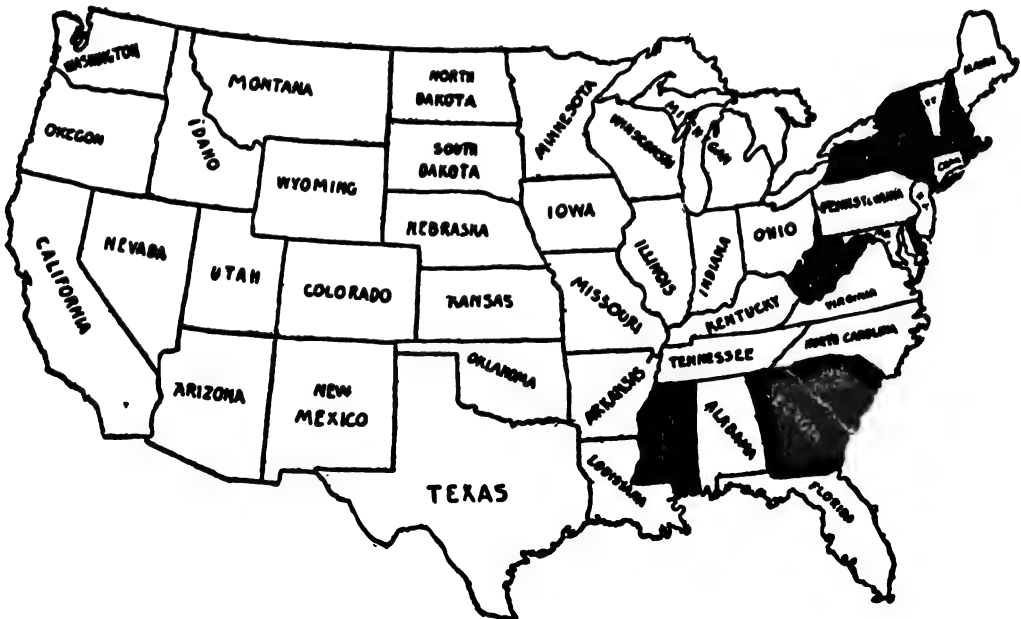
"There is one error in the map. The map indicates that in 1904 Mr. Parker received more votes in New Hampshire than Mr. Bryan received in 1900. Such, however, is not the case; the Bryan vote exceeded the Parker vote in New Hampshire by 1,497.

"When all these facts are considered in the light of the further fact that, in all the debat-

MAPS WHICH THE NEW YORK *WORLD* HAS NOT PUBLISHED TO DATE.



WHITE—STATES IN WHICH BRYAN, IN 1896, RECEIVED A LARGER VOTE THAN CLEVELAND IN 1892.



WHITE—STATES IN WHICH BRYAN, IN 1900, RECEIVED A LARGER VOTE THAN PARKER IN 1904.

able states, Bryan is admittedly much stronger to-day than he was either in 1896 or 1900, it is easy to understand why the *World* has met with so little success in trying to persuade democrats that it would be inexpedient to nominate Bryan this year."

As we have pointed out before, the industry of the *World* and a few other plutocratic and reactionary dailies in trying to discredit Mr. Bryan has served to greatly strengthen the Nebraskan with genuine Democrats everywhere. We think it is probable that tens of thousands of Democrats whose first choice would have been Mayor Johnson, Governor Folk or Chief Justice Walter Clark of North Carolina, when they saw the *World*, the *Brooklyn Eagle* and the *Courier-Journal* at the game they played with such fatal results

to the Democratic party in 1904, determined that the hour had come for genuine Democrats everywhere to unite for Mr. Bryan, since he had been the special target selected by the Democratic wing of the plutocracy in its effort to again gain a candidate satisfactory to the "interests."

That the people are no longer deceived by the *World's* hysteria is quite evident from the growing enthusiasm expressed for Mr. Bryan on every hand. The great Nebraskan may not be the Democratic candidate, but if not, unless we are greatly mistaken, his friends will nominate the man who Mr. Bryan and the democratic Democrats believe to be the best candidate; and that man will not be the choice of the New York *World* and *Harper's Weekly*.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE OF MARCH TWENTY-FIFTH.

WHILE strongly commending President Roosevelt's message of January thirty-first, we expressed the fact that it would be followed by something very different, and we pointed out how in the past the President had time and again compromised with the enemy in crucial moments when victory would have been won for the people had he remained steadfast and true to their interests. Shortly after we had written our editorial, the charge was made in the United States Senate that the President was in close conference with attorneys of J. Pierpont Morgan and Mr. Harriman. This spectacle of Mr. Roosevelt conferring with the attorneys of high financiers of Wall Street instead of consulting with men like LaFollette and other United States Senators in whom the people have confidence, was far from reassuring to the friends of honest government and the popular weal, and it prepared the public for the "we aim to please" message of Mr. Roosevelt, which was sent to congress on the twenty-fifth of March—a message which the press announced greatly pleased Wall Street. And why not? It was so timed as materially to help the passage of the infamous Aldrich bill, and in many other ways it sought to reassure predatory wealth and the aggressive corporate interests. Some of the reasons why Wall Street smiled over the message were touched upon by the New York *World* in an editorial published on March

twenty-sixth, from which we make the following extracts:

"In other circumstances it might be difficult to believe that the hand which no longer ago than January thirty-first purposed to 'cut out rottenness from the body politic' is the same hand that is now so gently massaging all the sore spots in the elements of political influence.

"The railroads are to have the right to make traffic agreements under the sympathetic guidance of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The 'good' trusts are to have an immunity bath in the form of a statute of limitations reduced to one year. They are to be prosecuted only for unfair and unreasonable agreements in restraint of trade. They are to be allowed to file their contracts with the Commissioner of Corporations and obtain thereby the blessing of the Government itself.

"The tariff reformers are cheered and uplifted by the authoritative announcement that 'the time has come when we should provide for a revision of the tariff.' The protected industries are reassured by a recommendation for a special committee to revise the schedules in order to disturb business as little as possible. Finally, in order to make certain that the job will be properly done, Mr. Roosevelt proposes to do

it himself by appointing the Government agents who are to act as expert advisers to the committee.

"The farmers are to have the privilege of organizing to boost prices without molestation from the Sherman law; Wall Street is to be soothed by 'financial legislation,' which is Mr. Roosevelt's term for the Aldrich bill."

Thus we have another illustration of the vacillating, shifty politician occupying the seat once filled by a Washington, a Jefferson and a Lincoln, and filling it at one of the most critical hours in the life of the Republic. The modern St. Patrick of January thirty-first is next acclaimed by the high financiers of Wall Street. This is the old, old story in so far as Mr. Roosevelt, the sham reformer,

is concerned—the story that explains why he fights shy of sincere and genuine reformers such as Senator LaFollette, while he consorts with Root and Knox, with Taft and Cortelyou. The Republican party under such leadership may be counted upon to be the faithful servant of the trusts and high financiers in furthering their bold and determined plot not only systematically to rob the wealth-producers and consumers and continue a high carnival of gambling, but also to transform the Republic from a government of the people, by the people and for the people into a complete class-ruled government, in which corporate wealth and privileged interests will govern through the party machine the political bosses and the handy-men of predatory wealth.

PLUTOCRACY'S LATEST BLOW AT A FREE PRESS.

ONE OF the most infamous bills ever introduced by a political boss or handy-man of plutocracy was recently presented by Senator Penrose of Pennsylvania. It provided for the vesting of autocratic power with the postal bureau, enabling whoever happened to be in charge at the bureau, or the masters of the man in charge, to suppress publications at will. This was one of the most dangerous moves that the plutocracy has made. The shameful abuse of power by Mr. Madden in recent years, in the war he has waged upon Socialist publications, such as *The Appeal to Reason* and Mr. Wilshire's *Challenge*, and his attacks on various liberal New Thought publications, have given us an inkling of what the bureau would soon become if the present attempt to legalize its Russianizing methods should be favorably acted on by a subservient Congress. The effect of such a bill would be practically to establish a press censorship which would soon become as powerful an engine of autocracy and oppression as is the press censorship through the bureaucracy of Russia. We understand that such have been the indignant protests of the people throughout the country that this bill has been dropped. One Congressman received five thousand protests. But the introduction of this measure by Senator Penrose reveals the plans of the plutocracy.

In commenting on this bill the *Chicago*

Daily Socialist well observes in a recent editorial:

"Next to the Supreme Court the most powerful branch of the United States government is the postal service. The postal officials have the absolute, unrestricted power to ruin any industry with a 'Fraud order,' and no court will review their decision. They can suppress any newspaper far more quickly and effectively than the Russian censor by the simple process of barring it from the special privileges which are granted to its competitors.

"In both these respects the postal officials are more powerful and more autocratic than even the Supreme Court, because there is no pretense of a trial, no citing of precedents, no hearing of judgments, and little pretense of judicial fairness.

"Senator Penrose of the Pennsylvania Railroad (nominally of the State), who is chairman of the Committee on Postal Affairs, has just introduced a bill to widen and extend this already autocratic power to still further dimensions.

"He proposes to provide directly by law that whenever the postal authorities shall decide that a paper is not of a proper sort to suit their imperial highnesses, that it shall be at once debarred from the second-class mail privileges.

"This would completely confirm and estab-

lish the power of press censorship, which has hitherto been exercised in a somewhat indefinite and tentative manner.

"With such a law in existence it would only be necessary to wait for some such period of

carefully-cultivated popular mob insanity as exists at the present time, and every publication whose policies were not pleasing to the exploiting ruling class could be summarily suppressed."

F. J. HENEY ON CORRUPTION IN HIGH PLACES.

THE PACIFIC MONTHLY," an illustrated magazine that is a great credit to our western coast, publishes in its March issue two papers of special value to thinking and patriotic citizens. One is an editorial contribution by Mr. Charles Erskine Scott Wood, dealing with the beneficent results of Oregon's political innovations; the other is by Francis J. Heney, the able and incorruptible attorney who performed such eminent service in ferreting out the corruption in high places in Oregon, and who has also achieved such notable results in uncovering the corruption that flourished through the union of the great public-service corporations and other privilege-seeking interests that prey on the people and corrupt the morals of a community, and the Reuf-Schmitz administration.

Mr. Heney considers the popular cry raised by the great thieves and other criminals in high places whenever attempts are made to administer justice to rich offenders—"It hurts business." This is the shibboleth of the corruptionists and law-breakers, and of late they have been wont to supplement this cry with the intimation that they will treat the people to a panic if any attempt is made to punish the great criminals. This is the attitude of Wall Street and the public-service corporations in the presence of every serious attempt to enforce laws against the master anarchists of the commercial feudalism. Mr. Heney shows that such has become the power of privileged wealth in government in recent decades that grave charges against the administration of justice have been iterated and reiterated without successful refutation, until they are to-day accepted as being "approximately true." These charges he thus sets down:

"There is one law for the rich, another for the poor."

"You can break any law you want to if you

are rich enough to hire the biggest lawyers."

"The people have no rights which a corporation is bound to respect."

The writer then continues in these thoughtful and suggestive words:

"That such cynicisms as these should have become so generally accepted suggests to all thoughtful men that it is not so much a matter of 'reform' as of revolution—a bloodless, but none the less determined revolution of the people against the 'system,' and such a revolution seems now well under way.

"It is a fight for liberty, a conflict as vital to the nation as was that of '76, or the other that began at Sumter. The Tories of '76 preferred the tyranny of England to the maintenance of liberty. The Copperheads of the Civil War preferred the triumph of injustice to the maintenance of the Union. The Systemites of to-day prefer the tyranny of an oligarchy to anything that 'hurts business.'

"'Stop these prosecutions!' they cry. 'Stop calling the crooks by their right names, it is hurting business!'

"How the American people have pilloried with contempt such phrases as 'Safe and sane' and 'Unswayed by popular clamor,' etc. Let us place that white-livered 'It-hurts-business' in the public stocks also."

It is indeed a sad commentary on the decline of moral idealism in church, college and society, when a general clamor raised by criminals and seriously and persistently parroted by the controlled and party press from the Atlantic to the Pacific, goes unchallenged by those who pose as leaders of religious and moral idealism. This lamentable condition has only been made possible by the rapid and steady advance in the control of public opinion-forming agencies by privileged wealth, including a large portion of the daily, weekly and magazine press and many still less obvious sources of influence, and by the

systematic bribery of church and college by the Standard-Oil criminals and heads of other trusts, by public-service chiefs and high financiers.

In speaking of the lawless advance and the Republic-destroying influence of railroad corporations and allied interests, Mr. Heney well says:

"Frankenstein America has built a monster of steel, bloodless, rapacious, all-devouring. The railroad companies, quickly learning their irresistible power, started out to become not only the political dictators, but the actual owners of the country—as unregulated and unchecked they could readily succeed in doing. They are already in many kinds of business other than the legitimate one of furnishing transportation. They are in the mining business. They have gone into the oil business. They have acquired, by means both fair and foul, enormous holdings of coal and oil lands. They have gone into the lumber business. In addition to the enormous areas of magnificent timber granted them in various Western states, they have reached out, grabbing by fraud and chicanery, the cream of the timber that was left in the possession of the people. They have gone into manufacturing enterprises; sugar, for instance. They have practically gone into the cattle business and the furnishing of meat to the people of this country. In vast areas of the West they for a long time practically were the owners of every branch of industry dependent upon transportation, for the power to charge 'all that the traffic will bear' amounts to little else than thinly-disguised ownership. They have killed competition. Having opportunity and unlimited power, they have shown how it is possible to rapidly concentrate the wealth of the country into a few hands, so that even now some half-dozen men are able to

create a financial panic at any day's notice.

"These are the sort that believe in the Rockefeller 'American Beauty rose' parable. That is: a corporation bud on the rosebush of National industry is forced to the splendor of supreme perfection by the merciless elimination of every other bud on the bush."

The writer believes that if the government turned over a new leaf and inaugurated a rigid enforcement of present laws and a vigorous prosecution of the men who are "higher up," aided by the pressure of an aroused public sentiment, the "vicious oligarchy" now so powerful would be measurably checked in its aggressions against the millions and the genius of free government. But he very wisely adds:

"It seems to me that when, as has happened in the past, a handful of Wall-Street gamblers is able to dictate to the United States Senate, or when it is possible for a few men in a short lifetime to pile up a billion dollars apiece by methods that will not stand the light—it seems to me that something is radically wrong. The laws under which we are operating are building up a class—an aristocracy of wealth—that in the end, if unchanged, must destroy what our forefathers fought for in the Revolution; destroy that for which fortunes and lives were risked and thrown away in the Civil War; destroy the results of hundred of years of fighting, by the Anglo-Saxon race, for liberty and for equal opportunities. Is it not plain that if things go on for the next fifty years as they have for the past thirty, our children will be but the cringing tenantry or the liveried servants of the trillionaire children of the billionaires of to-day?"

These words are worthy of the serious consideration of all men and women of conscience and rectitude of purpose.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the National Federation for People's Rule.

Michigan's Proposed Constitution.

MICHIGAN has joined the column of states that stand for the rule of the people. The Constitution adopted by the Constitutional Convention to be submitted to the people of the state at the November election provides as heretofore for a Referendum on proposed constitutional amendments. It contains also the Constitutional Initiative.

Twenty per cent. of the voters have power to initiate constitutional amendments subject to a veto power in a majority of the members of the legislature; but this method is not to be used to change this provision in the constitution. The signatures to the petitions are to be made at the registration days or election days before the registration or election officers.

One-half of the members of either house by refusing to go into joint session can prevent the legislature from vetoing the petition. Thus sixteen senators can practically compel the legislature to permit the submission of any amendment by voting against a joint session, even if every other member of the Senate and every representative is opposed. This is an exact reversal of the present situation, as it is now possible for sixteen senators to prevent submission.

All acts of the municipal legislative body can be vetoed by the voters—the referendum. Compulsory referendum it provided for franchise grants in cities, townships and villages. Home rule is granted to cities and villages. They are empowered to frame, adopt and amend their own charters subject only to a general law of the state limiting the rate of taxation and the borrowing of money. No special law may be enacted by the legislature where a general act can be made to apply, and the courts are to be the final judge in each case.

No local or special act of the legislature can take effect until approved by a majority of the voters voting thereon in the districts affected by the act.

Cities having 25,000 or more are authorized to go into municipal ownership to the extent

of owning and operating public utilities for supplying water, light, heat and transportation. Loans made for any of these purposes are to be secured solely on the particular property itself. The decision as to whether municipal ownership shall be undertaken is to be by direct vote of the people and a three-fifths vote is to be required.

Ohio's Amendment.

THE Atwell Resolution for a Constitutional Amendment which passed the Senate early in the season has been held up until March nineteenth by the ordinary corporation lobby tactics. The committee tried to mutilate the bill so as to spoil it. Meanwhile the Longworth act which permitted political parties to indorse proposed constitutional amendments so that they could be placed under the party emblem making a vote for the party a vote also for the measure, has been repealed for the express purpose of killing this amendment.

The provision that at least sixty per cent. of the voters voting, be required to pass on the measure has been accepted by the direct-legislation people, and repeated attempts to destroy the bill by amendment has led to Mr. Bigelow's saying he would like to see the measure voted down so he could take the issue to the people again at the fall election.

On March nineteenth the House passed the resolution 100 to 16 and it will now go to the people for their vote and adoption, at the November election when the Republicans hope to kill it.

Not in years has any measure created the amount of interest that has been focussed upon this bill. The grangers and farmers are for it almost to a man, and union labor is a solid unit in its support. Mass meetings have been held in dozens of places and every real democrat in the state is urging the adoption of the reform.

The plan which the amendment would establish provides merely for submission to the people of laws repealed or enacted by the

legislature or vetoed by the Governor. It requires for a referendum on enacted measures a petition signed by five per cent. of all voters in the election last preceding, to be filed with the secretary of state before ninety days shall have elapsed after the legislature's adjournment, or for a vote on repealed or vetoed measures a petition signed by ten per cent. of all voters and filed forty days before a general election in any even numbered year. Petitions also must be signed in each of at least a majority of all Congress districts of the state and each signer must designate his home and occupation.

Who's Who or What's What.

A FAIR illustration of the general stupidity of newspaper editors is furnished by the *Washington Post*, a paper that sometimes succeeds in being humorous, in its citation of a New Testament incident as an ancient use of the Referendum. This scholarly sheet has been widely quoted throughout the country as saying "The Referendum was used in Jerusalem by Pontius Pilate twenty centuries ago when, according to the scriptures, 'They had a notable prisoner, called Barrabas. Therefore when they were gathered together Pilate said unto them, 'Whom will ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, or Jesus, which is called Christ?' They said 'Barabbas.' Pilate said unto them, 'What shall I do then with Jesus, which is called Christ?'" They all say unto him, 'Let him be crucified.'"" This as a matter of fact was a personal election and not an instance of Referendum. It is personal elections that lead to error and mistake, and the friends of Direct-Legislation ask that the people be permitted to vote not merely on persons but on public questions. If the people of Jerusalem had taken a Referendum either on the question of freedom of speech, or shall good men be crucified, or shall robbers be made heroes of, the issue might well have been different.

Direct Selections of United States Senators from Kansas.

THE NEW Primary Election Law passed by the Kansas legislature provides for the selection of United States Senators by popular vote, and the first Senatorial election will be held on August 11, 1908. In order to become a candidate for the United States Senate it is necessary to have a petition of not less than one per cent. and not more than ten per cent.

of the party voters filed with the secretary of state three weeks in advance of the primary. The same election laws which govern the holding of a general election are made to govern the primary, and every voter who participates in the primary will indicate his choice for United States Senate. The Legislature must go through the form of choosing the United States Senator, but it will only be a form, as the choice will have been made for them by the people. This is essentially the same law that was passed by the Oregon Initiative and has since been copied by other states.

Seattle, Washington.

THE PEOPLE of Seattle voted in the March election, upon two charter amendments which reserve to the people of that city the power to control their own legislation and also to control their own public franchises. The Direct-Legislation amendment was adopted by a vote of 11,409 to 5,671, and the Public-Ownership amendment was adopted by 11,322 against 6,347. The vote in favor in each case was more than one-half of the votes cast for mayor. The Referendum petition in the amendment requires ten per cent.

Another Nebraska City.

IN COMPLIANCE with a petition the city clerk of Kearney, Nebraska, has placed upon a ballot for the April election the question of adopting the Initiative and Referendum according to the state law of 1897 which provides that any city may have the Initiative and Referendum applying to its municipal statutes, whenever this power shall have been adopted by a majority vote of its citizens. The terms upon which Nebraska cities use this power, which is now in force in Omaha, Lincoln and several other of the leading cities, provide that any question can be voted upon at any general election, provided fifteen per cent. of the voters sign the Initiative petition, and a special election may be called once a year if twenty per cent. sign.

A Democratic Demand.

THE "Free Democrats" of Kansas City are making a fight to rid their city of the domination of the street-railway corporation and incidentally to rid their party of sinister corporation influences. The following paragraphs express their attitude:

"We are unalterably opposed to the exten-

sion of the franchises of the Metropolitan Street Railway beyond their present term, for any consideration or any pretext whatever.

"We oppose the extension of the franchise of any public-service corporation upon any terms whatever, unless such extension shall be authorized by a direct vote of the people, and we pledge ourselves to promptly submit a proper charter amendment reserving to the people the sole right to vote to extend the terms of franchise."

The Nebraska Democrats.

THE FACT that the Nebraska Democratic platform does not say anything about the Initiative and Referendum or Public Ownership is taken by some Eastern papers to indicate that Mr. Bryan is willing to repudiate these movements. They who jump at such a conclusion signify their ignorance both of Mr. Bryan, who is a man of principle rather than of policy, and of the political significance and permanent nature of these democratic movements about which they prate glibly but know scarcely more than the names. A. L. Schallenberger, nominee for Governor, is one of the warm advocates of the Initiative and Referendum and declares unqualifiedly for direct legislation upon vital questions. The *Omaha World-Herald* sees in this one of the vital state issues of the immediate future.

News Notes

SENATOR SAXE has introduced into the New York Legislature a concurrent resolution proposing a Constitutional Amendment for the Initiative and Referendum. The measure proposes that a five per cent. petition may be initiated and proposed in either state legislature or city council and also that on a five per cent. petition the people may demand a Referendum. The other provisions of the bill are essentially the same as those of the constitutional amendment of the other states.

AN INCREASED number of Direct-Legislation bills and referendum propositions have received the usual throwdown at the hands of the Massachusetts legislature this year. It is quite impossible to get a definite, serious consideration of such bills as are seen to be of most vital importance in other states, so long as Senator Lodge is the acknowledged ruler of this historic commonwealth.

SENATOR LODGE strenuously opposes the Public-Opinion bill and every other orderly

and regular method by which people may instruct their representatives, and he very consistently advocates an "instructed" delegation from Massachusetts to the Republican committee. I say consistently, because in both cases he takes the position which best suits his personal interests.

THE Referendum has been introduced in Alameda, California, to settle the question of how many playgrounds the city is to have and to get around the deadlock which exists in the city council over the use of \$115,000 recently voted for this purpose.

ONE OF the most hopeful, high-minded, patriotic movements in Western city politics is the organization of the Seattle City Party under the chairmanship of Mr. George C. Cotterell. It was largely through their efforts that the charter amendments were secured at the election of March third. This election came just too late, however, to prevent the passing of the franchises of the Union Pacific Railway without referendum.

A PETITION signed by 14,615 voters of San Francisco has been submitted to the Supervisors asking for a special election at which all the people may vote on taking over the franchises of the street-car and telephone companies.

A RARE instance of the use of the Referendum was that in which the firemen, engineers, conductors and trainmen, employed by the Boston and Maine Railway, were invited by President Tuttle to vote on a proposition to accept five per cent. reduction of wages for a period of not more than four months rather than have the service curtailed and a part of the men laid off. This, too, of course, Senator Lodge would call "mob rule."

DELEGATE WILLIAMS of the West Virginia, House of Delegates is the father of a bill for a constitutional amendment for a Referendum and Initiative in that state. There may be very little outlook for an immediate adoption of this bill, but Mr. Williams is doing a great educational work in favor of his measure.

ASSEMBLYMAN RUDOLPH A. BRAUM of Essex has introduced into the New Jersey legislature a referendum bill providing that when ten per cent. of the voters of the state shall petition the legislature to pass any bill it may be enacted in the regular way. If the bill fails to become a law in the legislature

it shall be referred to the voters of the state for final decision. This bill has the endorsement of the "New Idea" Republicans. There is some talk of substituting a Public-Opinion measure for this bill.

THE PEOPLE of Dallas, Texas, are demanding the right to be heard in their own government. They have secured a right to vote in the April election upon a number of measures proposed by the Trades Assembly, also a referendum on a telephone franchise.

THE DIRECT-PRIMARY system in Georgia, requiring in many counties majority vote, has necessitated holding two second primaries in several counties in order to name candidates.

THE PETITION of ten per cent. of the voters of Milwaukee has been filed asking for a Referendum vote on the non-partisan municipal election system this coming year.

A MOVEMENT is on foot to use for the first time the referendum power provided for in the new Newport charter, in the matter of substituting wood for cobble-stones in a proposed new street pavement.

THE PEOPLE in Michigan vote in the April election on an amendment to their old constitution providing for the taxation of a large number of now untaxed transportation companies doing business in that state.

SENATOR HILL of Maryland has introduced a bill providing for the Initiative and Refer-

endum upon statutes. The bill has been favorably reported back to the Senate.

THE CITIZENS of Wilkensburg, Pennsylvania, vote again in May on the question of annexation to Pittsburg.

THE TOWN of Fulton, West Virginia, holds a special election in April on the annexation question.

THE Maryland legislature has submitted to popular vote a bill authorizing \$5,000,000 for the new reservoir for Baltimore.

W. S. U'REN, the father of the Oregon Initiative and Referendum law, has announced his candidacy for the seat of United States Senator Fulton.

"THE REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT" of Massachusetts refused in March to permit the people of the state to take a Referendum vote on question of capital punishment.

THERE is a strong movement in Maryland in support of a bill now before the legislature providing a modern primary-election law, but it is very hard for the "representative government" of the state to grant this concession to the people.

A BILL for the Initiative and Referendum is before the Bloomingdale, Iowa, City Council and is warmly endorsed by the Improvement Association and other bodies of leading business men.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP NEWS.

By BRUNO BECKHARD,

Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

Uncle Sam Doing Things.

THE Pittsburg Press points out that "Some of the members of Congress show a remarkable grudge against Uncle Sam in dealing with government work. They never have the slightest objection to the government's digging canals, dredging harbors or doing anything else in which private capital cannot figure out a profit. The moment a profit can be spied, the congressional protest against the government's having anything to do with the enterprise becomes strenuous.

"For instance, the government has established in the last few years an elaborate system of wireless telegraphy. It is of the greatest possible value to the navy, and has begun to be used extensively for army posts along the coast. A bill now before Congress, which will probably pass, provides for the licensing of private wireless telegraph companies. It then provides that 'no wireless station owned and operated by the government shall compete for commercial messages with licensed wireless telegraph stations.'"

"Is there any difference between the government's digging out a river for the public benefit and its operating a wireless telegraph station for public benefit, except that the first may not pay and the latter does pay? If there is, the congressional leaders should point it out. Perhaps it is this tendency to reserve the losing propositions for the government and the paying ones for private enterprise that enables the opponents of public ownership to produce so many reports showing cases in which public ownership financially failed."

Permanent Office Holding.

ONE OF the greatest problems of our American municipal life arises from the fact that office-holding is a matter of political pull and faithful public service does not insure permanence of position. The *Municipal Journal and Engineer* calls attention to a municipal employé who has held his position uninterruptedly for thirty-six years. "E. L. Dunbar, the superintendent of the Bay City, Michigan, water works, enjoys that distinction, having been in continuous service in that position since January 19, 1872, and had been assistant city engineer for two years previous to that. The secret of it he gives as 'minding my own business; doing the best I knew how.' We know of others, city engineers and superintendents, who can boast of terms almost as long, and from what we know of them we believe the explanations in their cases would be the same. Politics may assist a man in obtaining a position, or even in holding over for a term; but the time has passed, if it ever really existed, when it could do more than this. Even politicians are generally wise enough to keep their hands off of an office-holder who has shown his value in services rendered to the city. When they have acquired the additional wisdom to recognize the credit which they do themselves by finding and appointing such men, they, the city at large and earnest, intelligent office-holders will all benefit. Even now, in the majority of cities, mayors may come and councilmen may go, but those men go on forever who, in charge of the city's public utilities, combine with ordinary good sense and intelligence, minding their own business and doing the best they know how."

Government-Owned Railroads in Switzerland.

"THE RAILROADS of Switzerland," says the *Philadelphia Record*, "were built by private capital. Until six years ago, all were operated by corporations. On January 1, 1901, the leading roads except two passed into the hands of the government. This was the result of a referendum, at which the vote was the largest ever cast on such an occasion. In 1891 the project of government purchase had been submitted to the people and defeated. Switzerland had then a small national debt, and the country hesitated to create a great one. Moreover, the terms of the proposed purchase seemed unfair. But the feeling in favor of national ownership grew, the new proposal was of fairer nature, and when the final test came it was carried by a large majority.

"The stockholders of the railroads did not relish the popular demand, and at the time of the referendum a concerted and desperate effort was made to show the people that government ownership always had been and always must be disastrous, and that private enterprise can always do anything very much better than any government can do it. The people were not impressed by the arguments. After the referendum some of the stockholders had recourse to lawsuits. But they were handicapped by a law long in existence—that the government at stated intervals had the right to purchase the railroads if it so desired. The investment was \$200,000,000.

"The Swiss people believe they reaped solidly from their bargain. Their railroad service has been increased and extended; about ten per cent. more trains are run. Rates, passenger and freight, have been reduced, for the government took the lowest rate in force anywhere on any of the railroads and made that the standard rate for all the railroads, a reduction of about four per cent. The quality of the service has been bettered; a lot of old rolling-stock has been thrown upon the junk heap, and new cars and locomotives built in their place. Roadbeds, tracks and stations have been replaced and rebuilt. When the government bought the roads most of them were single-tracked; it is engaged in double-tracking all the important lines. New kinds of reduced-fare tickets have been introduced. The system has been unified. New connections have been established, and there has been no loss

of efficiency; indeed, the assertion has been made that the employes work more cheerfully and with greater interest for their government than they worked for the companies.

"The investment seems profitable. The expenditures required to put the lines into good condition have been large, but they have been met out of the profits of operation. More than \$330,000 has been put aside each year for the sinking fund to cover the purchase price. In a year there will be decided returns to the public treasury.

"At the same time wages have been increased and more men employed. All employes have now one day of rest in seven, annual holidays, sick and disabled benefits, increased pay with length of service up to certain limits and pensions when they are retired. If they lose their lives in the service their widows and children receive pensions. Finally, the government has enforced a rule that no man shall work more than ten and one-half hours in twenty-four to avoid accidents due to overworked employes.

"Railroad building in a country which is practically all mountains is carried on at great expense, and hence fare and rates have to be high. On ordinary single tickets, one way, first-class fares average 3.24 cents a mile; second-class, 2.42 cents a mile; third-class, 1.63 cents a mile. Return tickets are cheaper, and circular tickets and excursion tickets are issued as a reduction of one-third from the price of single-trip tickets. Commutation tickets are sold at the rate of 13-8 cents a mile for first-class, 1 cent a mile for second-class and 5-8 cent a mile for third-class, while tickets for workmen and school children are even cheaper than this. Another kind of ticket enables one to travel without limit on all the railroads of Switzerland one month \$22 first-class, \$15 second-class, \$11 third-class."

Duluth, Minnesota.

THE FOLLOWING is a digest of the report of the Department of Water and Light for 1907 for operation, maintenance and interest:

Pumping water.....	\$19,347.86
Water services.....	33,700.39
Share of interest paid.....	99,838.19
Total Water Plant.....	\$152,886.34
Gas supply.....	\$77,810.10
Gas service.....	22,892.98
Share of interest paid.....	32,112.16
Total Gas Plant.....	\$132,814.54
Aggregate for the Department.....	\$285,700.88

Earnings.	
Water rates.....	\$308,307.68
Other incomes.....	21,554.50
Total.....	\$329,862.37
Less operations and maintenance.....	152,886.34
Surplus earnings.....	\$ 71,966.93
Gas rates.....	\$145,668.86
Other income.....	1,863.94
Total.....	\$147,532.80
Less Operation and maintenance.....	\$132,814.54
Surplus earnings.....	\$ 14,718.26
Total surplus earnings.....	\$86,700.19

Danville, Virginia.

THE TOTAL receipts of the water works for last year were \$27,113.40, and the total disbursements, exclusive of permanent improvements and depreciation, \$21,974.09, thus showing a net profit of \$5,140.31. Compared with the previous year revenue is larger by \$3,549.88, and disbursements smaller by \$1,180.58. It cost two and a quarter cents per 1,000 gallons to put the water into the reservoir, filtered and ready for distribution, of which amount half a cent per 1,000 gallons pumped is chargeable to filtration. The total pumpage for the year was 260,772,293 gallons.

The receipts from the gas plant were.....	\$45,662.26
And the disbursements.....	37,232.57
Showing a net profit of.....	\$ 8,429.69

Compared with the previous year, receipts increased 19 per cent. (nineteen) while disbursements increased 14 per cent., or \$7,342.98 and \$4,653.41 respectively. The increase in expenditure is due to the increased price of coal.

The receipts from the electric-lighting plant were.....	\$30,691.24
And the disbursements.....	19,963.88
Showing a profit of.....	\$10,727.36

Receipts increased 30 per cent. over the previous year while disbursements increased only seven per cent.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

A FEW months ago the new water works at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, were completed. The question of a water supply was difficult to solve as there were serious drawbacks to both the two available sources, the well water was limited in amount and was very hard, while the river water was dirty and carried a high percentage of bacteria. After

extensive experiments with the wells the river was decided upon as the better source and a purification plant was started.

The water is drawn in by two rotary pumps and is discharged into duplicate settling basins from which it flows through a gravity sand filter into a clear water reservoir. The washing of the sand in the filters is accomplished by reversing the flow of water, at the same time agitating the sand and blowing air through the sand and water. This process needs only from ten to fifteen minutes and uses on an average about four per cent. of all the water filtered. A solution of sulphate of iron and sulphate of lime is added to the raw water to aid in the settling process. The contract calls for a 97 per cent. purification but in the months of operation an average of 98 per cent. has been maintained. Well equipped chemical and bacteriological laboratories are connected with the plant.

Battle Creek, Michigan.

DURING over twenty years of operation the water works at Battle Creek have not found it necessary to replace a single pump, boiler, or other similar part of the plant. Meter rates are six to thirteen cents per 1,000 gallons, with a minimum of three dollars a year. In 1907 the income from water rates was \$37,863.85; from rent of meters, \$4,048.17; charge for 508 hydrants, \$20,320, and for other public uses \$6,000, a total of \$68,232.07

The operating expenses were \$14,400.51, and interest on the total cost \$16,359.43, a total of \$30,759.94.

A Municipal Theater.

NORTHAMPTON, Massachusetts, is one of the few cities in the United States that operates a municipal theater. In the last two years the Academy, which the city acquired under the Lyman bequest, has shown a total profit of \$5,000.

Build Three More Stately Mansions.

"A PETROLEUM monopoly has proved such a lucrative venture in the United States that the German government is considering the propriety of taking over the oil business in that country as a means of fattening the imperial treasury. Experts have been employed to report the necessary outlay involved in the purchase of existing plants in Germany, thus establishing the necessary preliminary to government ownership."—*Philadelphia Record*.

The Lord said, "Let there be light," before He organized the world, but man has generally failed to appreciate the force of that example. The German government, however, has come to realize its mistake. As between the oil business running the country and the country running the oil business the government has wisely chosen the latter.

BRUNO BECKHARD.

NEWS OF INDUSTRIAL COÖPERATION.

By HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

Among The Farmers of The Central West.

THERE is no movement in any country more encouraging, nothing fraught with greater possibilities for the future to those of us whose faith is in the common people, whose religion is the religion of democracy, than the coöperative movement among our Western farmers—those great, hearty, whole-souled men who are the chief factors in the production of the people's bread, to whose labor is due, almost wholly the grain supply of the world. And these men, these

real "captains of industry" are learning from every day's experience, that in union alone there is strength, that only by combining with each other can they hope to live and labor under the decent economic conditions, which are the right of every human being. Of these, a large percentage comes from Northern Europe; from Norway and Sweden from Denmark and Holland, and from Germany, and they bring with them the experience gained from years of coöperative organization in their own country, and the great

hope of finding in America the realization of their ideals of democracy.

Our American farmers, while they have not had the actual experience of their foreign-born neighbors, have had over forty years of education along coöperative lines. The Patrons of Husbandry, which twenty-five years ago had more than 1,500,000 members, the Grange which later merged itself with the Patrons, the Farmers' Alliance which exerted such a powerful influence on behalf of better legislation for the farmers and cleaner politics, have done the pioneer work and prepared the way for the powerful farmers' organizations which are now coming into existence in all the Western states, but more especially in the great grain-producing states of Iowa, Illinois, Nebraska, Minnesota and the Dakotas. In all the states west of the Mississippi there are organizations of farmers' societies, such as elevator and shipping companies, creameries, etc., but in each of the above-mentioned states these societies have united in the formation of a central state organization which plays a large part in the industrial life of the state, and in many instances is able to materially influence the political outlook in the interests of better government.

Illinois was the first of the states to form a central organization, and it was largely due to the activity of the farmers of Mason County that this was done. The farmers of the little town of Manito, in Mason County, were among the first of the state to realize the need of organization in order to combat successfully the Line Elevator Companies, the trust interests, who, of course, were discriminated in favor of by the railroad whenever possible. The farmers of Illinois had seen little individual companies swept out of existence by the powerful trust interests; some of these men had been forced to the wall themselves by methods every whit as underhanded and cruel as those of the Standard Oil, that huge preceptress whose teachings have crept into all corners of the world and promoted our whole system of commercial dishonesty, and they had been forced to the acknowledgement that salvation lay in organization. Consequently in February, 1896, the farmers of Manito organized the Granger Elevator Company. Petitions were started for the organization of a company with \$3,000 capital, shares being \$25, ten shares the limit to one person. By the end of March the stock was all sold and in November of that

year the company started in active business. This new company did not meet the opposition which the later organizations encountered, the line companies believing, no doubt, that its life would be short, did not consider it formidable enough to fight. Still they had their troubles. In the first place the railroads refused their application for a site, so they were forced to purchase one, and after referring the matter to the railroad and warehouse commission, a switch was secured by the payment of \$75. There was a shortage in cars and the Line Elevator people did advance grain prices, hoping thereby to force the failure of the new company, but by the end of three months car troubles were adjusted and in six months satisfactory freight rates were secured.

The second farmers' elevator company came into existence at Easton in July, 1897, and in 1899 a company was organized at Mason City which is now one of the largest in the state. These later companies undertook also to handle coal. From this time on the number of elevators increased very rapidly and by 1902 there were thirty in successful operation. About this time the Line Elevator Company began to realize the immense possibilities in the farmers' elevators, and they instituted a boycott against them. An agent of the regular dealers canvassed the state advising the commission men and track bidders to refuse consignments from coöperative grain companies and regular dealers to refuse to carry on business with receivers who handled coöperative business. Though the boycott was not successful it caused the farmers a great deal of trouble; some of the companies were completely shut out of their markets and others had their markets so restricted that they were unable to hold their own against their competitors.

It was during this trying time, when unswerving loyalty to their cause was the farmers' only hope, that the farmers united under the name of the "Farmers' Grain Dealers' Association of Illinois." Their first president was John Collins of Tuscola; John A. McCreery of Mason City was elected secretary and still holds that position. Mr. McCreery is one of the guiding spirits of the state organization and has been manager of the Mason City Elevator Company ever since its formation.

The State Association has proven a power-

ful force for honorable business and clean politics in Illinois, and because of its influence has been able to promote and foster farmers' organizations, not only in Illinois, where there are at present over 160 companies but also in other states. The membership of these companies runs from 40 to over 400; the capital stock from \$3,500 to \$35,000. Some of these have extended their business to lumber, farm implements, etc., a few companies now have two or more stations, and several require two elevators to handle the grain of their stockholders. New companies are constantly being formed, and the old ones are finding it necessary to enlarge their plants in order to handle the grain brought to them.

The Farmers' Elevator at Illiopolis, Illinois, is a fair example of the growth of the movement in the state. The company was organized on the twelfth of January, 1904, with a capital stock of \$10,000 divided into shares of \$50 each, no person being allowed to own more than five shares. The building, a modern, up-to-date elevator with a capacity of 50,000 bushels, was completed about the first of August, and the grain came in so rapidly that everything was filled before the railroad had the switch completed. The plant has been enlarged and improved by a considerable extent; a 25,000-bushel oat-bin, costing \$1,200, has been built, an ear corn-crib, and also another elevator section is to be added in the near future. During the last year 284,186 bushels of grain were shipped, and several thousand were turned away for lack of room. The company consists of 120 stockholders, either actively engaged or connected with farming. It has paid two six-per-cent. dividends, and spent about \$3,000 in enlarging the plant in the past year. In addition to the grain, they handled 12,000 pounds of twine and some coal. This measure of success is duplicated in nearly all of the elevators of that state. In Champlin, for instance, their annual report shows about twelve per cent. net profit; Cropsey has recently built a 40,000-bushel oat-house in addition to their elevator of 75,000 bushels capacity; the elevator at Cookville has a capacity of 70,000 and handles about 400,000 bushels yearly; the company at Colfax owns two elevators and handles 500,000 bushels of grain annually, and the Farmers' Elevator Company of El Paso does the same; the Carlock Elevator Company reports a prosperous year, there being an undivided surplus

of \$2,000 on hand January 1, which they voted to keep in the treasury increasing the capital stock to \$8,000 and then issuing a stock dividend of 33 1-3 per cent. on all stock outstanding at the first of the year. This company handled nearly 250,000 bushels of grain and 750 tons of coal the past year. The Rooks Creek Elevator Company which has been doing business about eighteen months has a surplus of more than \$1,200, and besides receiving good prices for their grain the company accumulated twelve per cent. on its capital stock. The Elevator Company at Monticello operates two elevators, and one day last fall there were counted 238 wagons loaded with corn standing in line waiting for their turn to be unloaded. The Cerro Gordo Company handled 317,414 bushels of grain in 1907; also 1,950 tons of soft coal and 231 tons of hard coal. The total amount of business for the year was approximately \$160,000 and a profit of \$1,193 was realized after paying all expenses.

Since the organization of the Coöperative Elevator at Mason City already referred to, in 1899, additions have been built to the elevator which holds 25,000 bushels, at a cost \$3,500; cribs which hold 6,000 bushels of corn, and also two large coal sheds. All of these have been paid for out of the earning of the company, and in addition to this the company has paid \$3,500 in dividends. They will soon put in a drier and make some other improvements, which will cost about \$5,000. This company handles between 300,000 and 400,000 bushels of grain a year.

In Iowa the success has been even more marked. The State organization was formed two years later than that of Illinois, but it has outstripped its predecessor in the number of elevator companies formed. The struggle in Iowa was similar, though a more bitter fight was waged against the little coöperative companies than in Illinois. The first society of the state was at Rockwell, Cerro Gordo County, and their success is largely attributable to the clause incorporated in their by-laws, providing that a commission of one-half cent per bushel should be paid into the company treasury by their members for every bushel of grain sold either to themselves or to their competitors. When sold to their own company this represented the cost of handling the grain, and when sold to a competitor it was paid into the treasury just the same, and in this way the farmers' company was

provided for, no matter how much the line elevator people raised the prices in their endeavor to force the farmers' company out of business. The trust fought the farmers' company at Rockwell, and fought them with every trick known to modern political business, and to the everlasting credit of the little group of staunch and faithful farmers, they failed. But, though the trust was beaten at Rockwell, the fight had been so hardly won that other sections of the state hesitated before organizing their own companies for fear of a similar experience.

Mr. C. J. Messerole, who has been identified with the movement from its inception and who is now secretary of the state organization, in relating the history of the fight says that "The policy of the combine for the time being was to ignore the Rockwell society, and after being driven out of that market paid little attention to them, but when a dozen or more of these companies were organized and the movement threatened to become general, then it was that the real purpose for which the Iowa Grain Dealers' Association, under the leadership of the Line Elevator interests had been reorganized was disclosed. Blacklisting the coöperative companies and boycotting all commission houses who dared to receive the business of the coöperatives, bulldozing local merchants with threats of putting in department stores, filling the local press with false reports of financial difficulties of coöperative companies, formed a large part of the activities of the trusts' Iowa representative. . . . Realizing that the net was slowly but surely encompassing them, a call was sent out in the month of October, 1904, from Rockwell for all coöperative companies of the state to meet at Rockwell on November 4th, for the purpose of organizing an association, the object of which was to be a more intelligent and vigorous effort towards the promotion and organization of coöperative societies and unite and solidify the existing companies for the struggle which all knew was to come."

Mr. McCreery, of the Illinois State Association, Mr. W. M. Stickney and Mr. Messerole were invited to assist at the organization. "We were met at the train by a little band of pioneers," continues Mr. Messerole,

"and escorted to the dining-hall. The town was decorated with flags and bunting and magnificent displays of the products of orchard and field."

The organization resulting from this meeting elected Mr. N. Densmore president, Mr. Messerole secretary, and J. H. Brown of Rockwell, treasurer. Twenty companies joined the Association at the start and that number has increased until at present there are over 200 companies belonging to the state organization, with a membership of 30,000 farmers.

This Association publishes the *American Coöperative Journal*, a monthly magazine, exceedingly well edited by Mr. Messerole, which contains considerable news of the advance of the coöperative movement among the farmers. The *Journal*, which is published at Chicago, is endorsed by all the state organizations, and is a great factor in bringing them into closer relationship with each other, and in promoting actual coöperation between them.

Nebraska also has a state federation, and their fifth annual convention was held at Lincoln on the twenty-first and twenty-second of January. About 2,000 farmers attended these meetings. There are 140 coöperative elevator companies in this state and a large number of coöperative shipping companies. The association has declared itself strongly in favor of federal inspection of grain and weights, and is throwing its weight in favor of other legislation which will be of benefit to the farming interests.

In Minnesota there was recently organized a state association of which Burr D. Alton of Ceylon, who is connected with a half-dozen coöperative societies in the state, was elected president, and R. L. Johnston of Austin, secretary. As there are nearly 185 farmers' elevators in the state the need of a central organization is apparent, and it is sure to promote the cause of coöperative industry to a great extent. The coöperative creameries of Minnesota, of which there are over 600, are coöperating in this movement also.

South Dakota held a convention in February for the purpose of forming a state society, and other near-by states are realizing the need for taking such steps.

HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

By ROBERT TYSON.

Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

The Oregon Campaign.

I HAVE received a copy of the four petitions of the People's Power League—a copy exactly like those actually used in obtaining signatures for the petitions. These are bound together in one book, in such shape that after the signatures were gotten the four petitions could be separated and rebound for presentation to the secretary of state as separate and distinct petitions.

On comparison, I find that the Proportional Representation Amendment as printed in the Initiative petition is word for word as given in the January ARENA, except that the word "election" in the eighth line is "elections" in the petition.

I have had two letters from Mr. H. Denlinger, of 1445 Garfield Avenue, Portland, Oregon, which are especially useful to proportionalists. He asked for literature on Proportional Representation, and I sent him a full supply.

Dealing with Proportional Representation systems, he objects both to the Hare-Spence and the Gove plans, and favors the Free List with Single Vote. He then proceeds as follows:

"P. R. simply means that each political party shall have the same proportion of members in a representative body as it has at the polls. Why is it not correct to say, Then we will divide the members accordingly? If the voter has a single vote, let him cast it for some candidate on the list of his party, as printed on the ballot, and let it count for the party represented by that list. Then when the count is made, let each party have its due proportion of representatives, and let the representatives of each party be taken from the highest candidates on its list. I think this plan would be very easily explained and illustrated, and I believe that the average voter could be made to understand it. Of course it is not absolute accuracy. But my experience has been that the simpler you can make a thing for the average voter the more

readily he will endorse it. Therefore I am very much opposed to this literature (for general circulation) which undertakes to beat the principle out too fine.

"I am speaking now from actual experience, for I have just got through circulating an Initiative petition for this measure. I was out five weeks, and secured between four and five thousand signatures on various petitions. I found this proportional representation amendment hardest to handle. Many of the people I saw asked me for literature, and I have also agreed to see them again. As an indication of the amount of work that must be done, I will say that not one man in a hundred that I approached seemed to know anything about P. R. Copies of the P. R. Amendment as proposed will be sent to every registered voter in the state, together with arguments; but there is need of a great deal of special work being done. A few people will vote for the measure on our endorsements, but the majority of those who vote for this will, like the citizen from Missouri, 'have to be shown.'

"There ought, then, to be some simple A, B, C literature in pamphlet form, which would state the general principle as I have indicated, with a simple illustration of how the principle can be worked. I expect to prepare something of this kind; but if there is anything printed already along the line I mention, I should like to know of it."

In his second letter Mr. Denlinger mentions the great demand for information about the four proposed measures of the People's Power League, including that providing for proportional and preferential voting. He says that he finds it more convenient to push the explanation of the preferential vote for single officers, which is more readily apprehended. He expresses a decided opinion that if the measures of the People's Power League go through at the polls, the political boss will be extinct. This the bosses know, and are fighting desperately.

The English Monthly.

PROMPTLY come to me several copies of *Representation*, the journal of our English proportionalist friends. It is rich in news, and contains also a valuable article on the Second Ballot. Now that three or four parties are contesting British Parliamentary elections, it is seriously proposed to adopt this plan of the Second Ballot, in order that representatives elected from single-member districts may have a majority of all the votes cast.

From the columns of *Representation* I reproduce a generous proportion of the well-chosen "News and Notes."

In The House of Lords.

The Times of February 18th has the following account of the Municipal Representation Bill in the British House of Lords:

"Lord Courtney of Penwith presented a bill to authorize the introduction of proportional representation in municipal elections and for other purposes in relation thereto. He reminded their lordships of the bill on the subject he introduced last year to which the House gave a second reading, and upon which a Select Committee reported. The bill he now submitted was substantially that of last year, with the recommendations of the Committee incorporated. Under the existing system of conducting elections for municipal councils, whether by annual election of a third of the members or by triennial elections of the council as a whole, the result was determined too much upon party lines, and men well qualified for service were often excluded because they did not enter the election contest as party representatives. The method of the bill would secure representation of different opinions among electors in proportion to their strength. The machinery proposed the Committee found well suited to its purpose. Some doubt was expressed as to whether the electors would quite realize the intention, but on that point he thought anxiety was much exaggerated, and that our electors were not less intelligent than those of other countries. The Committee had proposed that the permission to local authorities to adopt the bill should be subject to the decision, in the first instance, of a three-fifths, instead of a bare majority, and that the experiment should be valid for three years, only, but might then be renewed by a bare majority for another three years, at the end of which time the system of the bill could be

finally adopted by resolution, provided that either House of Parliament, within a given time, did not by an address secure that the resolution should be null and void. These recommendations had been adopted and he submitted the bill with confidence increased by the knowledge that since last year the principle it embodied had made further advance abroad—in Sweden, Holland, and especially by its reaffirmation and readoption in Tasmania, after a general election, at which the Ministry which had abolished the system had been defeated.

"The Earl of Crewe, with an acknowledgment of the interesting speech of the noble lord, hoped he would not consider it disrespectful or casting any doubt on the importance of the subject if debate were, in accordance with the customary course, deferred until the second reading."

Advance in France.

THE IDEA of proportional representation is making remarkable progress in France with two or three exceptions, the French Socialist party is solid for the reform, which gains support also among moderate Republicans and Conservatives of all shades of opinion, the opposition seeming chiefly to come from the Radicals at present in power. A recent number of *L'Humanité*, the organ of M. Jaurés, gives an account of a proposal which has very powerful backing and which, it is hoped, may secure widespread acceptance. It is suggested that at the next municipal elections (conducted on the *scrutin de liste* system—much as in England) all parties should agree that wherever a second ballot is necessary the seats should without any actual contest be allotted among the various party lists of candidates which have been put forward in proportion to the votes actually received by each party at the first ballot. In other words, it is proposed by agreement to institute Proportional Representation by way of trial or experiment, so that France may see what she would gain by the reform. It is much to be hoped that this interesting experiment may be made in as many municipalities as possible and that it may achieve the success which it deserves. The writer in *L'Humanité* observes incidentally that one of the advantages of Proportional Representation is the abolition of the second ballot and its attendant disadvantages. And yet there are English writers who urge that England

should accept as a reform what France would suppress as an abuse.

Tasmania.

HERE are some further particulars about the bill re-introducing Proportional Representation into Tasmania, which became law in November last. The new act divides Tasmania for the purposes of the State Assembly (the 'Lower' House) into five districts each with six members, but for the State Council (the 'Upper' House) the division is into fifteen districts of which thirteen are country districts with one member each and two are the city districts of Hobart, with three, and Launceston with two members. The Tasmanian Act will probably not come into actual use until 1909, the year of the next state elections, and it will again be used in 1910 for the Commonwealth elections in Tasmania. Meanwhile our warmest congratulations are due to the little daughter state which in this respect leads the Anglo-Saxon world, and to Professor Nanson, of Melbourne, and Miss Spence, who have fought so long for reform.

The Second Ballot.

THE FOLLOWING abstracts give the main points of an interesting article on the Second Ballot, in the March issue of *Representation*:

"Let us look at the second ballot a little in detail. The ordinary form is that in cases where there are more than two candidates for a single-member constituency, then, unless one candidate has a clear majority of all the votes polled, a second election is held after an interval of a week or fortnight from the first; at this second election, either by law, as in Germany, or by the ordinary political practice, as in France, only the two candidates highest on the poll at the first election are before the electors, and the candidate who gets the greater number of votes is chosen. The same effect can also be produced without the expense and trouble of two elections by allowing the elector at the first election to mark with the figure 2 the candidate to whom he would wish his vote transferred if the candidate of his own choice is lowest on the poll. This is a considerable improvement in machinery, as the interval between the two elections on the ordinary plan is apt to be occupied with rather undesirable wire-pulling,

but the root principle of the method—the elimination of the smallest of three parties and the limitation of the choice of the electors to the representatives of the two larger parties—remains the same.

"Now, even if one looks at the constituency itself alone, this method is erroneous. For if three parties, Red, Pink and White, are contesting the seat and the poll results: Red, 5,000; White, 4,000; Pink, 3,000, the final contest will be between Red and White. But it may well be that Pink would defeat either Red or White in a fight between Pink and Red or Pink and White. Therefore in such a case that candidate of the three whose opinions most nearly accord with those of the electors is defeated.

"In Belgium it was the defects of the Second Ballot which lead to the introduction of proportional representation. Thus in the recent reports from British Representatives Abroad on the Second Ballot, the British Minister in Brussels (Sir A. Hardinge) tells us that 'the overwhelming victory of the Clerical party in 1884 was largely due to the fact that in every second ballot between Catholics and Socialists, the Liberals voted for the former, whilst in every second ballot between Catholics and Liberals . . . the Socialists preferred the Catholics . . . In 1896 (the Socialists in turn were the victims. . . . Liberal electors . . . voted everywhere at the second ballot for Clerical . . . candidates, with the result that the Clericals won every one of the eighteen seats for Brussels, although the total number of Clerical electors in a total electorate of 202,000 was only 89,000. . . . It was the practical experience of conditions such as these which gradually convinced all the Belgium parties that, given a three-cornered fight in every or nearly every constituency, the only way of preventing a minority from turning the scales and excluding from all representation the views of nearly half the electorate was to adopt the system of proportional representation.' Will our statesmen refuse to learn from Belgium, or are we in England also to have to pass through a period of incoherence and inconsistencies? In Germany the results of the Second Ballot are equally unsatisfactory; the votes polled and the seats gained at the last general election for the Reichstag are so remarkable that we need not apologize for their reproduction. They were as follows:

PARTY.	VOTES.	SEATS.
Social Democrats.....	3,251,009.	43
Centre Party.....	2,374,097.	105
National Liberals.....	1,570,836.	55
Conservatives.....	1,499,501.	83
Radical Groups.....	1,311,304.	51

In other words, the Social Democrats, the strongest single party in votes, are the weakest in members, because there was a general combination against them in the second ballot, and so, instead of their having one-third of the seats, they have about one-ninth, and a totally false impression has been produced of the real distribution of political opinion in Germany. It is sometimes supposed that the inequalities of the German

distribution of seats are the cause of this unsatisfactory result; but this is an error. In 1903 these inequalities were as great, but the Socialists won nearly twice as many seats. Why? Because in 1903 there was no general combination against them on the second ballot. But, plainly, the proportion which the voters of a party bear to the whole, and not the attitude of other sections of voters, should determine the representation which the party obtains in a national assembly."

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

PICTURESQUE SAN ANTONIO: This month we give another of GEORGE WHAETON JAMES' charming and informing papers on leading Southern cities.

The Relation Between Woman in Industry and the Growth of Crims: Few magazine articles of the present year will appeal so forcibly to the more thoughtful readers as the contribution which we publish this month prepared expressly for THE ARENA by our Berlin correspondent, MAYNARD BUTLER. It is a masterly and stimulating discussion of one of the gravest problems that confront civilization. The author has made a deep study of the question. Grave and disquieting facts and data are marshalled from authoritative sources, revealing conditions in Germany, Japan, France and Anglo-Saxon countries; after which the author suggests a remedy for the evil conditions that strike at the root of civilization—a remedy that it is suggested the United States and Canada in cooperation might introduce and that would greatly better the lot of women and eliminate the most menacing conditions that are now acting with a mighty and oftentimes irresistibly downward pressure upon the industrial woman.

Concerning Compulsory Arbitration: Our front-piece this month is a remarkably life-like portrait of Mr. THEODORE SCHROEDER, who contributes a paper of real value in this issue on one of the most vital questions before the American public. The author has made arbitration the subject of careful research. His treatment is judicial, sane and broad. As in everything from his pen, reason and an overmastering love of justice dominate the discussion.

Emerson as Writer and Man: It is with great pleasure that we welcome again to the pages of THE ARENA the ripe scholar and always fascinating essayist, Professor JAMES T. BIXBY. Shortly after the founding of this review, Dr. BIXBY was secured as one of our regular contributors, and his papers soon became a very popular feature of THE ARENA with thoughtful people in America and Great Britain. Indeed, the contributions of few of our contributors called forth such unstinted praise as did his always interesting and thought-stimulating papers. The present discussion of "Emerson as Writer and Man" is, in our judgment, unsurpassed by any of the really great brief essays that have been written on the sage and philosopher of Concord. It will be followed by another paper by Dr. BIXBY dealing with EMERSON'S message.

Through the Closed Shop to the Open World: Friends of organized labor will find in Mr. HORACE TRAUBEL'S paper which we present this month the strongest brief argument that has yet been presented in favor of the closed shop. Mr. TRAUBEL as the most intimate friend of WALT WHITMAN in his declining years and as his biographer and and confidant, came into such vital touch with the "good gray poet" that his broad spirit, his love of justice, freedom and fraternity or fundamental democracy has been imbibed, no less than something of the original, rugged and direct presentation of truth which marked WALT WHITMAN'S work. This paper is extremely timely owing to the fact that a powerful capitalistic organization is actively at work seeking to reduce organized labor to serfdom and is spending vast amounts of money in attempting to arouse a general prejudice against the organized workers.

The Quest: Rev. Dr. HILDRETH, who is an exceptionally able orthodox clergyman, contributes to this issue of THE ARENA an essay on evolution and that which is behind the unfoldment. In this paper the author takes a position somewhat similar to that maintained by Dr. ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE, HENRY DRUMMOND and many other prominent evolutionary thinkers, all of whom held that evolution merely dealt with the method of advancing life from the primary cell to the complex nervous and mental organism of civilized man. In the nature of the case evolution does not attempt to describe the origin of life.

Pernicious Laudation of the Rich: Our readers will enjoy Hon. JOHN D. WORKS' paper in this issue dealing with the morally disintegrating influence that follows the persistent focussing of the mind of the public on the abnormally rich, tending as it does to create an idea of superiority apart from moral and mental excellence that in a republic should ever be recognized as the master spring of genuine worth. The author is a leading jurist of the Pacific coast.

The Political Outlook for the Coming Presidential Election: In this issue the Hon. GEORGE FRED. WILLIAMS, the strongest, ablest and most fundamental of the Democratic leaders of New England,

contributes a brief paper on the present political outlook. Mr. WILLIAMS is one of the finest scholars in the ranks of progressive democracy. His analysis of present political conditions well merits the attention of our people. This paper is complemented by our editorial dealing with "Presidential Possibilities."

How Clara Barton Became Interested in Christian Science: Mrs. EUGENIA PAUL JEFFERSON contributes a most interesting paper to this issue, dealing with the causes that led Miss BARTON, the great leader of the Red Cross movement, to investigate Christian Science.

A Socialist's Definition of Socialism: We think it is safe to say that the clearest exposition of the master aim of the Socialists that has appeared in the compass of a brief magazine article will be found in this issue of THE ARENA. It was prepared for this magazine by the Hon. CARL D. THOMPSON, the Social-Democratic member of the Wisconsin Legislature. This paper will do much to clear up the honest misunderstandings which exist in the public mind, due to the persistent misrepresentations of Socialists and Socialism which have appeared in that part of the daily press controlled by the plutocracy.



HON. ROBERT L. OWEN.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them.—HEINE.*

The Arena

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THE RESTORATION OF POPULAR RULE: THE GREATEST OF ALL NON- PARTISAN ISSUES.

BY HON. ROBERT L. OWEN,
United States Senator from Oklahoma.

At the suggestion of THE ARENA I submit a few comments on the question of the People's Rule—all that is practicable in the short limit of a magazine article.

THE PEOPLE'S RULE IN OKLAHOMA.

UNDER the Constitution of Oklahoma the people are sovereign and may veto an Act of Legislature and have the direct power to propose and compel legislation, and to propose amendments to the Constitution and put such amendments in force.

Five per cent. of the voters can compel the submission of an act of the legislature and the will of the majority of those who vote on the measure is the law of the land.

Eight per cent. can propose a statute, and if approved by a majority of the votes cast at the election it will become a law.

Fifteen per cent. of the voters can propose an amendment to the Constitution which will become the law by a majority vote of the electors voting. No constitutional convention can be called unless approved by the voters of the state, and the proposals of a con-

stitutional convention cannot become law until approved by a majority of the electors voting thereon. In short, the people of Oklahoma have reserved to themselves a veto power through the "referendum," and the power of direct-legislation through the "initiative."

This is merely an improvement in the system that existed in this country before the rise in 1823-32 of the state and national conventions, under the manipulation of political parties.

THE PEOPLE'S RULE IN AMERICA, 1776-1798.

The people ruled in America prior to 1823-32, when the artful political contrivance of party conventions was established. The people previously to that time instructed their representatives. For example, in the Boston Town Meeting of 1764, their representatives in the legislature were instructed as follows:

"The townsmen have delegated to you the power of acting in their public Concerns in general as your own pru-

dence shall direct you, always reserving to themselves the Constitutional Right of expressing their mind and giving you such Instructions upon particular matters as they at any time shall judge proper."

What clearer declaration of principle could be made?

Take the following minutes of the town clerk of Weston, Massachusetts, at the meeting on the twelfth day of January, 1778, at one o'clock p. m., called for the purpose,

"To instruct your representatives to act and to do as you shall judge mostly for the advantage of this and ye United States, etc."

In which they voted as follows:

"(1) Voted to accept of the consideration of perpetual union as adopted by the congress and *that the representatives be instructed to act accordingly.*"

These town meetings could be called at any time. It was a common practice throughout New England.

The above illustrations show that the people of Massachusetts possessed a complete and thorough direct-vote system for public questions, and instructed their elected representatives at will. The legislature, too, instructed the members of the Continental Congress, and could recall them. Such was the system in New England.

In other states the voters elected pledged candidates and instructed at mass meetings and through the legislatures. In some states the mass meetings were termed Conferences. The complete sovereignty of the voters is shown in the following resolutions of North Carolina, November 1, 1776, at Mecklenberg, called for

"The express purpose of drawing up instructions for the present representatives in Congress.

"To Waighstill Avery, Hezekiah Alexander, John Phifer, Robert Erwin, and Zecheus Wilson, Esquires:

"Gentlemen: You are chosen by the inhabitants of this country to serve them in Congress or General Assembly for

one year, and they have agreed to the following Instructions, which you are to observe with the strictest regard, viz: You are instructed:

"(1). That you shall consent to and approve the Declaration of the Continental Congress declaring the thirteen United States Colonies free and independent States."

Eighteen additional paragraphs of instructions follow (Vol. 10, Colonial Records of North Carolina.)

These examples can be multiplied indefinitely.

In Pennsylvania, a constitutional convention assembled July 15, 1776, and declared in the Bill of Rights, as follows:

"(16). That the people have a right to assemble together to consult for their common good, to instruct their representatives, etc."

In 1780 the people of Massachusetts put in their Bill of Rights an express recognition of the right *to instruct their representatives*. The right existed at all times, in all the thirteen states, and furthermore, the governors were not clothed with a veto power and the courts were not permitted to veto a law, so that the representatives in the legislature were the ruling power, *subject to the instructions of the people*.

PEOPLE'S RULE ATTACKED, 1786-87.

The people's rule is not favorable to the selfish interests of the politician nor of the commercialist.

In the call for a National Constitutional Convention, in 1786, the fifty-five delegates to the National Convention were elected by the legislature. These delegates appear to have been opposed to the people's rule, and they met and secretly worked for a system by which the few should rule. There were no public schools in those days. The common voter was unlearned, and the party of Hamilton distrusted the people. The doors of this Constitutional Convention were closed to the people and the members

thereof were not allowed to communicate to any one the matters therein discussed, nor were they permitted, except by vote of the convention, to copy anything from the journals, and the journals were not published for thirty years.

In this constitution no way was provided for a direct vote on national issues, and the few, to wit: two Senators from each state, were to be elected by the legislature, and the President by "presidential electors."

And no Bill of Rights was put in this constitution which all Englishmen had possessed for over five hundred years. The people would have rejected this constitution except for the pledge that desired amendments recognizing their rights would be submitted by the First Congress. Under this agreement the constitution of the United States was adopted and twelve amendments were submitted, ten of which were adopted. The Ninth and Tenth are as follows:

"The enumeration in the constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others *retained by the people.*"

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people."

It should always be remembered that among the people's reserved rights is the sovereign "right to instruct."

Thus the people retained their sovereign power and right to instruct. This is almost entirely ignored by the present-day opponents of the people's rule.

OVERTHROW OF PEOPLE'S RULE—1798.

The Federalists who followed Hamilton continued to object to instructions by the voters, and in 1798 they gained complete control in the House in addition to the Senate and Presidency. Their increase in power was due to the gross excesses of the Republicans in France, and the alleged attempted blackmail of our government by French officials.

When the Federalist leaders came into full control they quickly demonstrated their autocratic opinions. They enacted the odious alien and sedition laws. They began to shut off free speech and to imprison their critics. In the Supreme Court the judges took to themselves legislative power by claiming to possess a veto power as to acts of legislatures and of Congress; and Congress began to enlarge its own power by providing among other things, that the President by a mere order, and without permitting recourse to the courts, might expel from the country such as he said were foreigners.

RESTORATION OF PEOPLE'S RULE—1800.

At the next election, November, 1800, the people ousted the Federalists. The Republican party secured not only the Presidency but a majority in the House and in the Senate. Thomas Jefferson and his fellow-patriots were peacefully installed in office. Jefferson's inaugural address is a masterpiece. Among other things he declared that—

"Absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority is the vital principle of republics," and that both state and national governments were essential.

The Federalist party being opposed to the people's rule suffered a national death in 1817. During this period of our history the people's right to instruct was abundantly recognized. In 1816 Mr. Jefferson wrote to John Tyler:

"Your book settles unanswerably the people's right to instruct representatives and their duty to obey."

John Adams wrote: "The right of the people to instruct their representatives is very dear to them, and will never be disputed by me." (Vol. 10, page 605.)

Ohio was admitted in 1802, and the Bill of Rights specifically reserved to the people the right to instruct. Indiana was admitted during 1816, with a similar reservation, Illinois was admitted two years later with a like reservation, and Maine, in 1820; Michigan in

1835, and Arkansas in 1836 was admitted, and the Bill of Rights in each state reserved the right to instruct representatives. Indeed the constitution of New Hampshire, in 1784, of Vermont, in 1793, and Tennessee, in 1796, reserved the right to instruct representatives, and such right was expressly recognized in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and North Carolina. Indeed, in all the other states the voters actually exercised the right.

During 1816 Mr. Jefferson wrote to Isaac H. Tiffany: "My most earnest wish is to see the Republican element of popular control pushed to the maximum of its practical exercise. I shall then believe that our government may be pure and perpetual."

THE RESULTS OF THE PEOPLE'S RULE— 1776-1832.

Our country's history during this period is our proudest heritage. Legal privileges were abolished in all directions. It was provided that the eldest son should no longer inherit the entire family property. Primogeniture was terminated. The law of entail was abolished. Religious freedom was established. The principles of popular education were promoted, and these are the foundation-stones of our grand progress in later years.

Alexis De Tocqueville, the noted Frenchman, in his *Democracy in America*, wrote (1832): "America then exhibits in her social state an extraordinary phenomenon. Men are there seen on a greater equality in point of fortune and intellect, or, in other words, more equal in their strength than in any other country of the world, or in any age in which history has preserved the remembrance."

Under the people's rule the United States reached out and protected its weaker neighbors. In 1823 it announced the famous Monroe Doctrine, and from that day to this has protected this hemisphere. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the influence of the people's rule. Generosity is its guiding

spirit. It was the people of the United States who compelled Congress to protect Cuba from tyranny.

DEADLY ENEMY OF PEOPLE'S RULE.

The deadly enemy of the people's rule is "selfish interest," the "spirit of commercialism," and never, until the interest of the slave-holding class obtained a dominating influence in the Democratic party, did that grand party seem to lose sight of the teachings of the immortal Jefferson. The birth of the Republican party was inspired by the resolute purpose to prevent the extension of human slavery to the territories of the United States. This was the essence of Jeffersonian Democracy taking a new name.

Abraham Lincoln has declared that every principle of good government which he believed in was drawn from the teachings of Thomas Jefferson, the patron saint of the Democratic party.

The Republican party in its birth was a revival of Jefferson Democracy and a new expression of the divine principle, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain *inalienable* rights, that among these are *life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.*"

Under the rule of the Democracy De Tocqueville, in addressing his fellow-citizens in France, in 1850, said:

"The principle of the sovereignty of the people, which we enthroned in France but yesterday, has in America held undivided sway for over sixty years. It is there reduced to practice in the most direct, the most unlimited, and the most absolute manner. For sixty years, the people who have made it the common source of all their laws, have increased continually in population, in territory, and in opulence; and—consider it well—it is found to have been, during that period, not only the most prosperous, but the most stable of all the nations of the earth. Whilst all the nations of Europe have been devastated by war or torn by civil discord, the American

people alone in the civilized world have remained at peace. Almost all Europe was convulsed by revolutions; America has not had even a revolt."

And he added:

"The republic there has not been the assailant but the guardian of all vested rights; the property of individuals has had better guaranties there than in any other country of the world; anarchy has there been as unknown as despotism."

"At the present day the principle of the sovereignty of the people has acquired, in the United States, all the practical development which the imagination can conceive. It is unencumbered by those fictions which are thrown over it in other countries, and it appears in every possible form, according to the exigency of the occasion. . . . The people reign in the American political world as the Deity does in the universe. They are the cause and aim of all things; everything comes from them, and everything is absorbed in them."

But under the influence of selfish interests which deny the doctrine of "*equal rights to all and special privileges to none*" foreign competition has been completely cut off and monopoly enthroned in this country to the point where every necessary of life is in the hands of one master, so that the producing masses are being slowly reduced to unavoidable poverty and the proceeds of their labor (creating enormous wealth) is being concentrated in a comparatively few hands. It suggests a new form of commercial slavery.

After the death of the Federalist party, the doctrine of the people's rule being triumphant, there was a period known as "the era of good feeling."

In 1823 the leaders in Pennsylvania out of power called for the election of delegates to a state convention to nominate a governor. This system spread to other states and finally became the rule, which resulted in a practical relinquishment of the right of the people to instruct after election day was passed.

And it was found to be convenient for machine politicians to get the delegates as far removed as possible from the people, and this without regard to party. Through the convention system the right of the people to rule was undermined, and this political device has led to a multiplicity of scandals, corruptions, of open intrigue, of direct bargain and sale and flagrant disregard of the popular will. For example, the county boss will call together a half-dozen active henchmen from various parts of the county; they then make preparations for a county convention with trusty delegates available, and on a short call the machine will have township meetings and send their own picked delegates to a "cut and dried" convention, without the people of the county who are unorganized being able to control nominations or instruct the nominees.

And in a state convention similarly chosen delegates craftily nominated in the several counties make up a state machine just as little responsive to the will of the people.

It is interesting and amusing to see the violent hostility of the machine politician to any suggestion which would abate the nuisance of machine politics and its chief instrumentality, the machine convention.

THE RIGHT TO INSTRUCT.

To restore the people's rule, the first step is "The questioning of candidates," for the obvious reason that a candidate of any party is far more willing to listen to the voter before election than he is after election. When he wants votes he will listen to voters; when he does not need votes he may not be so considerate.

The first step in restoring the right of the people to rule is to adopt the policy of questioning candidates.

THE ADVISORY INITIATIVE AND THE ADVISORY REFERENDUM.

The first question is:]

Will you obey the wills of your constituents when expressed by the advisory initiative or the advisory referendum?

Or,

Will you establish as a law of this state the Initiative and Referendum?

It may be necessary to establish first the "advisory initiative and the advisory referendum."

In Oklahoma by questioning of candidates a majority of the Constitutional Convention was committed to establishing the "initiative and referendum" in the constitution.

It so happened in that state that the great majority of the Republican candidates refused to agree to this doctrine of the people's rule, while the Democrats almost unanimously agreed to it, and were, in consequence, overwhelmingly elected.

No candidate will dare say that he does not recognize the right of the people to instruct him, but a candidate who has been elected will not care to discuss this matter. He would prefer to follow the instruction if it pleases him, and to not follow it if it does not please him.

"All of the people know more than some of the people" and no majority will probably make a mistake or maintain a mistake, if inadvertently made. Unselfish majorities are less likely to make or maintain mistakes than selfish minorities.

The candidates for all parties should have the demand put to them as to whether or not they will stand for the restoration of the right to instruct. One hundred and fourteen of the 391 members of the National House of Representatives in Congress favor this principle of government, and in the next election the great majority of them can be committed to it.

Under machine-rule it is impossible for the people to control political parties. When the people's rule is established no matter what the name of the party may be, justice and good government will assuredly be promoted.

"The National Federation for People's Rule" and "The National Initiative and Referendum Committee" have merged themselves into an Initiative and Referendum League, and every citizen of any party will do well to join this political organization. Republicans will do well to join this organization because it will deliver the Republican party from the evils of machine politics and from the dangerous influences of selfish interests which always threaten a dominant party with disintegration. No party confessedly corrupt can stand, and no party dominated by selfish interests can avoid ultimate corruption.

Under the Initiative and Referendum League there will be national, state and county committeemen who will question candidates of all parties and obtain in this way the immediate restoration of the people's sovereignty. All candidates for nomination will be questioned, and then all candidates for election will be questioned.

CO-OPERATION OF NON-PARTISAN NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

The American Federation of Labor and various farmers' organizations are agreeing with the Initiative and Referendum League. The elements in the Republican party, in the Democratic party, in the People's party, and those who are non-partisan who favor the people's rule can all agree upon the wisdom of restoring the right of the people to instruct, and every party's nominees should be bound to support the principle of the people's rule.

Those who will violently oppose this are,

First: the machine politicians.

Second: special or corporate interests behind machine politicians.

Third: doctrinaires, who learnedly talk government with their eyes on the stars and their feet walking into an open well.

Fourth: those who fear to trust the popular vote for whatever cause.

Machine-rule is the Gibraltar of monopoly. The people's rule will provide a substantial and just control of monopoly and of every evil of government.

Initiative measures can be voted on November, 1910, if the non-partisan movement is pushed in favor of the people's rule.

The "questioning of candidates" is all that is required, from constable to President.

Organized labor is vitally interested in this program.

Every farmer whose products are controlled by monopoly, every cattle-raiser whose cattle are controlled by the Beef Trust, every humble consumer whose wages are eaten up by the high prices established by endless monopoly controlling all of the necessities of life; every manufacturer in legitimate business whose materials are controlled by monopoly; every merchant whose interests are being slowly but firmly limited and crushed by monopoly in business is deeply interested in the restoration of the people's rule.

Recent centralization has been enormous and extremely dangerous to the future liberty of the people. The greatest of all issues in the nation is the restoration of the people's rule.

"You take my life when you do take the means by which I live," and in more or less intense form this sentiment is felt by hundreds of thousands of men. When the people rule they will require publicity, and public opinion will do the rest in controlling the evils of monopoly.

Under the recent interpretation of the law the right of the farmers and wage-earners to organize is denied. The right to jury trial in certain labor cases has been taken away. Labor is prohibited from publishing the names of employers who are not maintaining union shops. The blacklist is being resurrected.

A strong tendency to strip state government of power is apparent. The Dick militia law provides that if there are

hostilities the President can keep the troops to the front for nine months without any action by Congress, and if he chooses he can draft every able-bodied man under forty-five years of age. This might mean a military dictator if the President's ambition should mislead him.

The time has arrived when all candidates should be questioned as to the immediate restoration of the people's rule. This should be made a vigorous issue within the party lines of every party.

It is unfortunate that at such a time the Secretary of War who is a candidate for the Presidency should feel it wise to express his disapproval of the Initiative and Referendum.

It is entirely possible he has given the matter no study and was led to this disapproval by the persuasive argument of some interest which recognized the restoration of people's rule as hazardous to itself, but if he is subjected to the rule of "questioning of candidates" he would probably give this subject more careful study and perhaps a more satisfactory comment. Mr. Taft has said: "Think of the possibility of securing a vote of fourteen million of electors on the four thousand items of a tariff bill." The answer is that under the Initiative and Referendum system the people can veto a bad bill with a "yes" or "no" and can initiate a good bill with its competing measure wisely prepared and vote upon such measures "yes" or "no."

Experience shows that under the principle of the people's rule the conduct of the representatives of the people is so entirely satisfactory that the rule will very rarely be required to be invoked at all, for the representative will respect the wishes of the people whom he represents.

CONCLUSIONS.

In the coming summer we should certainly expect the people to vote in favor of their own liberties and of their own right to rule. They will elect a

President and a pledged majority in the House, and enough pledged members of the legislature to secure a majority vote in the United States Senate.

Then men will wonder that there was any question as to the outcome, just as to-day the people of Oklahoma would wonder why any candidate for the Constitutional Convention of 1906 was opposed to the people's rule.

Oklahoma has taken a great and decisive step in a liberty-giving epoch for this republic and in the restoration of the sovereignty of the people of this country, and it matters not through what party organization this liberty shall come. It would be well for the American people if this great principle of a free government should be immediately recognized by both of the great parties, so that divisions upon national policies should be upon other lines than a question of this

character which should be the common property of all parties.

Four of the states have reëstablished the people's rule. Three of them are Republican states—Oregon, South Dakota and Montana, and one of them a Democratic state—Oklahoma. Maine and Missouri have submitted constitutional amendments, and in many of the other states this matter is marching to rapid triumph.

When the eternal principles of justice shall rest as a brilliant diadem upon the brow of our great republic, then the brotherhood of man shall have been more nearly established and an equal opportunity for life, liberty and happiness be afforded to every human being that has the virtue and the industry essential to good citizenship.

ROBERT L. OWEN.

Washington, D. C.

THE DIRECT-LEGISLATION CAMPAIGN IN THE EMPIRE STATE.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

FEW PEOPLE fully realize that we are in the midst of one of the most momentous struggles that has been waged since the foundation of our Republic, yet such is the fact. True, as has been the case in several of the most vital moments in the long struggle of the people against the oppression of classes or privilege, no shock of arms accompanies the present contest, but nevertheless it carries with it the life and death of the democratic ideal, in so far as our government is concerned. To appreciate this it is only necessary to call to mind what differentiates a democratic republic or a government under the rule of the people from all forms of class-rule. In a democratic republic, or a popular government, the people are the sover-

eigns and the officials are merely their servants. This is true whether the people rule directly or whether for convenience they select representatives to carry out their wishes. The representatives are at all times merely the servants of their principals, the electors. This is the great point of differentiation between a republic or a government of the people, by the people and for the people, and every form of class-rule, whether it be under czar and bureaucracy, king and council of state, monarch and constitutional parliament, or an aristocracy or oligarchy, as has been present in different lands in various periods of history. In all despotic governments or lands under class-rule, the official class is recognized as the masters or as the agents of small



FREDERIC W. HINRICHS.



HAMILTON HOLT.



REV. NEWELL DWIGHT HILLIS.



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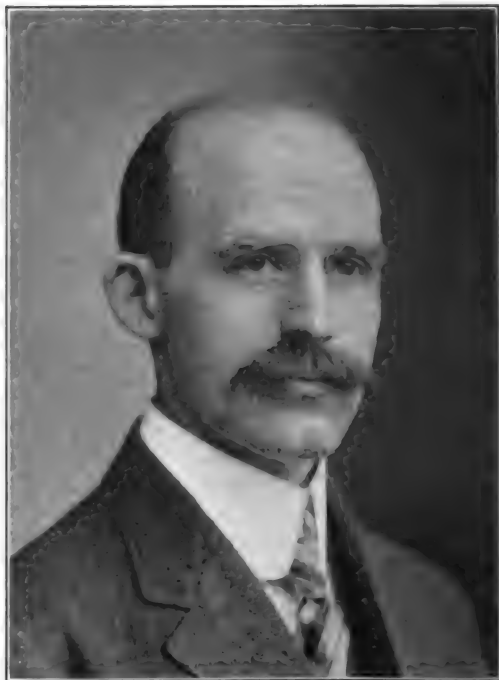
H. B. LOEW.



GILBERT E. ROE.



LEWIS STOCKTON.



MILO R. MALTBIE.



[H. B. MAURER.



HORATIO C. KING.



DR. ROBERT STUART MacARTHUR.



EDWIN MARKHAM.



JOSIAH STRONG.



F. C. LEUBUSCHER.

groups whose interests they represent and whose wishes they carry out—the interests and wishes which frequently run counter to those of the people at large.

It is therefore clearly apparent that any official in a democratic republic who would claim mastership over the people whom he pretends to represent, or who would take orders from and act in the interests of special classes whose desires run counter to those of the people at large, commits treason against popular government and seeks to destroy that which lifts a democratic government



PROF. SAMUEL T. DUTTON.

above all forms of class-rule. Any man who claims for public officials in a government like ours the right to legislate contrary to the wishes of the people, is an enemy of popular government and an upholder of the theory of class-rule, against which our fathers fought and died in the great Revolution that ushered in the age of democracy.

Since the rise to great power of the public-service corporations, monopolies and trusts, and the federation of gamblers and high financiers, a carefully worked-out campaign has been steadily waged for the mastership of government in all its departments, to the end that the avarice and lust for power of small groups of exploiters may go unchecked.

The conspirators against popular rule, however, were far too shrewd to appear in the open field in opposition to the most vital principle in free government. They desired to despoil the American people of a large proportion of the wealth of their earnings, but in order to accomplish this they moved by indirection, pursuing a settled policy at once subtle and determined and so effective that in a little more than a quarter of a century they have become firmly entrenched in various departments in municipal, state and national government, thus subtly undermining the democratic republic of the fathers and in place of popular rule substituting the mastership of privileged interests.

The method by which this deadly assault has been made upon the fundamental ideals of the Declaration of Independence has embraced an elaborate plan of procedure, in which the direct or indirect control of great public opinion-forming agencies has been secured, while by the lavish expenditure of money and with the union or connivance of political bosses, great party machines have been built up and in many instances made all-powerful and as responsive to privileged classes as they were deaf to popular demands which ran counter to the desires of the real masters of the machine. In this way the enemies of the Republic have been able to largely dictate political slates and shape, direct or modify legislation so as to further their own interests and escape penalty for law-breaking. The great political bosses and national chairmen and treasurers of political organizations have been when possible brought into such sympathetic relation with predatory wealth that the privilege-seekers ran little or no risk in the investments which they made to the party machine for legislation that would divert millions upon millions of dollars of the people's money into their pockets; while at the same time the mastership of government slowly but surely passed from the people to the masters of the public-

service corporations, the trusts and monopolies.

In this way there has arisen in the Republic a ruling class within the nation which, without itself holding office, dominates government and is able to rob and plunder the people at will, while it has corrupted the fountains of government and of public opinion, its members thereby becoming the greatest moral criminals that can be found within the borders of a republic, the assassins of popular rule.

This federation of privileged interests for the perpetual plunder of the people is in many ways analogous to the throne and ministry of England during the Revolutionary War. The political bosses and handy-men that do the bidding of the privileged classes are the modern Tories who for political power, wealth and position are deliberately and infamously betraying the people and seeking to destroy the Republic and entrench on its ruins one of the most corrupt and sordid kinds of class-rule.

Now against this combination of traitors to their country and enemies of the people, the forces of democracy or popular rule are everywhere uniting to check and overthrow the irresponsible and reactionary usurpation. Various efforts have been made to meet in a practical way the changed conditions of the present, so as to restore to the people their sovereignty. The old New England town-meeting has everywhere been recognized as meeting the democratic or American ideal of government in a most admirable manner for small communities; and, indeed, wherever it has been maintained, the results have afforded a splendid illustration of the benefits of popular government over boss, machine and privileged rule.

But it is to Switzerland that the honor belongs of adapting the old American system or town-meeting idea to state and national politics, and thus practically and effectively bulwarking and preserving popular rule or democracy

from the insidious and destructive advance of class government. Through the initiative, referendum, right of recall and proportional representation, Switzerland has established a government that is nearer ideal than that of any other people.

In America one of the first great commonwealths to make a serious, honest and successful attempt to incorporate the initiative and referendum into the constitution or organic law of the state, was Oregon. There the patriotic citizens of all parties united, with the result that an overwhelming victory was achieved. Other states have fallen into line, the last being the splendid and vigorous young commonwealth of Oklahoma. This year several other states will vote on the measures, and naturally enough the political bosses and the handy-men of the corporations and privileged interests, who have been so secretly but industriously working to destroy free government and to establish on its ruins class-rule, are greatly exercised at the awakening of the people to their own danger and in every way possible are seeking to circumvent the popular movement. They appreciate the fact that the success of their treason against free government is seriously imperiled since the people are coming to recognize them as the great enemies of clean, honest government, as well as of popular rule.

On the other hand, a great number of our leading statesmen, publicists, educators and political and social economists are outspoken advocates of Direct-Legislation. Among these are Justice Brewer of the Supreme Court of the United States; United States Senator Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin; Senators Robert L. Owen and Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma; Senator Jonathan Bourne of Oregon; Governor George A. Chamberlain of Oregon; Governor Joseph W. Folk of Missouri; Governor Coe I. Crawford of South Dakota; Hon. William J. Bryan; Professor Frank Parsons, Ph.D.; Hon. George Fred. Williams; ex-Governor L. F. C. Garvin

of Rhode Island; Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland; President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard; Congressman R. N. Hackett of North Carolina; ex-Senator R. F. Pettigrew of South Dakota; Hon. Frederic C. Howe of Ohio; Congressman Champ Clark of Missouri, and Governor J. H. Higgins of Rhode Island.

During the past few months the friends of democratic republican government in the Empire State have inaugurated an aggressive campaign that will be vigorously waged from now on, until the people recapture the government and dethrone the corrupt bosses that have degraded and debauched the government of New York for so many years and are responsible for the presence of such men as Chauncey M. Depew and Thomas C. Platt in the United States Senate, where they loyally represent the interests of the express companies, railways and other public-service corporations, and misrepresent the people of the state and nation.

But before noticing the opening conflict in New York, which may be called the Lexington of the new revolution for the rescue of popular government from the feudalism of privileged wealth, it will be interesting to briefly notice the preliminary work and the League behind the people in the battle with unrepblican privileged classes and the upholders of boss and machine-rule.

The history of this contest in some respects reminds one of the early stage of the battle in Oregon. In the latter state the man who organized the movement and who chiefly carried on the educational agitation until the state was ablaze with political enthusiasm, was a plain, earnest, simple, unostentatious citizen, W. S. U'Ren. In New York a noble, unassuming but indefatigable patriot was long the heart and soul of the effort to enlist the people against the enemies of pure and republican government. This man was H. B. Maurer of Brooklyn.

On the nineteenth of November, 1906,

he with six other earnest, public-spirited citizens met in the Fourth Unitarian Church of Brooklyn and decided to inaugurate an educational agitation for the awakening of the people to the peril of present conditions, with a view to the organization and perfecting of a league to further the movement for popular government. At first they met with many discouragements, but with that superb selfless patriotism that has won the world's greatest victories in the history of government, they persevered, and as a result we have the New York State Initiative and Referendum League, comprising among its officers and active members a large number of the ablest men of the state.

The president of this organization is Mr. Hamilton Holt, the managing editor of the New York *Independent*. The vice-presidents are Newell Dwight Hillis, D.D., F. W. Hinrichs, Edward D. Page, James B. Reynolds, Edward M. Shepard, Josiah Strong and Rufus W. Weeks. The treasurer is George Foster Peabody; the secretary, Henry B. Maurer. The executive committee embraces John Martin, Peter Aitkin, Hon. A. J. Boulton, John B. Clark, F. C. Leubuscher, C. H. Ingersoll, Charles R. Lamb, Herman G. Loew, Milo R. Maltbie, Joseph McGuinness, J. H. Melish, D.D., Gilbert E. Roe, Gustave W. Thompson, John DeWitt Warner and Hon. William H. Wood. The general committee is headed by Hon. J. N. Adam, the reform mayor of Buffalo, and embraces among its members the following:

Israel Aaron, D.D., Buffalo; Charles Frederic Adams, Alexander S. Bacon, Theodore M. Banta; Edwin A. Bates, Utica; David Blaustein, John W. Cox, John S. Crosby, Samuel T. Dutton; Edwin Fancher, M.D., Middletown; Hon. M. J. Flaherty, Hon. John Ford, F. S. Holmes, Robert Hunter, Horatio C. King, J. P. Kohler,¹ Henry M. Leipziger, Fredrick Lynch, D.D., Edwin Markham, John A. Mason, R. S. MacArthur, D.D., J. J. Murphy; Horace R. Powell,

M.D., Poughkeepsie; William Adams Robinson, T. P. Ryan, Charles Sprague Smith; Lewis Stockton, Buffalo; Ralph Waldo Trine, Croton; Hon. John S. Whalen, Rochester; Hon. Truman C. White, Buffalo; Gaylord Wilshire, W. B. Vernam.

A glance at the above names will show that this league is thoroughly representative of the most intelligent and conscientious element in American life, and the fact that such men are ready to come to the front and battle for the cause of clean government and popular rule, demanding with Abraham Lincoln that "all the governed" have "an equal voice in the government," and insisting on the installation of practical measures "which will render bribery futile, needed reforms possible, and the government more directly answerable to the people," indicates that the great revolution for the restoration of democratic government is well under way.

At the hearing before the New York Legislative Committee, Secretary Maurer made some introductory remarks and read letters from leading statesmen where Direct-Legislation has been in practical operation for some years, showing (1) its practicability, and (2) how the people feel in regard to these measures where they exist.

The following letter was written by Governor Coe I. Crawford of South Dakota:

"Dear Sir:

"I am in receipt of your favor of the thirteenth instant inquiring as to the proper working and effect of the constitutional amendment and legislation based thereon, providing for the initiative and referendum.

"In reply, will say that this provision works well in South Dakota and meets with the approval of a great majority of our people, including the most thoughtful and intelligent. About one-third of our population is foreign-born, but, as a rule, our foreign voters are intelligent and law-abiding citizens and quickly learn

the English language and adapt themselves to the customs of the country.

"While we have had the initiative and referendum for a number of years, it has been invoked on a very few occasions. Notwithstanding, it is a tremendous check upon legislative wrongs."

Ex-United States Senator R. F. Pettigrew wrote as follows:

"Twelve years ago we adopted the Initiative and Referendum amendment to our State Constitution, but it has seldom been invoked, for the reason that the adoption of the amendment killed the lobby and very materially improved our legislature. However, a petition was presented for a primary-election law which the legislature refused to adopt or submit to the people. The result was the overwhelming defeat of all the state officers then in power, as well as the members of the legislature.

"Several petitions to prevent the putting in force of certain laws were presented after the last legislature and will be voted on this fall. On the whole, we believe that the Initiative and Referendum is a powerful method for preventing corrupt legislation and for the purification of our politics."

Governor Chamberlain of Oregon sent a somewhat detailed history of the practical workings and benefit of the Initiative and Referendum. Space prevents our making more than the following brief quotation from this admirable exposition of the value of Direct-Legislation:

"The operation of the Initiative and Referendum amendment to the Constitution of this state has been salutary, and I believe the voters of the state have exercised discrimination and intelligence in all matters which have been submitted to them.

"I advocated the adoption of this amendment to the Constitution in 1902, in a number of addresses, and since my election have insisted upon its observance in letter and in spirit. I believe that in principle it is right; that the

people should have the maximum of power and a controlling voice in the enactment of all laws. It is in effect getting back to the intention of the framers of the Constitution and placing the power where it existed until the birth of the convention system, which by degrees deprived the mass of voters from any voice in governmental affairs. In this state it has had the effect of restraining the legislature from extravagant legislation and has compelled that body to pay more attention to the demands of the people than to those of a corrupt lobby and the representatives of special interests. In a word, it has practically done away with much of the lobbying which characterized legislative bodies before its adoption, has eliminated bossism, smashed the political machine, and will soon put scoundrelism out of business."

One of the leading speakers in favor of Direct-Legislation before the committee at Albany was Mr. Lewis Stockton, the well-known publicist and attorney of Buffalo. During 1901 Mr. Stockton lived in Switzerland, where he made a careful personal study of the practical operation of Direct-Legislation. On his return to his home city he organized the Referendum League of Erie County, an organization containing at the present time three thousand active members. Mr. Stockton delivered a strong, forcible and convincing argument. Space renders it impossible for us to reproduce this address in full; we give, however, a few salient points which he brought out:

"To deny the right of the people in their sovereign capacity to decide this fundamental question, whether they shall reserve to the extent set forth in this resolution, the exercise of sovereign power is to repudiate the fundamental principle of our government.

"It is important that this power of direct expression of the people be expressed in the Constitution, for thus only can the will of those temporarily holding office be limited by the deliberate

wisdom of the people. The courts cannot guard popular rights which are not defined in the Constitution.

"It is inaccurate to say that the proposal involves the substitution of a 'pure democracy.' Its object is to make representative government real, not abolish it.

"The Swiss government has adopted Direct-Legislation but has not abolished representatives, they work as hard and are held in as high esteem by the Swiss people as are the legislators of New York state by the people of New York. The direct action of the people will be occasional and cannot take the place of representative government.

"Direct-Legislation is a great school for educating voters in public affairs. If the Swiss have in the last thirty-five years progressed as a people, it has been by practice. How can the people be expected to learn if responsibility for action is taken away? We learn to do by doing.

"In Buffalo, where we have had two referendum votes in four years under a local ordinance, the electorate became awake at once and civic matters were discussed with vigor and intelligence.

"Five-sixths of the representatives are machine-made partisans rewarded for party activity. They recognize their party, but neither in the days of their youth nor at any other time do they recognize their creator—the people.

"After election public officers often change character. They act so as to secure renomination, if they desire to remain in the governing class. If they do not desire to remain in office what guaranty is there that they will act for the common good?

"The result of the system is that powers are built up within the state which defy the authority of the government.

"We propose to restore the representative system and preserve it. We

propose to supplement the action of representatives by direct action of the people in their sovereign capacity, not on all questions, but only on such as a substantial fraction of the electorate desires to have submitted. We propose the mobile, swift, modern adaptation of the town-meeting. We propose no pan-acea; no institution of pure democracy; no mob-rule. A century's advance in education and judgment in the electorate does not lead us to propose that we should abolish representative action, but we contend that the people are at least fit to judge when legislation fits or fails to fit their needs.

"A measure which stops dishonest measures by preventing the delivery of the goods, which purifies public affairs by appealing to the axiomatic principle that every one wants public servants to be honest, must work to improve government."

Mr. Frederic C. Leubuscher, who drafted the proposed amendments,

has written a luminous paper explaining his measures, which we present in this issue.

The hearing was had before the Judiciary Committee, and the lawyers composing this committee from the first showed marked indifference to the issue being presented to them. While the addresses were being made, several of the members busied themselves reading newspapers, and the others were not over-attentive. The chairman, who evinced considerable interest at times, left the room, however, during the hearing, and several other members walked about the room. It is safe to say that when the people, and not political machines dominated by special interests inimical to popular rights, select their representatives, public questions of great moment will receive far different treatment from the legislators.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Massachusetts.

THE PROPOSED DIRECT-LEGISLATION CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT FOR NEW YORK.

BY FREDERIC CYRUS LEUBUSCHER.

THE STATE of New York, otherwise so progressive, has lagged behind her sister states in refusing to accept the logic of a democratic form of government that is involved in the initiative and referendum. While barely a half-dozen states have actually embodied this principle in their constitutions, yet the legislatures of a score or more have for years considered bills providing for the necessary amendments. In the Empire State, however, it was not until this year that the first bill was introduced. It is too much to expect its enactment at this session. Public sentiment in its favor is not strong enough; at least its

strength has not been demonstrated. Then, too, the special privilege "interests" are most powerful in this state, and they fear nothing so much as the voice of the people. That they dominate the legislature "goes without saying." Besides that, this is a presidential year; and legislators are proverbially timorous about putting themselves on record at such a time.

While, therefore, the prospects for the enactment of Direct-Legislation this year are dubious, still the campaign has begun and will not cease until the principle has become incorporated in our constitution.

This bill, which is in the shape of a concurrent resolution to amend the constitution, was introduced in the Senate by Mr. Saxe and in the Assembly by Mr. Toombs. In drawing it I, of course, made use of the legislation of Oregon and other states that are now enjoying the benefits of such a law. The constitution of New York is, however, *sui generis*; so that I was obliged to conform the proposed amendments to our peculiar conditions. In most of the states an amendment to the legislative chapter of the constitution would suffice. In New York I found it necessary to amend six sections of five articles of the constitution in order to make the whole instrument harmonious, with the result that it takes over a dozen printed pages to state the concurrent resolution. The preamble proposes amendments "to sections one and fourteen of article three, section nine of article four, section four of article seven, section two of article twelve, and section one of article fourteen of the constitution of the state of New York, establishing a people's veto through the optional referendum and direct initiative by petition and at general or special elections."

The amendments affect the legislative power, the executive power, the power to create debts, the power of cities to approve or reject bills and the power to further amend the constitution.

In order to give an opportunity for the people to pass upon the work of their legislators, it is proposed at the outset that no act or joint resolution shall become effective until ninety days after the recess of the legislature. An exception had to be made of "emergency" measures. Not unmindful that the "interests," through their servants in the legislature, always eagerly avail themselves of exceptions, I took particular care in drawing this "emergency" clause. The resolution provides that no bill, etc., "shall take effect until 90 days after the recess of the legislature passing it, unless in case of emergency (*which*

with the facts constituting the emergency shall first be declared by the governor and then shall be expressed in the preamble of the act) the legislature shall, by a vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to each house, otherwise direct." In other words, the responsibility for declaring an emergency is put not only upon the legislature, but also on the governor. It is further hedged about by the declaration that "the emergency bill shall include only such measures as are immediately necessary for the preservation of the public peace, health or safety; and shall not include an infringement of the right of home rule for municipalities, a franchise or a license to a corporation or an individual to extend longer than one year, or provision for the sale or purchase or rental for more than five years of real estate."

Some of my associates in the New York State Initiative and Referendum League were of the opinion that the petition of ten thousand electors should suffice to compel a measure to be submitted to the vote of the people. My contention that the number should be at least five per cent. of the electorate, was finally adopted. In the first place it seems unfair in a state like New York, with about a million and a half voters, to compel them to consider and pass upon measures unless a large number of citizens were interested enough to go to the trouble of signing and circulating a petition. In the second place, there would be more likelihood of the enactment of the joint resolution if the people saw that the League was not unreasonable. The five per cent. is predicated on the number of votes cast at the preceding election for governor. As soon as the requisite number of names have been obtained, verified and filed, the governor must make proclamation of the time when the measure mentioned in the petition is to be voted on, which voting shall take place at the general election if such election occurs in not less than sixty days after such proclamation, or in case of

no such general election within six months thereafter, the governor shall order the measure submitted at a special election to be held not less than four nor more than six months after such proclamation. Meanwhile the measure remains in a state of suspended animation not to be revived until thirty days after the governor shall have proclaimed it ratified "by a majority of the electors voting thereon."

I had some doubt whether the adoption should be by a majority of "the electors voting thereon" or a majority of the number of votes cast at the preceding election for governor. It is obvious that if the latter form were adopted, the joint resolution would have more chance of being passed at this session. On the other hand, such a provision would tend to nullify Direct-Legislation. The stock argument against the Initiative and Referendum is: if so few electors now avail themselves of the opportunity of voting on constitutional amendments, there will be still fewer who will take the trouble of considering and voting on measures less important than the fundamental law. Even if it were true, that would be no reason why the citizens who *do* take interest in government should be deprived of their rights because some of their fellow-citizens are neglectful of their franchise. As a matter of fact, however, experience has demonstrated that electors are much more inclined to vote on specific measures affecting them most nearly than upon generalities and abstract questions such as are usually involved in constitutional amendments. For instance, the electors of the city of New York were allowed in 1894 to give their opinion on the question of permitting the city to build rapid-transit subways with its own money; and the measure was carried by a majority of three to one, the total vote being nearly as large as that cast for any candidate. It would be a shame, however, to have a measure, on which nine-tenths of the electors vote in the affirmative, fail just because the total

vote thereon was a little short of the total vote cast for governor.

The provision with reference to the initiative should provoke no reasonable objection. If adopted, it will not supersede either the legislature or the governor. Before the people are allowed to vote on any measure in a petition propounded by five per cent. of the electors, the legislature may have the opportunity of passing it and the governor of signing it. Should the legislature either reject or amend it, or should the governor veto it and his veto be sustained by the legislature, only then shall the measure be referred to the people. If the legislature passes an amended form, both measures shall be submitted to the people; and the one receiving the larger vote shall be considered the law. In order to guard against a small fraction of the citizenship being able to thus enact a law, it is provided that if neither of the competing measures receives a majority of the total vote cast thereon, the one receiving the larger vote shall be submitted by itself at another election. Even that, however, is still further hedged about by the provision that in order to be entitled to submission by itself it must have received at least one-third of the total vote given for and against both. The provisions in relation to the form of the petition, election, etc., for measures initiated by the people, are similar to those pertaining to the referendum.

It is hoped that after a time the legislature may become so imbued with the spirit of Direct-Legislation that it will often, on its own motion, submit questions to the people. I have therefore added the following clause: "The legislature may enact measures expressly conditioned upon the people's ratification by a referendum vote."

Next come definitions of various words and phrases used in the joint resolution, so that there may be no dispute or technical objection as to the meaning thereof. A valuable working method then follows, viz., that while the petition

shall set forth the full text of the measure proposed, it need not be printed in full on the official ballots, but "the secretary of state shall prepare the ballots in such form as to present the question concisely and intelligibly."

A section is added providing for the establishment of the initiative and referendum in cities. Petitions shall be subscribed by at least five per cent. of the votes cast at the previous election for mayor, the petition to be filed in the office of the city clerk. Power is given to the legislature to "provide a uniform method for the exercise of the Initiative and Referendum in municipal affairs." Then follows a section to the effect that "until the legislature shall enact further regulations not inconsistent with the constitution for applying the people's veto and direct initiative, the election officers and other officials shall be governed by the provisions of this constitution and of the general law, supplemented by such reasonable action as may be necessary to render the preceding sections self-executing."

The constitution now reads that "no law shall be enacted except by bill." This is to be stricken out and the following added: "The enacting clause of bills originating in the people shall be: 'be it enacted by the people of the state of New York''"; still leaving intact the following with reference to bills passed by the legislature and not vetoed by the people, viz.: "The people of the state of New York represented in Senate and Assembly do enact as follows."

Section 9 of Article IV. of the constitution pertains to the approval of the governor of bills passed by the legislature. In order to avoid recasting this section, the following clause was added: "Provided, however, that the provisions of this section are subject to the reserved power of the people to approve or reject at the polls any act, bill, resolution or resolve, as set forth in article third."

The subject of section 4 of article VII.

of the constitution is "limitation of legislative power to create debts." It would have been unnecessary to amend this were it not that in restricting the legislature in passing bills creating bonded indebtedness, it directs that all such bills shall first be submitted to the people. This, of course, is a most valuable check and should not be repealed. With the evident intent, however, of getting an intelligent vote on such questions, the constitution provides that "no such law shall be submitted to be voted on within three months after its passage or at any general election when any other law or any bill shall be submitted to be voted for or against." It will be at once seen that were this sentence to remain as a part of the constitution, and were the Initiative and Referendum adopted, there might be times when necessary bond issues could not be ordered; and, on the other hand, the necessity for a vote on a bond issue, might prevent the operation of the Initiative and Referendum. The only amendment, therefore, of this section consists in striking out the sentence above quoted.

The New York constitution, in article XII., provides that no special city bill shall be submitted to the governor until it shall have been first submitted to the mayor of the city affected thereby and received his approval or disapproval. It was found necessary to amend section 2 of this article simply because of the provision that if the legislature repasses the bill over the mayor's veto, it shall then become a law if signed by the governor. I therefore added a clause similar to the one added to section 9 of article IX., and reading as follows: "Provided, however, that the provisions of this section are subject to the reserved power of the people residing in the city or cities affected by such act, bill, resolution or resolve, to approve or reject the same at the polls, or to propose new laws, as set forth in article third."

At present the people of New York cannot directly amend their own con-

stitution. Once every twenty years delegates are elected to a constitutional convention. The result of that convention is submitted to the people's vote for adoption or rejection. Between conventions, all citizens are restricted to the method we are now employing in attempting to secure the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum. That is, a joint resolution amending the constitution must be adopted by both houses of the legislature at two successive sessions; and then the amendment is submitted to the people's vote. At best this will take two years to accomplish. In order to arouse the least opposition, it was deemed wiser to retain the present method for those who prefer such a roundabout, indirect course of procedure, but to add a more direct method. The following sentence is therefore proposed as an addition to section 1 of article XIV., viz.: "Provided, however, that the provisions of this section are subject to the reserved power of the people to propose amendments to the constitution and to approve or reject the same at the polls independent of the legislature, as set forth in article third."

The Judiciary Committee of the assembly held a public hearing on this joint resolution. So sure were the owners of special privilege and the politicians that the

legislature would not pass the joint resolution this year, that they did not send any eminent lawyers to attend the hearing as they usually do when they think their interests are seriously threatened. Not a single word in opposition was therefore heard, except a few questions asked by two members of the committee. Those appearing in favor of the bill were Mr. Lewis Stockton of Buffalo, who made an argument on the legal aspects of the Initiative and Referendum; Mr. Henry B. Maurer, secretary of the New York State Initiative and Referendum League, who gave a history of the movement in various states; Mr. Herman Robinson of the Central Federated Union of New York City, who spoke in behalf of organized labor; while I explained the provisions of the pending resolution somewhat as I have done in this article. I called the attention of the members of the committee to the fact that this was the first attempt to adopt Direct-Legislation in New York; that if they reported the resolution favorably their names would be remembered and honored in history; but that an adverse report would not prevent the ultimate adoption of the greatest advance in democracy since the foundation of the Republic.

FREDERIC CYRUS LEUBUSCHER.

New York City.

EMERSON'S MESSAGE.

BY JAMES T. BIXBY, PH.D.

IN A PRECEDING article I have endeavored to portray the chief features of Emerson's personality.

What was the nature of his message to the world? In the first few years of his literary activity his lectures and essays were commonly characterized as "the latest form of infidelity."

Emerson was stigmatized by one set

of critics as an "atheist," and by other critics as "a pantheist"—a name in those days almost equally sinister. Even so cultured a scholar and so eminent a theologian as Professor Frederick D. Huntington of Harvard University (who later became a Bishop in the Episcopal church) denied him the name of "Christian."

The truth, however, was that he was one of the most devout and God-fearing of men. I once heard Mr. Cable, the well-known novelist, tell a good story of a Creole who was discussing with him the question, which some of the church people had started, as to whether Victor Hugo had any faith. In defense of the great author's religiousness and inspiration by Divine thoughts, his Louisiana admirer thus indignantly refuted the charge:

Ah! Religion? Hugo not have it? *Voilà!* Victor Hugo perspired religion!"

So Emerson seems to the truly devout to-day to have inhaled religion with every breath he drew and exhaled it with every syllable he uttered.

It is true that he left the pulpit after three short years because he thought that a superstitious value, which he could not sympathize with, was attached to the Lord's Supper by the church which he was serving.

But he never ceased to preach. Whether it was lecture, essay or poem that he put out for the public consideration, it was always a sermon, in the highest sense.

There was no "Firstly" nor "Secondly" and little of the conventional sermon's form or phrase. He never dogmatized. The old shibboleths of Nicene Creed or Westminster Catechism were recalled to the reader or hearer only by their absence. "His philosophy," as it has been well said, "you had to gather as you gather the philosophy of Shakespeare, or as the bees gather their honey, sipping from a hundred flowers."

And yet he was always preaching; always illustrating some mighty moral principle or with an insight more convincing than logic, setting forth some profound spiritual truth. And the more surely the professional theologians "pooh-poohed" it, as "transcendental nonsense," the more surely there was hidden under his wild-wood blossoms of fancy some eternal and neglected truth.

Emerson, to be sure, could not put

the Infinite into definitions or familiar creedal-formulas, and he was frank enough to say that he did not know the secrets of the beyond and the exact condition of our future being. And because of this the dogmatists drew their ecclesiastical robes away from him as a dangerous heretic. He looked on inspiration not as a monopoly of the first century of the Christian era, but as a channel as open now as it was then, and he confided in immortality, not because of the statements of Luke and John, but because it was a law of spirit as surely as persistence was a law of force and matter. The theologians, who could only believe in spiritual things on crass material evidence, naturally accused Emerson of taking away the guarantees of faith. But although on these and many other points he worried the ecclesiastics, and although it is true that his thought had little respect for the formulas of logic, and he was often eccentric in his use of language and too brilliant with opulent and original illustration to be understood at the first hearing, he was (as Schleiermacher once described the Dutch philosopher, Spinoza, whom the German pastors called a profane infidel) "a God-intoxicated man." He was a child-like soul who in his sincere aspirations after the Divine only soared too high above earth into those heights where he was flooded and enwrapped by heavenly visions. In an age when the living germs of faith were daily getting more encrusted and aborted by hard deposits of traditionalism, he broke a fresh path for piety to the springs of living water.

The sailors have a proverbial phrase for a certain boisterous zone of the ocean as the roaring forties."

When the "40's" came in America in the last century, the winds of controversy did, indeed, begin to rage. But the "20's" and the "30's"—the decades when Emerson was getting his education and crystallizing his epoch-making ideas, may rather be described as the stagnant,

heavy hour, when the electricity was slowly gathering for the coming storm. New England in that day was Whig in politics, and in literature was reading Addison and Goldsmith, Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope*, Young's *Night-Thoughts*, and Mrs. Hemans; or, if very audacious, it was perusing with trembling zest Walter Scott and Lord Byron's *Childe Harold*.

Architecture was in the pseudo-classic stage. In ethics and philosophy, John Locke and Archbishop Paley were the great oracles. Sensationalism and utilitarianism ruled the domain of thought. French speculation was running to materialism and atheism, and theology was meeting it with Bridgewater Treatises and arguments from the Miracles of the Apostolic age. Conventionalism and authority almost everywhere ruled. Even the rationalists of the day, such as the early Boston Unitarians, are described by Octavius B. Frothingham as a set of typical conventionalists, suave, urbane, compromising, elegant, timid, non-committal, more sybaritic than saintly, more interested in turning out a sonnet or a critique for the *North American Review* than either the divinity or the humanity to which their Christian professions ordained them. Religion, in the view of the theologians of the period, rested on revelation; and revelation rested on signs and wonders; and on every Sunday the congregations were assured that either the Apostles, martyrs and Gospel writers were liars, or else the miracles must be accepted as supernatural credentials of Jesus Christ's mission and resurrection. That religion might have natural grounds sufficient for its origin and maintenance, was inherently incredible. In short, the generation was one whose eyes, in timid remembrance of the excesses of the French Revolution, were looking backward, and whose blood, in foolish reaction, was congealing in a dull Philistinism.

Fortunately, however, from Germany and England and from the more active

minds of New England, there now came a new intellectual leaven, to furnish fresh spiritual food.

The fructifying germs for this fresh intellectual harvest came from many men and women whose names have since become famous among the representatives of what was loosely called "transcendentalism."

Like most popular names, it was by no means an accurate description, but rather a caricature of the fundamental principles of this group of thinkers. The key-note of the new school of writers was rather to be found in fresh observation and trust in human experience than in any flouting of its testimony. Nevertheless, the nick-name, "transcendentalist," stuck and was accepted; but not without frank protests.

Emerson may hardly be called the initiator of the movement; but his extraordinary genius soon made him the chief figure in this striking and influential group. His marvelous essays *Nature* and *The Over-Soul*, and those poetic yet most illuminating and inspiring addresses given at this epoch before the Harvard Divinity School and the Phi Beta Kappa Society, came like a flood of sunshine into a newly-opened dungeon, and their perennial beauty and perfume, it has truly been said, "Are as entrancing to-day as though exhaled from a fresh-plucked rose or lily."

As thousands of prisoners of hope, whose eyes for so long a time had been hemmed in by the grey walls of popular conventionalism, greeted these signals of a new day, they joyfully cried, "Behold, new heavens and a new earth!"

Emerson himself has somewhere called it "a Saturnalia of faith." It was attended, to be sure, with immense extravagance of expression. But it was a warm, spontaneous revival of belief in a living God, in the reality of spiritual insight and the glory of Nature. It seemed to give back to multitudes of awakened hearts life, virtue, Christ and the Divine Itself.

It is not merely a local prejudice of New Englanders that ranks Emerson as one of the foremost writers of the nineteenth century. If we may trust the judgment of a German, fully qualified in the domain of philosophy to pronounce judgment, we may recall Professor Hugo Münsterberg's characterization of him as "the last great idealist." Or if we prefer the opinion of the leading theologian of Great Britain in the last half of the nineteenth century, we may quote what Dean Stanley said in the course of his last visit to the United States. Questioned during his stay here as to what were his impressions of the preaching he had heard from American pulpits, he frankly replied, "I have indeed heard many distinguished preachers; but I have heard only one voice: the voice of Ralph Waldo Emerson."

What was Emerson's central thought? What else except that of the Divine Over-Soul within which nature and every man's particular being is contained? To the seer of Concord, the world is "of spirit all compact." Nature is but God clothed upon.

"He is the heart of every creature,
He is the meaning of each feature;
And his Mind is—the sky,
Than all it holds, more deep, more high."

The religious sense, with which priests have consecrated certain spots where God is to be found, Emerson carried into the universal domain of Nature. Every mountain was to him a Sinai; every autumn shrub a burning bush; and every spring-time rhodora tells us that "Beauty is its own excuse for being," and that poet and flower-petals are brought here "by one and the self-same Power."

And if the present Deity moves in the streamlet and mounts upward in the climbing vine, still more fully does it orb itself in humanity.

How clearly and at the same time how picturesquely he states this in that grand essay, *The Over-Soul*:

"As there is no screen nor ceiling

between our heads and the infinite heavens, so there is no bar nor wall in the soul where man, the effect, ceases, and God, the cause, begins. We lie open on the one side to the deeps of spiritual nature, to the attributes of God. Ineffable is the union of man and God in every act of the soul. The simplest person who in his integrity worships God becomes God."

The influx of this Universal Self, in Emerson's view, enlarges the heart to a new infinity and inspires man with an infallible trust that the best is always the true. All history, in his philosophy, is therefore sacred; and with a most prescient intuition of the most recent speculations of our great English *savants* he says: "The universe is represented in an atom, in a moment of time."

In accordance with this profound trust in the perennial excellence and miracle of God's Kosmos, Emerson held that the truly reverent heart is content with all the Divine stations and kinds of service that Providence assigns to us, and that true prayer is no selfish petition. Prayer, he profoundly defines as "the contemplation of the facts of life from the highest point of view; it is the soliloquy of a beholding and jubilant soul. The prayer of the farmer, kneeling on his field to weed it; the prayer of the rower kneeling with the stroke of the oar, are true prayers, heard throughout nature. That which befits us (embosomed in beauty and wonder as we are) is cheerfulness and courage and the endeavor to realize our aspirations."

The mark of wisdom, then, in Emerson's view, is not to hunt for signs and wonders and Divine over-rulings of the customary order, but it is for the heart to trust the Power by which it daily lives, and see the miraculous that already floods the common.

Take a wayside weed. What is it? With as much wisdom as wit he answers: "A plant whose virtues have not yet been discovered." "I do not wonder," he pithily says, "at a snow-flake, a shell, a

summer landscape; but at the necessity of beauty under which the Universe lies."

When confronted, as he was so often, with the authority of ancient seers and the early centuries, he keenly returned: "Give me insight into to-day; and you may have the antique and the future worlds."

The miracles, therefore, on which the theologians of the last century rested religion, were to him of little value. Nay, they seemed even noxious to the cause of true religion.

"Speak the truth," he liked to say, "and all nature and all spirits help you with unexpected furtherance. Spiritual truth is an intuition. It cannot be received at second hand." Once have your own knowledge of God, your own sentiment, and in their place take second-hand beliefs, and you get wide from God with every year this secondary form lasts. "The spirit only can teach. Not any profane man; not any sensual; not any slave can teach; but only he can teach who has."

The living fount of valuable instruction, therefore lay not in receiving a magic touch from some episcopal hand, but in the personal possession of wisdom, courage, love and piety. The source of Christ's inspiration and authority lay not in any heavenly rank or supernatural dignity, but that "he saw with open eye the mystery of the Soul." "One man was true to what is in you and me. He saw that God incarnates Himself in man and evermore goes forth anew to take possession of His world."

"Jesus spoke of miracles; for He felt that man's life was a miracle; and He knew that this daily miracle shines as the character ascends. But the word 'miracle,' as pronounced by Christian churches (Emerson warns his readers) gives a false impression."

"It is not one with the blowing clover and the falling rain. That which shows God in me, fortifies me. That which shows God out of me (foreign to me) makes me a wart and a wen."

In Jesus of Nazareth Emerson dis-

cerned that moral beauty and spiritual music that have inspired the bards who have sung of the true God in all ages. "Do not degrade," he implored his hearers, "the life and dialogues of Christ out of the circle of this charm, by insulation and peculiarity. Let them lie, as they befall, alive and warm, part of human life and of the landscape and the cheerful day."

Instead, therefore, of resting the authority of Jesus and the truths of religion on signs and wonders in past centuries, as theologians did and still do, Emerson based them on man's present religious instincts. In his address before the Free Religious Association, for example, he explicitly declared that he was ready to give, as the first simple foundation of his faith, this statement, viz.: that "the Author of my nature has not left Himself without witness in any sane mind; that the moral sentiment speaks to every man the law after which the Universe was made; that there is a Force always at work to make the best better and the worst good."

"The history of Jesus is the history of of every man writ large."

In reply to the criticism that such a faith has in it no supernatural element but is "mere morality," he indignantly replied: "Men talk of mere morality; which is much as if one should say, 'Poor God! with nobody to help Him.'"

Such dogmatists seemed to Emerson quite incapable of discerning anything of the Divine except the grossest outward manifestations. What the church needs, he declared, was "soul; soul; and ever more—soul."

Although he recognized only too clearly this dormant state of religion, "worshiping past prophets and wonders only and scorning the glory of the Living One, whose beauty was everywhere about us, breaking through the screen of Nature," nevertheless our Concord seer did not despair of the revival of faith. God builds His temples, he was convinced, in the heart, on the ruins of churches and religions. The beams of the moral

universe, in his opinion, "were laid too deep in the human heart to be upset by the ebb and flow of human theologies."

This was the source of that spiritual confidence that he expressed so buoyantly in more than one eloquent passage. As good a one as any to quote is that where he said: "I look for the new teacher who shall follow so far those shining laws that he shall see them come full circle; shall see their rounding, complete grace; shall see the world to be the mirror of the soul; shall see the identity of the law of gravitation with purity of heart; and shall show that Ought, that Duty is one thing with Science, with Beauty and with Joy."

His own modesty would undoubtedly have prevented him from seeing himself in such an ideal delineation. But the student of his grand Essays cannot fail to see in it a very striking portrait of the moral and spiritual characteristics of the great transcendental prophet and mystic.

Such shining truths radiate their light in many directions. But one point on which they would inevitably focus would be the crucial importance of character. To Emerson, character was the secret of destiny: the key to salvation and to heaven itself. "If we meet no gods, it is because we harbor none. If there is grandeur in you, you will find grandeur in porters and sweeps."

"Fear God; and when you go, men shall think they walk in hallowed cathedrals."

Emerson carried this thought so far that he even said: "If the single man plants himself indomitably on his instincts and there abides, the huge world will come round to him."

And not only was character thus in Emerson's thought the determiner of earthly destiny, but of the great hereafter.

With profound wisdom he pointed out that there was a higher question than that of our duration. It was the previous question of our deserving. Immortality, he held, will come to such as are fit for it. "He who would be a great soul in the future must be a great soul now."

This was a very radical view when

Emerson presented it, three-quarters of a century ago. But it has now permeated all denominations, even the most orthodox, and it has had a double effect. It has quieted the over-anxiety and over-curiosity as to the details of the hereafter; and it has filled men with a calmer trust in it. As Emerson in a noble passage finely says: "The low that will be annihilated sooner than be treacherous has already made death impossible and affirms itself no mortal but a native of the deeps of absolute and inextinguishable being." And a little further on he adds that quintessence of philosophy on this problem of the ages: "All I have seen teaches me to trust the Creator for what I have not seen. Whatever it be that the great Providence prepares for us, it must be something large and generous and in the great style of His works. The future must be up to the style of our faculties, of memory, of hope, of imagination, of reason."

Believing in the Divine Goodness thus unreservedly, as Emerson did, he naturally inferred and taught that any normal man ought to trust his God-given faculties. He was a persistent and unhesitating optimist and all the best features of what is called the "New Thought" were fearlessly and explicitly proclaimed by him three-quarters of a century ago. Our "Do n't Worry" lecturers do little more than repeat, in variously modified forms and figures of speech, the tonic adjurations of the Concord seer. What an uplift to the heart, for example, there is in such ringing sentences as these: "O Friend! Never strike sail to a fear. Come into port greatly, or sail with God the seas."

And again: "If there are storms and obstacles, they are a part of our divine apprenticeship. Difficulties exist to be surmounted. Prosperity and pound-cake are for very young folks whom such things content. But a hero's success, a man's success, is made up of failures; because he ventures every day, and the more falls he gets, moves faster on."

Such are some of the chief pillars of

that noble temple which enshrines the gospel of our great American prophet. Its *finale* is to be found in that most Christian message—the message of service. Much has been said of Emerson's simplicity of life and the severe economies of his country home. But he was no ascetic who made self-denial an end in itself. He delighted in beauty and all elegancies and generousities. It was for the sake of human welfare that he would have men practice the plain living that would foster high thinking. His idea of personal duty was well summed up in one of his favorite sentences: "I am to see to it that the world is better for me and to find my reward in the act."

He felt deeply his brotherhood with the great multitude of suffering men, and he wished them to feel that he felt it.

"Every man," he shrewdly said, "takes care that his neighbor shall not cheat him. But a day comes that he begins to care that *he* does not cheat his neighbor. Then all goes well. He has changed his market-cart into a chariot of the sun."

In the same vein, in another place he tells us: "There is no beautifier of complexion or form like the wish to scatter joy and not pain around us. We must be as courteous to a man as we are to a picture to which we are willing to give the advantage of a good light."

How musically and yet how tersely and forcibly did he sing the same high thought again in his *Boston Hymn*:

"And ye shall succour men,
"Tis nobleness to serve;
Help them who cannot help again,
Beware from right to swerve."

These central principles of faith and a worthy conduct of life manifest the clearest mental insight and the soundest and noblest humanity. Carping critics, however, might say that there is nothing new in them but their fresh and elegant expression. As a test of intellectual greatness we need something more; that loftiness and keenness of philosophic insight through which a mind of the first order outstrips the achievements of con-

temporary knowledge and so dulls the edge of Time's fatal scythe as to keep his thought, in spite of the passage of the years, still abreast of the times. It is interesting, therefore, briefly to consider whether the progress of the many decades since Emerson wrote has left him behind and his prophecies discredited, or whether it has confirmed his brave conjectures and penetrating anticipations. We naturally think of some of the great discoveries and scientific achievements that have occurred since Emerson's day, such as are summed up in such pregnant words and phrases as Darwinism, Evolution, the relations of Science and Religion, the Monistic philosophy, the Vortex and Ether theories of the constitution of matter; and we are half tempted to think that such scientific reconstructions as these must have made a large portion of Emerson's writings, especially the philosophic part, seem quite antiquated. But he who, to confirm his suspicions, makes a careful examination of Emerson's many volumes, is amazed to find how little alteration even in phraseology, much less in thought, these modern discoveries demand. In fact, on the contrary, he is astounded to find what curious confirmations of Emerson's philosophical prescience the new knowledge of to-day has furnished.

Emerson published his famous *Essay on Nature* some twenty years before Darwin published his *Origin of Species*. Yet where could the British apostle of the development theory have found a more pregnant text for his epoch-making book and a terser summary of his philosophy than in the original stanzas that the Concord seer prefixed as a motto to that equally noble American statement of what was substantially the same pregnant interpretation of the Kosmos:

"A subtle chain of countless rings,
The next unto the farthest brings;
The eye reads omens where it goes,
And speaks all languages the rose;
And striving to be man, the worm
Mounts through all the spheres of form."

Of course, the poet sometimes rhetor-

ically uses bolder expressions than the prose writer. That Emerson seriously believed and taught evolution back in the thirties and forties is, however, plain from his frequent and frank assertions of it in his prose essays. We might quote many passages; but one such as the following ought to be sufficient:

"The embryo does not more strive to be man than yonder burr of light we call a nebula tends to be a ring, a comet, a globe, and a parent of new suns."

This process of evolution, he farther says, "publishes itself in creatures reaching from particles to spicula, through transformation on transformation, to the highest symmetries, arriving at consummate results without a shock or a leap."

Or if it be the relations of Science and Religion, or the Monistic Philosophy, reconciling the ancient feud of Materialism and Spiritualism, or the recently-suggested Etheric constitution of Matter that we take for a standard of measurement as to Emerson's plus or minus rank on the scale of "up-to-dateness," what is more decisive than to turn to such thoroughly twentieth-century statements as these, that seem almost to be written yesterday by a Lodge or a Haeckel, or Thomson or a Le Conte:

"Every law of Nature is a law of mind, and it is quite indifferent whether we say, 'All is matter' or 'All is spirit.'"

"The world proceeds from the same spirit as the body of man. It is a remoter and inferior incarnation of God, a projection of God in the Unconscious."

"A perfect parallelism exists between nature and the laws of thought."

In Emerson's thought of the Kosmos, everything in the phenomenal world takes place at once mechanically and metaphysically—the source of the mechanical, however, being in the metaphysical. Nature is pervaded with human nature, and humanity is the translator of nature and of God.

And in a still bolder passage, which puts his thought on the most advanced frontier of modern speculation, Emerson says:

"As the sun is conceived to have made our system by hurling out from itself the outer rings of diffuse ether which slowly condensed into earths and moons, by a higher force of the same law, the mind detaches minds, and mind detaches thoughts. These again all mimic in their sphericity the first mind and share its power."

I might go on, for page after page, quoting these lovely cameos of far-reaching and profound thought, so chastely and beautifully carved that it is a delight to the literary eye just to contemplate their classic grace.

Emerson's originality of expression has indeed exposed him to certain regrettable misconstructions. He was no cautious trimmer of expedient policies. Whatever he said he said in the most forcible way he could think of, and his picturesque figures of speech were not always understood by the victims of conventionality who told this world so pitiously how much their delicate nerves were thereby shocked.

If in the process of presenting one aspect of truth with the force he was wont to use, Emerson omitted, on that page, its complementary truth, he made up for it on the next occasion by setting forth that omitted fact or verity in an equally strong light. Naturally, this habit gained for him the reputation of inconsistency. But the contradiction or divergence was only apparent. His essential teaching was ever the same in his sixtieth year as in his thirtieth. Strongly, for example, as he emphasized individualism, he gave equal weight to the social instincts, so long, that is, as they were healthy and first-hand impulses. It was only the artificial and parasitic tendencies of the conventional life that he censured. The reader who would understand him must of course learn his idioms. No phrase for instance, has been more criticized than that in which he said: "The soul knows no persons." But when you read the context, you see plainly that he did not mean what his critics have alleged. He did not evidently mean that the soul

knows no personalities; no great prophets or spirits. To none other did he assign such divine influx power and communion. He meant only that the Holy Spirit did not insulate itself in certain official personages and dogmatic representatives, such as the three persons of the Trinity, or in Christ, not as a normal human being but as a supernatural apparition who monopolized pretty much all of God that there ever had been in the world.

Emerson's message is still needed. Our age has many of the same defects as that of the generation when, three-quarters of a century ago, the sleepy eyes were startled by that celestial portent, so impossible to classify. Now, as then, the open vision is scarce. Our religion is far from being that straightforward look at divine realities and sincere report of them that Emerson sighed for. In our religion, still, tradition replaces the soul; and faith, instead of being a living testimony of godly men, is but a repetition of creeds, a dependence on certain forms or churchly organizations or substitutional cleansings. The popular leaders in church and state are still the same kind of dexterous manipulators, urbane, vacillating, compromising and non-committal, justifying their acts on grounds of expediency rather than standing on the rock of principle.

We need a revival of faith in the living God—not the God who once showed His power in violations of his accustomed order, but the God who *is*,—miraculous in every daily mystery and divine in all the inscrutable order and eternal beauty of His Providence; the living God who fills every star and stone and speaks with unquestioned authority in the still, small voice that whispers in the obedient will and conscience of each righteous man.

To-day, as in Emerson's day, church and state are being dragged down by mercenary standards and virtue is again insulated in certain official personages. National pride vaunteth itself and boasteth that this is the greatest of all ages, and we the mightiest of all peoples the sun shines on.

Yet when we look about to record the names by whose achievement we surpass our fathers, where is the artist, the poet, the philosopher or the statesman whom without presumption we may call superior to the great ones of the past? And echo answers—where? We need another period of transcendental glow to melt the crust of convention and kindle the Promethean fire of genius. We need more of that "strong enchantment" that made our Concord seer so commanding a figure; we need the same sincere, truth-seeking and direct contact with the Divine Spirit that gave him such matchless power.

In our mounting wealth, in our feverish social ambitions, and even in our advanced and complicated philanthropic mechanisms, we should realize afresh that a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things he possesseth, but in the quality and depth of his being.

As we watch these selfish wrangles in the labor markets and on the stock-exchanges; these hard exactions by the strong from the weak; these heavy burdens of military armaments and rancors of race hatred and national aggressions, and all these mournful instances of human greed and folly that crowd the columns of our daily journals—as we mark such countless illustrations of man's inhumanity to man, and then set side by side with them such noble counsel as Emerson has given in his admirable essays—what a pity it seems that the world that praises them so lavishly will not do a little more in the way of heeding and practicing their wholesome and exalted counsels? Would not love, as he says, "put a new face on this weary old world in which we dwell as pagans and enemies too long"? And is not the thing above all that we are not merely to hope for but to strive earnestly for, just this—that "one day all men will be lovers and every calamity will be dissolved in the universal sunshine"?

Such was the truly Christian vision that Emerson tried to keep before the mind of his age. And that is the ideal

which those who profess to admire him ought also to endeavor to make real. If we are in truth to honor him and show due gratitude for the beneficent influence he has been to our generation, we must do so, not by attending ostentatious functions to celebrate noted days or events in his history, but by drinking at that same living fountain of truth and reality where he drank. With a simplicity and earnestness as much like his as we can attain to, we ought to live as he did in the infinite and eternal life. We ought to free our minds from the mists of our

present artificial and worldly existence and from the heights of lofty principle behold the infinite perspectives and possibilities of life. As God has not forsaken His world, they who devote themselves with uncalculating devotion to the advancement of the Divine Kingdom shall not fail both to help forward the brother to whom they reach out the hand of helpfulness and to bring to their own life a new light and blessedness.

JAMES T. BIXBY.

Yonkers, N. Y.

THE LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE LIBRARY.

BY REX MITCHELL BAXTER.

THERE is such a diversity of explanations for our present "hard times." One wonders at their uniqueness. Of course, the lamentable state legislature comes in for its share of execration. It is the fashion now to express relief at the adjournment of an assembly, as though there had been deliverance from a plague. But is there not a grave danger in cynical flippancy? What respect can there be for law, if there is no respect for the law-making body?

The deficiencies of our assemblies are not so much due to the weakness of their personnel, as to the tremendous loads piled upon them. To minimize the embarrassment of hasty performance of their tasks, and to raise the quality of their services, the state legislators have had offered to them of late, the services of the legislative librarian.

A legislative librarian—the first one was a man named McCarthy. Sometimes there is a good deal in a name. And there is in this case, certainly.

McCarthy is a Brown man, class of '96. Maybe he was the inspiration of

Everett Colby's reforms in New Jersey. Colby and McCarthy were classmates. At any rate the two played football together. They were on that great team that tied Yale in November, 1896. Any Brown man can tell you about it. Nothing could have been more spectacular, more stirring, than McCarthy making the touchdown that tied the sons of Eli. A little fellow and the very last man you would take for a fullback or football player of any sort. It was a case of grit and nerve. And usually the rubbers, as an after-play, spent a while picking the red threads of "Mac's" sweater out of his tough, lithe little body.

No son of Brown forgets these things. "Mac" was the most popular man of his day, and his notable football performance is memorialized by a tablet in the "gym." And just before the hero left his Alma Mater, the student body one morning at chapel gave him a loving-cup. All this may seem very irrelevant but it isn't, and for just this reason—"Mac" has shown the same kind of intrepid zeal, the same obdurate enthusiasm, the same alertness to catch sight of an oppor-

tunity and use it, and the same versatility for meeting the obligations of necessity, in the work that has made him the big pioneer in a wonderful enterprise.

After McCarthy graduated he stayed another year at Brown for his Master's Degree, and then he went out to the University of Wisconsin as a graduate student in American history. He had a fellowship. By 1902 the University gave him the degree Doctor of Philosophy in return for his "Study of the Anti-Masonic Party." McCarthy had mapped out for himself a professor's career. He had studied economics and now he wished to teach.

And it was a very slight incident that changed his point of view. A new sort of profession came to him. That little circumstance expresses as well as anything else the purpose of the legislative librarian.

It was during the precedent-making legislative session in Wisconsin of 1901. LaFollette was forcing through his reforms. He was bucking the railroads with his railroad-taxation scheme. He was trying to get his railroad commission created. He had his struggle, finally successful, for direct primaries. Worse still, he had on his hands an acute division of parties. Legislators were having all sorts of ugly questions thrown at them; things that were abstract and much too far beyond the man of medium learning capacity. One afternoon there came into the University library one of these distracted Solons. He wanted to know if "they" had "anything on railroads." Of course "they" had plenty "on railroads." Book after book was brought out. But the whole thing was absolutely impossible. This man, like every other, gave up the cultivation of an information habit. The sight of all those books was too much. He preferred to look at their backs and let the undertaking go.

This incident set McCarthy to thinking. He saw the naturalness of this man's difficulty. He was aware of the

inadequateness of the University's service to the state. A large library full of inaccessible learning was to him an anomaly. Why not make the library—the University—serve the state forthwith?

We berate the intellectual equipment of our legislators. But we seldom consider the utter hopelessness of even the most erudite getting any acquaintance at all with the legislation that is ground through a session of a state legislature. For example, during the last Indiana session of sixty days there were 714 bills before the house and 546 bills before the senate. No one can get any notion of what these measures are about unless he has some information source, some bureau to which he can turn for an instant and accurate response. Why not a *legislative librarian*?

McCarthy took his idea to the members of the State Library Commission. And it just happened by a series of otherwise untoward events that money was available for experimental purposes. It seems that that wonderful collection known as the Wisconsin State Historical Library had been removed from the state house to the new structure for the University Library. The state house had nothing then but a law library. So the commission got a small appropriation, about \$1,200, to build up a library at the state house; and when McCarthy came along they handed this over to his enterprise.

A good many people looked upon McCarthy's hobby as "just some fool notion." Wisconsin was getting more innovations than it could stand, so the custodian of buildings gave the new legislative librarian quarters in the garrett of the state house. That was the best McCarthy could do. Remember he had just \$1,200 to work the plan for a year. That included his own salary, all his help, and even the lumber he had to buy to build shelves with. One day LaFollette went up there to see what was going on. McCarthy sat the governor down amidst the shavings and proceeded to

enthuse about a legislative library. The young man's determination won the chief executive. McCarthy had the big man with him after that.

No more had things got well to going than the fire of February, 1902, did great damage to the state capitol. Moreover, every vestige of a legislative library was burnt out of existence. Not a scrap left and the next session less than a year away. But the football fullback jumped in before the place was cool and began working out a way to start over again.

Whether the work of this librarian is under the control of a commission or some other governmental department is only a question of detail. Michigan and Indiana put this work under the general direction of the state librarian; North Carolina and Wisconsin leave it with the Library Commission.

Then it was only a question of demonstrating the value of the idea, and the legislators would unanimously support McCarthy and his work. Just this last winter they voted an emergency appropriation of \$5,000, and before twenty-four hours had passed the bill was up to the governor; and, within still another twenty-four hours, McCarthy had forty people busy at his call. The entire appropriation for 1907 amounted to \$15,000.

As far-reaching, perhaps, as anything done during the governorship of Mr. LaFollette was the establishment of this new venture, as a necessary aid in the extreme and unique legislation by the Wisconsin legislature, some of which was so successfully accomplished.

This institution is going to put legislation on an entirely new footing; and already this fact is being cordially recognized.

California, under the guidance of the state law library, has a similar legislative institution; then there are the states of Washington, New York, Michigan, Rhode Island, Alabama, Nebraska, all working to the same end, and all giving distinct recognition to the value of the experiment

by establishing some kind of separate department to carry on the work.

And why should there not be some such bureau to help the legislators of every state? In every state you find an adequate judiciary department; that is, their working outfit has been amply supplied; they have their secretaries, an admirable library, and skilled clerks to put the library at their service. Again, there is a group of executive offices and each in the charge of a man who is supposed to be uniquely fitted for that place. On the other hand, you have the legislature, the law-making branch of state government—really the *raison d'être* of the other two—most unfavorably provided for of all. It is made up of a lot of men dragged off from their business for sixty days, and frequently at a pecuniary loss, to wrestle with over 1,200 legislative propositions—every one of which demands an altogether different point of view than anything they have been accustomed to cultivate. Hitherto the Solon could rely for help on the lobby, hire his own secretary to gather material, or consult an attorney for opinions on legislative constitutionality or suitability. And about the only thing he did was the first of the three.

This movement is not to be confused with the "People's Lobby." That enterprise assumes to guide legislation. It says to the legislator, "Your only acquaintance among lobbyists is the representative of the interests, now here is a lobbyist for your constituents—the people. And we undertake to make known to you what the people want. And further, we make known to your constituents what your record is on every measure that is of interest to them. We are here for the people, whether you are or not, and we are going to work for them."

It is often forcefully declared that no body or clique, no matter how praiseworthy their motives, should dictate the course of action of any legislator. Ideally, responsibility for his acts should be alone

in the legislator. Though a representative, in the long run he determines his vote independently of his constituents. We have more scratching of ballots now than ever before, and this would seem to show independence in choosing candidates who are capable of discretion and refuse to acquiesce in dictation from party organization or from the voters.

This criticism of the people's lobby has, after all, a rather academic whiff to it. Sometimes it is just as well to fight fire with fire, to fight the devil with his own tools.

However, the "legislative library" encounters no such pitfall. The "legislative librarian" is not a guide. He is not starting anything or advocating anything. He is not creating a demand for his services; he simply waits till he is called on. He does not take the place of legislator or constituency. He is only an attractive supplement to what exists. He says as quantity and quality of legislation become more complex, the maker of it needs help—of an intelligent discriminating kind. He is, more accurately, perhaps, a private secretary. It is not the material the legislator *should* have but what he *wants* that counts. It is merely a case of "furnishing the goods."

For example, let us take up the case of a well-established legislative reference library, say the one at Indianapolis at the service of the Indiana State Legislature. The work there is in charge of Mr. Clarence B. Lester, a Brown graduate. Lester is a friend of McCarthy, and he worked some time with the Wisconsin man. So that the Indiana system is well patterned after the Wisconsin model. Lester started the work here about a year ago last August. It was almost six months before legislative time—enough of a season to work up a "sample" which might tempt an appropriation out of the forthcoming session. The department then as now is a part of the State Library, and all appointments and expenditures are made by the libra-

rian, with the approval of the State Library Board, out of a lump appropriation.

In those few short months enough of a plant was got together to make a very strong impression on the legislature members. Indeed, they established by legislative enactment this bureau and made an appropriation for its work. There was absolutely no opposition in the Senate and only ten House members had anything unfavorable to say, and their remarks were addressed rather to the size of the appropriation. The idea had frankly won. The establishing bill was a liberal provider. Four thousand dollars annually is a generous amount when the fortunate environment of this experiment is taken into account. It is a part of the State Library and it has right at hand all of that material elaborately catalogued. In the same building is the State Law Library, and not far away is the city public library. Every one of these coöperate most happily. So it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the legislative-reference scheme has had a firmer *start* in this state than in any other.

There is session work, and pre-session work to do. The harmonic curve of activity is just now on the rise. Every new fashion and novelty in the way of legislative tailoring has to be scissored from the daily news, for the wary legislator is after the newest vogue; and just so sure as an agitation has stirred up one legislature it will get introduced on the home grounds.

More telling straws to show which way the wind is blowing are the declarations of party platforms impressively proclaimed at state conventions. These are never too committal, but, just the same, they forecast the trend without irritating the conscience.

Or perhaps the public press declares a certain candidate for nomination favors local option. Very well, useful learning about local option is something to be ready with.

One thing is not done. That is a bulky, unwieldy, time-consuming catalogue of books on local option, depository law, or whatever the subject may be, is not got together. But the question is analyzed to find out just what facts the men of the legislature will want to use. For example, if the issue is capital punishment, these men are after tabulated material to tell them what states have capital punishment, what states have abolished the practice, in the states which have capital punishment what number of indictments for offenses so punishable have been returned before and after the adoption of this method? These direct, simple facts are just what men ask for.

Or take the public depository law passed at the last legislature. Frankly, it is defective, but few states have started with a better law. It is very inclusive. The defects pointed out, and dilated upon, have, after all, been rather minor. The committee that worked on this piece of legislation had before it, tabulated, the features of all depository laws, letters from many governors, opinions from the department officers of those commonwealths. This last help came from an extensive and well-calculated circular-letter campaign to get the facts from one who knows to one who wants to know. These letters were made up of terse questions and spaces were left after them for the answers. A busy man could put down an answer on the spot. Handled so, the letters were not side-tracked; and fully seventy per cent. of the replies came back.

Or suppose during the study of the local-option question, a solitary book sentence is happened upon that declares with good show of authority that no other countries have the system of prohibition that prevails in parts of this country. This is put on a separate card for the card catalogue. This defies the usual law of the cataloguer that no less than a page is subject for analysis. But the dictum that all matter coming into this

library must be for instantaneous use, makes the cataloguing a law unto itself. In fact, the most useful piece of machinery is the Comparative Catalogue. It is distinguishable from the Regular Catalogue for books as a whole, and mass material. It is more especially for the particularizations of magazine articles or the pieces of a book and newspaper clippings and cross refers to the General Catalogue. It is truly an index. The whole of the General Catalogue might be destroyed, and the Comparative Catalogue could still do the work of the library, if necessary.

The conventional library headings are not determinedly stuck to. Bills get nick-names. The bill providing for the majority choice of candidates, in connection with the primary-election law, was known as the "Mary Ann Bill." By that title it is always spoken of. And it was called that in the card index, though it was very unlibrarian-like—professionally speaking.

That is merely an instance of the industry to mold material into a practical shape.

In ten months over six hundred subjects have been worked over in just this way. This matter will be ready for the next legislature. Better still, just before time for the session, a pithy circular letter is sent out to express the purpose of the library, its non-partisan efforts, and the confidential character with which it will regard all requests for help. Sometimes the Solons are afraid the nature of their inquiries might become public property, and be misconstrued as personal declarations.

There is also a catalogue for the Supreme and Appellate Court briefs and decisions and of the very important cases the original and reply briefs are kept intact. Of the others only the important points and compilations of cases thereunder are catalogued. Naturally, duplication of the published legal digests is avoided. Suppose one of the members, a farmer, is interested in a bill

to require automobile drivers to help frightened horses past their machines. Perhaps in the committee he wishes to know the standing of a negligence suit on that subject. Very well, in a similar case there has been printed a useful series of citations which have pertinent bearing on the matter in hand. It is available. The "brief catalogue" yields it up.

The pre-session work is just like the session work in this—never is any effort made to guide any one's opinions. All the facts asked for are set before the inquirer and he uses them just as he chooses. He may argue that capital punishment should be abolished because it has been abolished in five other states and yet not bring out a fact he is fully aware of, that abolition was because of certain incidents that had nothing to do with the merits of capital punishment; or he may argue that this state should not adopt a depository law, because eight other states have rejected such a notion; when, as a matter of fact, those eight states had overlooked the measure because they had something better. The legislator may use every fact dishonestly if he chooses, but it is likely some one else has discovered the other facts, for they are available, too.

The library does not stand back of any statements it makes. It gives, along with every bit of information, an exact account of its source—volume, chapter, page and paragraph. The source of facts often determines entirely their value.

Whether the law-maker knows, or only thinks he knows, what he wants, he must get that whatever it is. A legislator hurries into the library and asks what states have a registration law. Perhaps only fifteen minutes to find out, but that was the fact needed, nothing else would do, and of course it was got hold of.

Another busy committeeman, attending night sessions, or what is even more engrossing, social sessions, asks for something to be made ready for considera-

tion in an early committee meeting next morning. The library will lay hold of it. There are no library hours. The doors do not swing shut at five o'clock. There is no work immunity guaranteed by the salutation, "It is after hours."

What help is given in the actual drawing of bills has been only after forceful insistence that the constitutionality of no bill can be guaranteed. "This phraseology has been considered acceptable, and so far as any matter pertaining to this subject has gone before the Supreme Court it has been declared constitutional. At the same time this particular measure may, when taken as a whole, be considered unconstitutional."

But this is merely doing what the attorney-general would have to do. There is absolutely no department that can for a moment guarantee constitutionality. The attitude of the judiciary is uncertain—it is a law unto itself.

The possibilities of this enterprise in drafting a law are best brought out by its experience with the Wisconsin public utility law. The department did not force its services. Three members of the legislative committee which had the matter in hand appealed to McCarthy for help. The result was cooperation between the committee and the library—both worked together.

Mr. M. S. Dudgeon, a lawyer of the department employed as a specialist bill draftsman, and Mr. John R. Commons, of the University of Wisconsin, international authority on public utilities, first met the legislature committee and mapped out a general plan for a bill. Then they studied all legislative regulation of public-service corporations—the interstate commerce act, the Massachusetts law to regulate gas and electric-light plants, and the proposed New York public-utility law. "The decisions of the various courts relative to regulation of public-service corporations were studied. Wherever possible

language which had been construed by the courts was used. In some cases a phrase or word was used only after an exhaustive study of decisions lasting several days. When a complete draft of the bill was made it was printed. The department sent copies of the bill to every man who was supposed to have any special knowledge of the subjects or any feature of it. Copies were sent to university men, to practical experts, to managers and superintendents of public utilities, to lawyers and judges, and to mayors and aldermen of various cities. All were asked to comment upon and criticize the measure. Many financially interested responded in a disinterested manner with valuable suggestions." There were public hearings before the joint legislature committee. All the arguments advanced were taken in shorthand; and when the hearings closed, the committee took up every suggestion and looked at it with the most searching scrutiny. So it came about that legislators, professional draftsmen, university authorities, men of large affairs, legal counsel and public officials all got together to make a single law.

The work that was done has proved gratifying to the legislators. It has been very cordially commended by attorneys-general and members of the Supreme Court. It is a decided economy of time and money. Extraneous matters have been looked for. By way of example—the title of a bill must always contain but one subject. Now the machinery of litigation may be set in motion, to attack the bill for this sole deflection from formal requirement. The offices of the Appellate Court are taken up seriously with this triviality.

If there is a bill to amend the mortgage-exemption law, as there was last year in the Indiana legislature, it might go the same way so many amendments do. This particular bill went through both houses and to the governor. The title was incorrect and for the small reason that the amending bill did not quote word

for word the title of the bill to be amended.

The amounts of appropriations may be built on an ill-formed basis of competition. Lately the Wisconsin legislature hesitated in its contribution to one of the numerous exposition projects. The size of the donation from the Wisconsin point-of-view was influenced largely by the generosity of other states. This was unfortunate. McCarthy sent telegrams broadcast, and next day the replies were cogent enough to convince the committee that the glory of Wisconsin would not be overshadowed if its treasury were not exposition-looted. The end was that the money actually voted and the anticipated appropriation showed a large enough difference to pay for the legislative library since its start.

The Wisconsin plant has studied no bill which has later been declared unconstitutional. Legislatures are all the while adopting statutes which have elsewhere been declared unconstitutional. Then the Supreme Court is called on to do over what some contemporary may have already done. The advantage of economy has appealed to California, it has attracted Nebraska, it is spreading into New York, Maryland and the further East.

The possibilities of the movement are speculative, but engagingly so. The enthusiasm of those in this work will prompt generous coöperation among the different states. Duplication can be avoided. Each library will specialize in that kind of work that it is most naturally fit for. At Madison the University of Wisconsin has a Bureau of Labor Research. John R. Commons, a superior authority on the labor question, is in charge. This bureau serves the state legislative reference library of Wisconsin, and with proper encouragement it will be at the service of any state in the Union.

Vastly more important still, there is opportunity to introduce a new basis of legislative jurisprudence. There are now two systems for the classification of

knowledge. The general library cataloguing system is applied to general knowledge, the West system is applied to legal learning. Both cover fields most used by the legislator. Yet both are kept distinctly separate. There is a third group of facts—those of sociological economic theory, and those of judicial theory. These taken together

form a new system of knowledge to put before a legislator. It will be a basis for scientific legislation. It will unify the reformatory efforts of each state. It will reduce legislative extremes to a happy mean. It will bring a happy end to an indistinguishable chaos.

REX MITCHELL BAXTER.

Indianapolis, Indiana.

THE FAILURE OF ORGANIZED RELIGION IN THE TREATMENT OF THE MARRIAGE INSTITUTION.

BY REV. ROLAND D. SAWYER.

ALL THOUGHTFUL men recognize that there is something wrong with the marriage institution, and the major part of those who have the control of the sentiment of the churches are hastening to apply a remedy by a stricter divorce law and the like. If these well-meaning but misled religionists would pause for a moment and look back through the years and see the complete failure of all attempts at repression on the part of the church, I am sure it would bend them to a more liberal attitude in the matter. Probably a large majority of thinkers are persuaded of the superior worth of monogamic marriage with exclusive cohabitation.

But however grand an ideal, the real must never be sacrificed to it. I have no doubt as to the sincerity of the founders of the monastic orders, and the promoters of celibacy; but Lea's *Sacerdotal History* of seven hundred pages is seven hundred pages of the evidence of their blunder.

In 1171, when Boniface and the councils had abolished matrimony, the Abbot of Canterbury, of whom the Archbishop of Canterbury is the ecclesiastical successor, had seventy illegitimate children

in one village, and the Lord alone knows how many he had in the see.

About 1200, the laymen compelled the clergy to have concubines in order to protect their own wives—and they were anathematized by church councils for their position, which anathema was repeated by the Council of Trent. The fact that the church authorities refused to allow the clergy to visit or to be visited by their sisters or mothers shows the extremes to which outraged human nature would resort in these comparatively recent times. How refreshing after these medieval mockeries to have Luther come forth and say, "The man and woman are made for each other; they cannot do without each other, and who would resist it would resist nature being nature."

And what a farce to-day, in our age of enlightenment, for a church that hopes to justify itself with intelligent people, to put forth a celibate priesthood; great robust men, with their blood heated to fever point by high living, and with whom you and I and all thoughtful persons *know* that celibacy is more apparent than real.

But turn to the less extreme forms of

repression as advocated by the churches. The Protestant church says: divorce for intolerable conditions, but no remarriage for the guilty party. The Catholic church says: no divorce whatsoever. What an inconsistent and superficial position is that of the Protestant church—linked up for the rest of life with a sort of dead Siamese twin is the unfortunate party who chose a mate in the indiscretion of early years, who turned out after all to be a mismatch—to make a rule when life is too large and complex to be governed by rules. Take a case like that of millionaire Corey. He gives his wife a million to get a divorce. She has no option; it is take it and get divorced, or be set adrift—and your rule would give him the Apostolic blessing of the church and bid her go to the justice of the peace.

I quote Professor Bowne of Boston University, in what seems to me a far saner position than all this quibble. He says: "When a union has become morally worthless it may be dissolved; society has no rights in the case save to see that this dissolution throws no burden upon it."

Or again, to quote Clara Barton; she says: "If after a faithful trial both parties weary of the struggle, and honestly decide they could serve the purpose of their life better apart, it is difficult to see any gain by compelling them to remain together."

Look at Catholic attempts. Catholic countries with no divorce are at the same time the most immoral. Illegitimate children in France increased at an alarming ratio in the last decade, and the same is true in Belgium, Holland and Switzerland. In Paris one-tenth of the population are living in free union—no attempt at marriage at all.

Letourneau, speaking of Constantine's abolishing the legalized concubinage of Rome and replacing it with the Christian ideal of monogamic marriage, says: "It was the greatest blow ever struck to the marriage institution. The clergy

themselves led the way in obeying an earlier law to multiply and replenish the earth." And after citing the effect upon European civilization of the attempts at enforced monogamy, he adds: "Nature rebels; we have prostitution for the refined, adultery and free union for the masses; moral purity has not gained."

Europe has a whole population of illegitimate children abandoned by their fathers, suffering a legal indignity for which they are not to blame. Even the legalized concubinage of China better controls the sex relation. Legislation without taking into account our nature is a crime. Letourneau in his studies concludes that monogamy will continue because it is most worthy and necessary, but he wisely sees there must be more equality in it, and he pleads for a contract to be "freely accepted, freely maintained, freely dissolved."

It requires but a glance to see the reasonableness of Letourneau's contention, that modern marriage does not meet the needs of nature, at least under our present social order. In England, France and Germany one man in every five suffers at some time in his life from a venereal disease. One man in every 150 deaths in England dies from such a cause; one in every 160 in France; one in every 190 in Germany. Fourteen per cent. of the children brought into the London hospitals are suffering from inherited venereal disease. In 1892 there were 100,000 prostitutes in London, 120,000 in Paris, and 50,000 in Berlin, an army of women numbering 270,000 and whose ages range from 18 to 25, with an average at 21. In addition to this, German doctors report a vast amount of secret prostitution, even by their best families. In France it is the same, and of the arrests made for secret prostitution, over one-half the girls were minors. Immoral acts in these countries increased eighty per cent. in the last twenty-five years; death from venereal diseases ninety per cent. in the same time; and insanity one hundred per cent. In Paris the

public hospitals alone treat one-fourth of a million cases of venereal diseases yearly.

And, mark you, these results are not in countries where a liberal attitude toward the divorce and remarriage matter prevails, but in countries where organized religion is in the form of state churches, or the Roman Catholic, which discountenances all such. The cause for this vast amount of prostitution, of this great army of 270,000 in these cities, we may safely say is that they are forced to it by social conditions and social laws. Most of them are disgusted with their life. Upton Sinclair makes their attitude clear in that dramatic chapter in *The Jungle* where Jurgis, finding his sister a prostitute, asks her if she enjoys it, and she responds, "Good God, no! How can a woman enjoy selling herself to fifteen men in a single night?" And it is well known that this class of girls only make their miserable lives endurable at all by a wholesale use of liquor and drugs. Shaw has well pointed out the economic cause of prostitution in "Mrs. Warren's Profession," where the heroine, after seeing her sister die of starvation, calmly and dispassionately looks the field over and then chooses a different kind of life. Prostitution was not an ideal for her, but it was the lesser of two evils; it was better than starvation. Well says an able Universalist minister, Dr. Powers: "The one cause of prostitution is the pressure of wealth on want."

When driven to the last ditch, the good-looking girl always has a commodity to sell for which there is always a demand, her body. To provide one hundred thousand-dollar gowns for the aristocracy it is necessary that the daughters of the workers sell themselves into prostitution.

To recur again to the great army of prostitutes in London, Paris and Berlin; in this army one woman in three attempts suicide every year, and one in twelve succeeds, so that self-destruction alone

would demand that this army be replaced once every twelve years; but the other causes so multiply this that we may safely say that at least every five years this army must be replaced by 270,000 of the best-looking and best-formed girls from the workingmen's homes. We have no figures save in the five thousand licensed prostitutes in Paris, and they give as their reasons for taking up the profession the following:

1,440, driven to it by want and misery;
1,250, orphaned, homeless, no other means of support;
80, to support feeble and helpless parents;
1,400, the discarded mistresses of wealthy men;
400, country girls enticed and seduced;
230, city girls deserted by their lovers.

We may safely conclude, then, that prostitution is caused by social and economic conditions; and also we may conclude that divorce and the growing looseness in marriage and family life comes from the same causes. A correct hint in this is furnished in the fact that the divorces and looseness occur in the industrial centers; where the father works for wages, the mother works for wages, the children work for wages. Each individual can take care of himself; marriage and family life is no longer necessary or desirable. But in the country districts divorces are not frequent and the family holds its own better; this because there the economic and social conditions are such that the family is still the unit of labor. The father works the land, the mother does domestic service, the child does the chores and errands. Each is necessary to the other; the family continues the social unit as in feudal times.

These things show us that the marriage question is largely an economic question, that the economic part of the contract is a large part, and that organized religion will fail as it has always failed, and as it deserves to fail, because it not only ignores causes and seeks to doctor effects, but its remedies have been proved to be impossible, ineffective and demoralizing in influence.

The church's policy so as it has had an

influence at all, has been for the bad and its results mischievous, because it has kept the people from seeking into and finding the real causes.

We believe in the monogamic marriage; Jesus taught it; it is the highest the race has attained; nature orders it in the fact that under normal conditions there is an equal number of males and females. We find, however, that it is only by the exercise of discipline by the individual and the justice of a social order, that the monogamic marriage can be attained in its purity. Religion can set forth the ideal, can try to lead and assist men and women to attain to that dignity of life which will practice such control and discipline. But we believe thoughtful people will not regard her efforts seriously unless she works for

such a social order as will make marriage possible. We believe that the question of marriage and divorce as at present agitated by the churches has but little bearing on the real question; and we do not believe Christian ministers are called upon to demand of contracting parties anything further than that they observe the essentials of decency and obey the laws of the state. And finally, if there are any persons who fear that greater facilities for divorce and greater liberty of remarriage would tend to lower the moral tone of society, we say to them with the utmost confidence in the words of honest John Milton, "Honest liberty is the greatest foe to dishonest license."

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THE SOCIALIST PHILOSOPHY OF PANICS: A NON-CLASSIC ANALYSIS OF THEIR REASON AND THEIR REMEDY.

BY GEORGE ALLAN ENGLAND, M.A.

I.

NO LESS conservative an authority than the *Review of Reviews* asserts in a recent issue that the country is facing two years of hard times at least, possibly three. In view of all the circumstances, which by now are too familiar to need recounting, the statement appears eminently credible. The unemployed problem alone would hardly seem capable of resolving itself in much less time, for unemployment diminishes markets, and thus maintains a deadlock of its own. Probably to-day between two and three million workers are out of jobs, and the number of suffering dependents would be hard to estimate; but it is very large. Already the toll of misery is heavy. We

shall see it vastly heavier before it lightens. Without doubt we are facing one of the gravest crises in our history.

The question rises, then, quite naturally: What causes this disturbance? What is the meaning of a Panic? How shall others in future be avoided?

You will hardly find two old-school or classical economists agree in answering. Certainly you will not find two publicists of the conventional stripe, or two "practical" politicians agree. Their philosophising are legion; and if ingenuity be the soul of hard-pressed perplexity, we may suspect that some of our high-minded leaders are sore put to it for explanations.

Among the non-classical fraternity, however, who rarely sit in university

chairs or at editorial desks, quite a contrasting unanimity exists. This paper begs your attention for a moment to the outlines of their argument. Needless to hint that this same argument is as yet neither "recognized" nor even quite "respectable." (Our best families have declined with thanks to entertain it.)

Now, first, about those old-school explanations! Well, they range all the way from Jevons' famous sun-spot idea to the "Psychological Theory" which holds crises to arrive because everybody loses confidence simultaneously. Along the route between these positions you will find a number of highly ingenious arguments involving the political or monetary systems in vogue (but never the economic—oh, dear, no!) or changes in those systems.

All these theories are, of course, worthy of respectful consideration, despite the fact that not one of them meets the case fully and from every possible standpoint. So long as only certain aspects of Panics are involved, each of them undoubtedly solves part of the problem, such, for instance, as the money stringency at the beginning of every Panic, the speedy return of currency to the banks, etc., or the subsequent long industrial depression. But I know of none of these "respectable" theories which can begin at A of Panics and carry us to Z, without skipping letters here and there. In every case, when we view our subject from the plane of internationality, or over long periods of time, they prove inadequate.

The sun-spot and bad-crop theory, for example, seems to explain the periodicity of Panics very neatly, until we stop to think that sun-spot maxima occur once in eleven years, while our Panics swing in cycles of about twenty years. Again, no satisfactory explanation is forthcoming just why people should all lose their confidence simultaneously. Nor again will monetary or political conditions answer our question when we consider that in America we have had Panics under both Democratic and Republican

administrations, and that in Europe similar phenomena present themselves alike under kings, emperors and presidents, in countries using various monetary standards. We shall hardly make so bold as to assert that a German Panic is caused by the election of a Democratic President in the United States, or that a French or English one traces its cause to our flirtation with free silver. As Professor Edward D. Jones of the University of Wisconsin puts the case: "The diversity of monetary conditions among the principal countries of the world, coupled with the fact that most of them have been visited by crises, warns us from attaching too much importance to details at this point." We must look deeper. Is there no larger aspect of the case? No universal law? The non-classic economists believe there is; nor are they in any wise slow to declare a reason for the faith that in them lies.

Any such reason must take into account not only the universally periodic nature of such crises, but also their world-wide distribution. And here precisely is where the non-classic school applies with disconcerting logic its Kantian method in seeking for some common factor of *all* true Panics.

This common factor is machine-production. Without any real danger of successful contradiction the assertion may be made that Panics are exclusively confined to civilized countries, to countries where hand-production has given place to the factory and the machine. Famines, plagues and wars devastate nations in the savage or the barbarous stage; but such nations never have Panics. The reason for this will appear later. Panics, which bring misery and stagnation upon a people blessed with bounteous crops, with unlimited natural resources and with unimpaired powers of production, are the exclusive property of nations using privately-owned machinery. If this is not true, the writer would be grateful for a single exception whereby to prove the rule.

Now, that state of production based

upon privately-owned machinery is technically known as Capitalism, a convenient term wherewith to replace a troublesome circumlocution. Our thesis, therefore, amends itself to this, that crises never exist outside of Capitalism, and that wherever Capitalism prevails for any length of time, there also crises will be found.

The first writer to formulate a consistent theory of the relation between Capitalism and the recurrence of Panics was Karl Rodbertus, whose work appeared about the middle of the last century. As Rodbertus' ideas have been more simply expressed by Frederick Engels, let us have them in Engels' words:

"Since 1825, when the first general crisis broke out, the whole industrial and commercial world . . . is periodically thrown out of joint. Commerce is at a standstill, the markets are glutted, products accumulate . . . hard cash disappears, credit vanishes and factories are closed; the mass of the workers are in want of the means of subsistence, because they have produced too much of the means of subsistence. . . ." And only under Capitalism does this condition of affairs exist.

Such being the case, non-classic economists make the assertion that Capitalism itself (and nothing else) is to blame, and that so long as Capitalism operates, all surface-measures to abolish Panics are as idle as Mrs. Partington's famous broom. "When Capitalism came into being, it brought with it a whole mass of changes in all social relations. It brought in new methods of living together at every point. It introduced new ways of doing business, new property-relations, new forms of government and various other things, including crises. Therefore we must seek the cause of crises in some peculiarity of the industrial system of Capitalism."* Until we have discovered just what differentiates all other methods of production

from the Capitalistic method, we shall never get very far along the road of understanding the nature of commercial and industrial crises; nor shall we be in a position to discuss intelligently a method of obviating the disastrous results of such phenomena.

II.

What, then, distinguishes Capitalism from all other and more primitive social systems? This, that under Capitalism wealth is produced in a large, collective manner by the use of machinery owned by one set of men but operated by another. And when we say machinery, let that term be taken in its broadest sense, to include not only mills and factories, but also transportation facilities, mines and other great institutions for extracting wealth directly from nature, as well as for transforming it into useful forms and conveying those forms to consumers. Let the word, in short, include the sources of the nation's life, together with the actual mechanical devices of manufacturing proper.

This machinery—the mechanism of civilized life—is as we have noted above, privately owned in the vast majority of cases among civilized peoples. But it is collectively operated, by a class of people who hold no title of ownership in it, by the "proletariat." This proletariat works for wages. Now, the machinery produces wealth in vastly greater quantities than are requisite to pay these wages. Carroll D. Wright is authority for the statement that the average wealth-production of the machine-using proletarian is \$10.05 per day, while the average wage is probably less than \$2. Deducting cost of raw material, motive-power, supervision and all other charges, there still remains a large surplus of wealth which steadily passes into the hands of the machine-owners or capitalists. Wages, in other words, are simply a portion of labor's own product handed back to it; and this portion is quite inadequate to purchase that por-

*Chicago *Daily Socialist*, November 19, 1907.

tion of the product which the non-proletarian classes cannot consume, no matter how wasteful their consumption may be.

Hence arises the pressing necessity for foreign markets to be sought among the non-industrial nations—a necessity which has to its discredit a long list of wars, exploitations and assimilations, whether “benevolent” or otherwise. But even these foreign markets cannot perpetually drain off the surplus production, for the reason that all industrial nations are competing for them, and again because gradually the non-industrial nations themselves (witness Japan) are more and more assuming industrial forms and are themselves not only ceasing to purchase, but are becoming likewise competitors in the ever-narrowing market.

There comes a time, periodically, when the excess product piles up to such an extent in the capitalists’ hands that the cost of production equals or exceeds the profit. The market is glutted. Profit is the life-blood of Capitalism, and when profit ceases, Capitalism passes into a temporary lethargy like a hibernating bear. Factories, mills and mines close, throwing the proletariat out of work. The loss of purchasing-power on the part of this extensive class still further depresses the market, so that the movement once started has to run its course with steadily accelerating speed, and we have a genuine Panic.

This temporary depression lasts until the excess product is used up, wasted, destroyed or deteriorated in other ways. Then the market begins to improve, production recommences, “confidence is restored,” the sun-spots fade away, and “prosperity” begins again to run its inevitable course toward another crisis.

True it is that the process is never so simple as this outline or pattern. Many other factors enter it. Wars or great catastrophes may retard the crisis by destroying property and thereby stimulating production. Political or monetary ups-and-downs may accelerate it. Stock-

speculation has its bearing, too, on the question. All these and other things may render a Panic more sudden and violent, may prolong or shorten it. Thus we do not find any absolute accuracy in the recurrence of crises. Since Capitalism became predominant in the United States we have had five major and a number of minor Panics, the major ones occurring in 1819, 1837, 1857, 1873, 1893, with intervals of 18, 20, 16 and 20 years. Last year we entered the initial stages of another, only 14 years since the last, as a result of the phenomenally increased rate of production, the decreasing purchasing-power of the masses, and the dwindling Oriental market, due to the competition of Asiatic countries. Including this latter Panic, which bids fair to assume large proportions before we are through with it, we have 17 3-5 years as the average time required for Capitalism to glut itself, with all the consequent proletarian suffering involved by “hard times.” Looking out into the future as best we can, the prediction seems safe that either some change in our system of production and distribution must take place, which shall eliminate crises, or else that as the non-capitalistic nations adopt machinery and as competition consequently grows more keen, the periods of prosperity will progressively shorten, until the world finds itself permanently face to face with an unemployed problem so vast as to be practically inconceivable.

Even now this condition is beginning to loom before us as a result of the trust methods—not through any viciousness of trusts, but simply as an inevitable concomitant of its economic nature, just as the introduction of spinning and weaving machinery in England threw so many operatives out of work. As far as trusts are concerned, they have introduced a new factor into the Panic cycle. Their appearance gives warning that the productive machinery of the world is nearing completion and that those of us who are not “in,” had better run to cover.

Through them literal over-production—that is, a glut of material goods—may be partly avoided. For the trust form is more able to gauge market-capacities than the competitive form; and consequently the trusts usually produce only when they have orders ahead. When orders begin to fail, they reduce production; and a total failure of orders is not apt to catch them with vast stocks of unsalable goods on hand. Their productive framework stands; but they use only such part of it at any time as the market warrants, and easily curtail activities without passing into bankruptcy as smaller agencies might do.

A good example of this is the Copper Trust which recently "shut down," giving as a reason the undesirability of adding still further to a stock which could not be sold, and stating in substance that the copper would still be quite safe, lying in the ground. In other words, this trust actually avoided real over-production; but so far as the man with the dinner-pail is concerned, a shut-down because of potential over-production works no less hardship than a shut-down because of real over-production. The unemployed problem has to be reckoned with in either event. Whether the workers' potentiality for labor is made to remain idle for fear the product can find no market, or that potentiality is actually transformed into products, into material masses of tangible commodities which really do find no market, matters not to Johnny Overalls. His job ceases, in either event; and he is (to use a cant phrase) "up against it."

In the old competitive days, the capitalist wagon drove straight into the swamp-hole of literal over-production, not realizing that the hole was there. In these trustified times, the superior organization of industry enables the drivers to look ahead and see the swamp, so that before plunging in they pull up on the brink. But whether the wheels stop in the bog or at its edge is all the same to the worker. His rations stop also. He is

no better off with a pile of actual wealth around him which he created but cannot touch, than he is when forbidden to create that pile because under the wage-system it cannot be marketed.

In short, the old idea of Engels' "Vicious Circle of Capitalism" may have to be modified somewhat to fit modern conditions. The trusts shift our point of view; but none the less over-production, whether potential or real, causes a shut-down until markets revive. And this is the red thread through our economic labyrinth—this simple fact that Capitalism permits its machinery to be operated only so long as the workers can produce a profit for the owners. Since the workers "cannot continuously make a profit and a product at the same time," repeated Panics are inevitable in the very nature of Capitalism.

Every time they appear, capital withdraws, retrenches, and then—*sauve qui peut!*

III.

Is there any possibly remedy for all this, and if so, what? Our classical economists have been fertile indeed with suggestions whose ingenuity has equaled only their singular futility. Just at present we have government and trust officials announcing in substance that if the national banks are permitted to issue bank-notes *ad libitum*, against large classes of securities hitherto excluded by law, and to retire them when they please, this Panic will be assuaged. The inference, of course, is that Panics are caused by monetary disturbances and may be checked by currency manipulations—an interesting state of affairs! Just think, for a moment, how:

The exception clause on the green-back was demanded "to avert Panics."

The national banking system was established "to avert Panics."

The contraction of the currency 'way back in the 60's was perpetrated "to avert Panics."

The credit-strengthening act was passed "to avert Panics."

The refunding acts were made "to avert Panics."

The demonetization of silver was enacted "to avert Panics."

The resumption of specie payment was declared "to avert Panics."

The giving to the banks of the right to issue notes to the full value of their bonds was hailed as a panacea "to avert Panics."

The depositing of government money in a few favorite banks was counted on as a sure means "to avert Panics."

And now the printing of fiat money has been suggested as a sovereign remedy "to avert Panics."

Let Bruce's famous spider take a back seat as an example of persistence. Our money-tinkers have put him to shame. With no more critical sense than a spider they never seem to realize that in this Panic-averting game the Panics always win. They never perceive that Capitalism bears within itself the elements of its own periodic stagnation; that under the competitive wage-system and with production carried on for profit, the masses simply cannot buy back their own product fast enough to keep the markets open; that some other and more rational system must supersede Capitalism before we shall ever free ourselves from the problems of over-production and unemployment.

If we acknowledge the singular injustice of a system under which large numbers of persons must periodically go hungry because they have produced too much food; ragged because they have deftly woven too much cloth; shoeless because they have made too many shoes, we are not far from saying that any other system under which these anomalous conditions would be obviated is at least worthy of your thoughtful consideration.

Obviously we cannot return to the old days of hand-production when each worker owned his tools and either consumed his own product or exchanged it for that of some other worker. We must

go forward. And the only path we can tread (for other there is none) is the path toward collective ownership of the world's machinery or sources of life. We have to-day collective or social operation of that machinery, but private ownership; and the effect is similar to thrusting a stick occasionally into the cogs of a complex and delicate machine. That stick is what we must get rid of, and the stick is named Capitalism. If this analogy or the logic leading thereto is defective, will some classic apologist for the existing order kindly correct me?

Just so long as we have Capitalism we shall have periodic hard times, whether under Republican or Democratic administration, whether with gold, silver, paper, lead or wampum money, whether we try to "bust" the trusts, or "regulate" them, or what-not. These things are only knots on the stick. The stick itself of private ownership should be eliminated. Go it must, for it has been so often thrust between the wheels of our machine that even now it gives premonitory signs of breaking. We are just now passing from the preliminary stage of a great Panic, the stage of currency-disturbance, into the other and more serious stage, that of industrial depression. We are in for a long, hard pull. We are reading, and shall continue to read, of failures, suicides, starvation, mass-meetings of the unemployed, demonstrations and all manner of social upset. Our criminal statistics are abnormally distended. And withal, the proletariat is growing restive with these repeated stoppings of the machine, with all the incidental suffering which falls chiefly upon those least able to bear it. In some ways the Panic of 1907-8 will be like that of 1893-4, and again it will be unlike. The education of the workers along the very line of thought I have tried to indicate has been steadily progressing during the past fourteen years and a hungry proletariat in 1908 will act somewhat differently from a similar body in 1894. As a good friend of mine, one eminently well

informed on industrial questions, said to me not long ago: "The laying-off of 'hands,' this time, will probably be met by the laying-on of hands!" The sacred rights of Capitalism to thrust that stick into the wheels every so often is being questioned pretty generally among the workers. And once it is seriously questioned by them, it will cease to exist.

There are those who predict that this is to be our last Panic; that this final lesson, on top of all the others, and coöperating with the rapid drift of sentiment as regards collective ownership, will land us safely beyond the reach of Panics for all time. "T is a consummation devoutly to be wished!" Along with the abolition of that anachronism of modern life—private ownership of the world's machinery—will come such an emancipation for the great, unknown, toiling masses as surely no prophet could conceive in its entirety. The present system is bad for all save a few of us; and even those few cannot at heart think the game worth the candle. It is bad for the middle classes, which are having a hard time to maintain themselves and are losing ground year by year; it is terribly bad for the lower classes, even in times of so-called prosperity. "They must then work hard, and their wives and children must work hard, and yet they only get enough to live on. In Panic times it is doubly hard. Then they cannot work even though they wish to, and they are soon reduced to positive misery."*

And it is all unnecessary, for there is a way out. Even while our classic economists are still talking about sun-spots and psychology to our "best people," the non-classic economists are talking about the abolition of private property, in the nation's sources of life, to their vastly larger proletarian audience. The adherents of this new philosophy swarm in every industrial country. Their total number all over the world is estimated at

* *The Worker*, November 28, 1907.

about 30,000,000—a number which is growing, growing fast. Of course, our "best people" recognize neither the non-classic philosophy nor the growth, but that does n't bother the proletariat, for the proletariat is singularly thick-skinned in such matters.

The new philosophy teaches—and rich reward awaits the man who can refute that teaching, for the Plutocracy is really very generous in little affairs of this sort—that under collective ownership the body of workers would produce, not so long merely as profits could be made, but so long as anybody needed the things produced. To-day millions of people desire better houses, clothes and food, to say nothing of books, music, art and hosts of other things which to the working-class are little beside mere names. And to-day those desires are not gratified—why? Simply because the profit-making system renders impossible the payment to the workers of more than about one-fourth of the values they themselves produce. But if the workers owned the things with which they worked, and received their own entire product, they would obviously always be able to exchange that product for other needful or desirable things. There could be no general over-production, and hence no crises.

Here lies, roughly stated, the essence of the new economic philosophy. That experiments along these lines will be made within a very few years, most well-informed observers agree. Some of us now living will very likely survive into the beginnings of the new era, the Coöperative Commonwealth, when Panics will be written about merely as singular phenomena of a past age. For in those days not only Panics, but also their swarming brood of miseries, crimes and needless human sufferings will be labeled like the dodo and the giant auk—"Extinct!"

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF CHRISTIANITY.

BY JOHN A. WEBSTER.

STUDENTS of mathematical astronomy, seeking a relationship between the finite and beyond-finite, have established a basis from which to reckon mathematical and mental deductions, and in reaching out into space from a material view-point, both the lowest and highest concepts of human thought are lost in infinity.

A careful survey of the human mind, with reference to existence, reveals a similar condition. In metaphysics there are two distinct systems of thought, one of which must be true and real and the other false and unreal; the two positions are in contradistinction one to the other, and hence a third theoretic system, a combination or compromise of the two, is unreasonable, impossible and untenable.

Upon the premise that matter is all-in-all, and that the five physical senses furnish the only testimony upon which to base accurate deductions, all the so-called sciences have been formulated. This position, when accepted, in its entirety (which must be done in order to accept its deduced sciences), reveals the existence of substance or cause found abstract from matter as an impossibility. If matter is all-in-all, it is the only substance from which all knowledge is obtained, and the five physical senses are the only means by which testimony is derived in order to promulgate and maintain deductions, which formulated constitute the so-called sciences. This position precludes the presence of spirit, mind or intelligence, apart from matter. All is physical and of the material senses. There can be no force nor power without matter, no spirit nor God, no unseen intellectual agency sustaining and maintaining the universe that is not inherent of substance-matter. An inquiry into a cause or creator outside of matter is an

illusion, a seeking for something that has no existence. All things are physical and mechanical, not mind nor mental. This material monistic philosophy had as its chief exponent in modern times, Auguste Comte who was a student of the ancient schools of Protagoras and Heraclitus. It is the position of the atheist. It can go no farther than human reason and is not subject to pure philosophy or true theology. There can be no continuity of spiritual or mental existence, since a succession of monistic physical phenomena is the ultimate of all materialistic action. There can be no God, no prayer. There is no problem of future existence, for there is no existence without matter, and the material man with the mortal mind is the highest exposition of all substance-matter. Materialism, pure and simple, and atheism are catalogued in the same concept of human investigation and existence.

The second school of thought accepts the other position that Spirit (God) is all-in-all. That God is of His very nature substance eternal. That His whole creation, of which man is the highest idea, is spiritual. Theoretical logic or the theology of religion has attempted to establish a dualistic school of thoughts which finds its adherents among those who seek a union or compromise between a materialistic and a spiritual creation. It presupposes that matter and spirit both exist, are eternal, and have equal or comparative reality. The doctrine of the union and nature of matter and spirit is seldom attempted and never made clear. Advocates and students of philosophy, chemistry, astronomy, materia medica, and all the so-called sciences, rarely accept the theory except as a belief, and all experimentation is in the line of materialism.

The so-called scientists refuse to accept as testimony any deductions not derived from matter, and centuries have been given to experiments in trying to find life, spirit, intelligence, as not only existing in matter, but also existing as matter. The effort has been to find life or spirit having form, outline and mobility, rather than to seek life or spirit as existing independent of matter.

This dualism always partakes of some form of pantheism, and upon this dualistic basis rests polytheism, spiritualism, hypnotism, theosophy, telepathy, animal magnetism, mesmerism, etc. This dual position is responsible for much of the philosophy of materialism and the theology of religion of the present era. Little or no effort is made by the so-called scientists to reconcile revelation or religion with what is called the physical sciences, and theologians often accept the physical sciences with a theological interpretation that is at great variance with the recognized process of determining results in material science. In fact, the natural or material scientist has met and almost eliminated the arguments of his opponents, yet humanity clings to the innate conviction that there is a God and that revelation and religion are necessary. At the same time the belief of the necessity for sin, sickness and death remains as a part of the dualist's creed. This position proclaims God as the author of good and evil, health and sickness, and makes life and death coëxistent in matter. This double attribute is pantheistic rather than Christian. God is recognized as being "in" things. God in nature, therefore God in the mountain, in history, in peace, in war. Likewise, according to the dualist, God is in health, in sickness, in life, in death, in calamities of nature, even in sin. God creates sickness and then makes medicine to cure sickness. He brings suffering, according to this belief, and wills that medicine should fail, in order to punish His child for disobedience. This contradictory position leads its advo-

cates to believe in fate and predestination, and asks us to bow our heads in humble submission to a dualistic God, a God of life and a God of death. The history of theoretic religion shows a strange and unreasonable commingling of materialism and sensualism with pious reverence. With the two opposite and conflicting pathways no definite end can be reached. All systems of dualism teach life in matter and make God responsible for all physical and moral evil and the only escape is by a process of natural laws, or by a regenerative and supernatural grace administered by a priestly mediator.

The second and higher school of thought is in ultra contradistinction to atheism and materialism. It establishes its principles upon the first command of the Decalogue. It teaches that God is Spirit. That His creation, including man made in His image and likeness, is spiritual and not material. That God is all-in-all, and that He is the only cause, the only force, the only power. That He is the only Creator, hence the Father-Mother-Substance of all creation. That He is eternal, hence real and unchangeable. God being the only cause and creator, matter has no real entity and exists only to mortal concept. It is a physical phenomena of which the physical senses alone bear testimony. The physical senses being a creation of materialistic causes, their testimony cannot be true, because they testify to the unreality of the eternal and only first cause and creator. This physical testimony is therefore an illusion—a shadow of the real substance—a belief of something which has no real existence, was never created, has no place nor power and cannot of its own assumed nature have eternity. Hence matter is no more real than the belief or illusion concerning it. It is the human concept or projection of the testimony of physical phenomena and has no existence in the spiritual kingdom of infinite Intelligence. This position is spiritual monism. One God, one Creator, The Eternal One, who is

Spirit, Life, Mind, Intelligence. One creation, spiritual, which reflects life, mind and intelligence. This is the basis of all true religion and pure philosophy, free from any taint of materialism. It is the fount of every pure inspiration and makes revelation a stepping-stone to spiritual consciousness and understanding. God is the only substance and reality. This underlying secret runs all through the Bible from Genesis to Revelation. This is the only basis from which a correct understanding of an all-wise, all-powerful, all-loving, unchangeable, infinite heavenly Father can be gained. It is the basis of holy healing by prophet and apostle. It is the foundation-stone upon which the Master stood and wrought His wondrous works.

This latter position of spiritual monism finds its basis of support in the Bible, in the words and deeds of prophets and apostles, in Christ's teachings and works, in history, in reason, in spiritual consciousness and in individual experience. It is exemplified in works rather than in words. Its proofs are in results rather than in theory. It is the philosophy of facts rather than philosophical theorizing. The borderland of this unexplored region of spiritual life and activity has been traversed down the pages of history from Xenophanes to Socrates, Epicurus and Plato. Among the holy ante-Nicene fathers, Justin in 114, and Athenagoras in 177, had clear perceptions of this science of spiritual substance. It is interesting to note that Justin in writing to the Greeks said: "For when he (Plato) has laid down that everything that is made is mortal, he afterwards says that the gods were made. If, then, he would have God and matter to be the origin of all things, manifestly it is inevitably necessary to say that the gods were made of matter; but of matter, out of which he said that evil also had its origin, leaves right-thinking persons to consider what kind of beings the gods should be thought who are produced out of matter. For, for this very reason did

he say that matter was eternal, that he might not seem to say that God is the creator of evil."

In the plea of Athenagoras for the Christians, this holy and righteous man in a discourse entitled, "The Christians distinguish God from matter," says: "Because the multitude who cannot distinguish between matter and God or see how great is the interval which lies between them, pray to its idols made of matter, are we, therefore, who do distinguish and separate the uncreated and the created, that which is and that which is not, that which is apprehended by the understanding and that which is perceived by the senses, and who give the fitting name to each of them—are we to come and worship images?"

Some of the world's greatest philosophers, sages, poets and saints, such men as Kant, Leibnitz, Lutz, Spencer, Berkeley and Emerson, have contributed to the truthfulness of this position. Material scientists during the past half-century have hinted broadly at the probable acceptance of this spiritual uni-ism, and it is not unusual at the present time to read of able and scholarly physical scientists who state it as their opinion that what appears to be substance-matter to the evidence of the so-called physical senses is but a prolonged deception, the product of human perception, and Professor Fiske, an eminent physical scientist, says, "There is no such thing as matter." Other material scientists have come to the conclusion that matter in its elementary state is composed of force and not of atoms.

This higher spiritual scientific position is the one taken by Christian Science. The world is indebted to Mary Baker G. Eddy, discoverer and founder of Christian Science, for the clear apprehension and perception of a revealed science, the science of infinite God. It is the rediscovery, the re-revealing of the old-new science of Christ and the early prophets. It is not a religion of beliefs and theories; it is a revelation of

understanding and a demonstration of works. It casts out both sickness and sin by the same method. It destroys the beliefs in and of matter by supplanting them with the understanding of infinite intelligence. Christian Science has brought a new-old religion; a new school of scientific metaphysical philosophy which reveals infinite substance; a new interpretation of life, a life that is not dependent on matter, hence is deathless; a new love, a love that knows not hate; a new Truth, a Truth that is changeless, and that makes free; a new God, or, if you please, a newer, higher and holier conception of a loving heavenly Father, who created everything spiritual and good, who knows no evil nor matter, who brings no calamities, and

"Who healeth all thy diseases" without any material (matter) remedies.

A close study of the principles of Christian Science and an earnest and honest application of these principles to organic, functional and mental disorders, will prove it to be strictly scientific and conscientiously Christian. The nadir of sickness, sin and death, of matter, molecule and misery will disappear under the microscope of infinite intelligence as demonstrated in Christian Science, and the azimuth of omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient Substance will become apparent to a better and higher understanding of the nothingness of matter and the allness of God.

J. A. WEBSTER.

Cleveland, Ohio.

THE LAWLESS SUPPRESSION OF FREE SPEECH IN NEW YORK.

BY THEODORE SCHROEDER.

EVEN the average "intelligent" American citizen can see why a reign of terror exists in Russia. We all understand that as between the nobility and peasants there exists a difference of opinion, as to the justice of their system of land-holding, taxation, and economics generally, as these are established by "law," so-called. The peasants desire to discuss their grievances and the remedies therefore. Their utterances are suppressed by a brutal and arbitrary censorship. No orderly method of securing redress being open to them, in desperation they resort to violence, in personal revenge for the wrongs they believe themselves to suffer. Every increase in official repression of free speech results in, and justifies, a corresponding increase in terrorism. We generally see this to be true, in *Russia*, and seeing it we quite instinctively understand that if peace and

order were really desired by the ruling class the remedy is to withhold repression, give every one a chance to air his grievance, then reëxamine the established system and honestly try to discover and remove the legalized injustices, if any are found to exist. The man who has advocated violence feels relieved, and is less impelled to commit it, than the fellow who broods over this suppression of his speech about the injustice which he thinks he suffers. In other words, the remedy for terrorism, in *Russia*, lies in removing the justification and necessity for it; that is, in establishing entire freedom of speech and of the press, and after opportunity of hearing all complaints, no matter how irrational, satisfy the public sense of fair play, by honestly trying to establish a more just régime.

But the average "intelligent" American seems unable to see that human nature

is quite the same in America as it is in Russia, and that allowing our police and post-office authorities lawlessly to suppress the freedom of speech and of the press, we are thoughtlessly giving the greatest possible provocation toward the establishment of a reign of terror in America. If the present official lawlessness shall continue at the present rate, to increase its arbitrary and brutal abolition of the freedom of speech and of the press, in less than twenty-five years the United States of America will present a reign of terror infinitely worse than that which now obtains in Russia. It will be infinitely worse because our population is more intelligent and less scattered, which conditions will facilitate the activities of terrorists. Already in many, if not most states, we have frequent personal violence, often against public officials, which violence was prompted by a conviction that justice is deaf and blind, even when appealed to, and in many cases the opportunity to make that appeal has been lawlessly denied.

Fellow-citizens, if that reign of terror comes the responsibility for it rests with you, if you have not done all in your power to maintain inviolate, even as against the police force, the fullest freedom of speech and of the press even for the most obnoxious opinions of our most despised neighbors. Here, as in Russia, the preventive of a reign of terror is more liberty and more justice—the most forceful provocative of terrorism and personal revenge is the forcible maintenance of legalized injustice, or what is claimed to be such, while at the same time suppressing complaints, as we are now doing by the lawless, or even legalized, violence of a rowdy police organization, one of whose captains recently boasted that his club was bigger than the Constitution. If we except religion, England probably has the greatest freedom of speech of any country in the world, and it is almost the only one in which there have been no plots to assassinate its rulers. In Russia we have

the most active censorship over political opinion, and the greatest number of assassinated officers. Which shall we imitate? The present tendency is to follow the example of Russia, and I desire to make a record of a very few of the facts which lead me to that conclusion.

Miss Goldman's first arrest occurred in December, 1894, for a speech made to a gathering of workingmen. She was convicted of inciting a riot, though no riot occurred, and was sent to jail for six months. According to the publications of the time I conclude that the offensive portion of her speech consisted only in this: She quoted from an article by Cardinal Manning, published in the *Fortnightly Review*, wherein he said: "Necessity knows no law, and a starving man has a natural right to his neighbor's bread." She supplemented this with her own words as follows: "Ask for work; if they do not give you work, ask for bread; if they do not give you work or bread, then take bread." I doubt if any sane man really believes that another's law-created property-right in bread is more sacred than is his own natural right to live. Does any one believe that the duty to suicide by starvation, in the presence of a stealable plenty to be stronger than the duty of self-preservation by theft when that is the only alternative? I believe Cardinal Manning and Miss Goldman told self-evident truths, which were no injury to any one because none acted upon her suggestion, and yet, she went to jail six months therefor, which I deem an outrage.

This is the only time Miss Goldman was ever convicted of any offense, even against unconstitutional laws invading the freedom of speech. However, I am told by a friend of hers that she has since been arrested nearly forty times and detained from one hour to several days, or for several months at a time has been under bail. Many of these arrests did not even eventuate in a judicial

hearing. Never has she been charged by any one with having used violence upon any one, or interfered with the property of another, nor has there ever been one scintilla of evidence that violence was ever committed upon her advice, nor has any one so far as I can learn, ever offered any evidence of any more violent speech than the one quoted. And yet see the reputation which conscienceless officials and newspapers have given her. On some arrests a preliminary hearing was had and resulted in a discharge because her utterances were not even a violation of the unconstitutional anti-anarchist laws of New York. Some of these arrests were for speeches actually made, more of them were for merely threatening to make a speech, and sometimes when neither of these facts existed she was arrested simply because she was Emma Goldman and had an undeserved newspaper reputation. As to the last I must give one detailed illustration as the same has been reported to me. Miss Goldman was accompanying a friend to a railroad station. The friend carried a suit-case. A detective saw her and in his disordered imagination she could not possibly be with another person having a suit-case unless there was a conspiracy to murder some one. Furthermore such persons could not have a suit-case in their possession except for the purpose of carrying bombs. So the "bold" detective, without a warrant and no doubt feeling that his life would be ended if the suit-case were ever dropped, arrested the pair. At the police-station, without a search warrant, which could only be issued upon evidence of probable cause, the suit-case was examined, and the imaginary bombs had disappeared. The pair were discharged, a train was missed and a day's delay occasioned, but the government had been saved, by an inexcusable arrest, the newspapers had headlines and no doubt thousands of fool people thought a President's life had been saved. Besides this, Emma

Goldman's undeserved reputation had received an addition which in the public hysteria would justify any number of future lawless invasions of her liberty, whenever detectives wish to divert the public attention from impending investigations of police graft.

But I must return to the lawless suppression of free speech which has come about through the silly but popular panic whenever Emma Goldman's name is mentioned, which panic cannot be explained by any overt act of hers, but the whole of which has been manufactured by the falsehoods based upon the hysterical fears and morbid imagination of ignorant officials, and spread by conscienceless sensation-hunters on the "yellow" press. At a public meeting I once heard Miss Goldman criticised because, by her mildness she had disappointed her critic. In closing the discussion, with a smile she retorted: "A man stupid enough to believe all that he sees in print about me will always remain disappointed, because it is impossible for me to live up to my reputation."

This much was necessary to explain how unwarranted is the sentiment which upholds this lawless suppression of Emma Goldman's speech. But this police lawlessness is not limited to her. For the evening of December 14, 1906, I was invited to address the Liberal Art Society, which is not an anarchist organization. Because of the many lawless interferences with the freedom of speech of anarchists, I chose to defend their right to be heard and to question the constitutionality of the anti-anarchist laws of New York. The manager of the lecture course informed me, a few days before the appointed time, that the captain of police in his precinct had threatened him with arrest should he permit me to deliver such a lecture as I had proposed, or allow any one to discuss any phase of anarchism. The manager thereupon changed my subject for me.

For January 24, 1907, a mass meeting

was called in Everett Hall, New York City, to discuss the inexpediency and unconstitutionality of the "criminal anarchy" statute of New York. Mr. Bolton Hall, myself and two anarchists were advertised to speak. The police went to the lessor of the hall, so he said, lawlessly threatened him with arrest and a revocation of his license to conduct a hall for public gatherings, if he should allow us to execute our intention to speak for the repeal and judicial annulment of the anti-anarchist statute. The hall-owner became frightened. He could not afford to antagonize the police, so he refunded the rent and besides that paid the expenses of advertising, etc., but refused to allow the meeting to be held. So it has come to this that a lawless and arbitrary police commissioner in New York city, without even the justification of an unconstitutional statute, prohibits citizens, who are not anarchists, from making an address in a hall rented for that purpose, in which address it was simply proposed to argue that a recent statute should be repealed, or judicially declared to be unconstitutional. Thus the American slaves and cowards sit quietly by while citizens are deprived of even the right to discuss the meaning of our constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech, and while they are denied an opportunity to hear complaints about existing official lawlessness.

On December 26, 1906, I sent the following letter to the head of the police department. It has not yet been answered, except by a repetition of the lawlessness therein complained of, and this without protest from a populace, more reconciled than "ignorant" Russian peasants to be governed by the lawless use of a policeman's club. The letter is worthy of publication at this time, because of its recitals, and because the recent bomb incident in Union Square is a fulfilment of its prophecy.

"December 26, 1906.

"GENERAL THEODORE A. BINGHAM,

"COMMISSIONER OF POLICE,

"NEW YORK CITY:

"My dear General Bingham—

"I have your esteemed favor of December 12, 1906, and note that you say, 'There is no intention in this department to interfere, except when laws and ordinances are violated.' I do not doubt that this is your personal intention, but it has not heretofore been acted upon by your subordinates. I call your attention to specific cases. The Manhattan Liberal Club meets at 220 East Fifteenth street. The club as such has nothing to do with anarchism. It conducts a lecture platform with opportunity for free discussion of the lecture topics. Owing to this chance for propaganda, anarchists often attend to avail themselves of the privilege to discuss their pet hobby.

"At the door liberal and radical literature is sold, and among other matter *Mother Earth*, a magazine published by Emma Goldman. I am informed that your policemen have threatened the managers of the club, who are not anarchists, with arrest and a dispersal of their meeting if they allowed *Mother Earth* to be kept on sale there. This threat, I am told, was made specific as to all future numbers of the magazine, the prospective contents of which no policeman could know, and which, of course, cannot in advance be determined to be a violation of any law. I am unable to find any statute or ordinance which authorized your department thus to suppress a club not composed of anarchists, for having in its hall literature that in itself violates no law. *It is precisely such police lawlessness as this which breeds anarchists of the violent type.* Had you not better inquire a bit about this lawless interference with the rights of citizens by your subordinates, and thus make your expressed intention operative in the department?

"A second case of police lawlessness of a similar sort arose out of the following facts. After the Haymarket killing of police in Chicago a number of anarchists were given life sentences on conviction of complicity. Later they were pardoned

by the Governor of Illinois. In the lengthy pardoning message he made an exhaustive analysis of the evidence and reached the conclusion that all these convicts were innocent of the crime charged. His conclusion was not based upon a difference of opinion with the jury or trial court as to the preponderance of the evidence, but by a careful analysis showing that there was in fact not a particle of evidence directly connecting them with the offense.

"Under these circumstances the anarchists—not without reason, be it observed—infer that the conviction was the result of popular panic over anarchism, and that those who the governor said were convicted without evidence, served several years' imprisonment as 'martyrs for entertaining unpopular opinions.' I submit that it is their right to so regard them, and publicly to express the convictions of the Governor of Illinois.

"I am informed that for many years it has been the custom of anarchists and some other organizations, here and elsewhere, to hold some sort of memorial, meeting in commemoration of this alleged martyrdom. Never until this year, under your administration, have these meetings been interfered with in New York city.

"This year I am informed that a line of policemen barred the entrance to the hall where it was proposed to hold this meeting. The reason assigned was simply that no meeting of anarchists would be permitted, even for a lawful purpose. Of course, no policeman possesses the occult power of reading in advance the minds of those who were expected to deliver addresses. Without such power of mind-reading no policeman could know in advance that any forbidden utterance would be indulged in. If your subordinates may thus with impunity and lawlessly prevent assemblages of anarchists on suspicion, as to future events, they have the same right on like suspicion to close churches.

"On two recent occasions the Brooklyn

police likewise assumed to do some mind-reading and excluded persons from a hall where they came to hear a lecture. I can find nothing which makes it unlawful for any particular persons to hold meetings for purposes in themselves lawful. It seems to me that it is up to you either to find such a law, or to withdraw your statement that there is no intention to interfere except under the law, or to discipline your officious, lawless subordinates.

"I can find no power in the statutes authorizing any such performance. If my information as above set forth is correct, then I do not hesitate to say that the conduct of your subordinates was as much a matter of lawlessness as the killing of Chicago policemen which is charged to anarchists.

"I submit to you, my dear sir, that your love of fair play and your desire to preserve order should induce you to make some inquiry within your department, to the end that *your men may not by their own lawless conduct provoke to violence those who may rightfully feel themselves thus wrongfully oppressed, but who are naturally peacefully disposed.*

"I assure you I write only in the interest of that freedom of speech and press which I believe to be guaranteed by our Constitution, which it is your business as police commissioner, and my business as a member of the bar, and as attorney for the Free Speech League, to uphold.

"Hoping that in my desire to be of service to you I have not allowed myself unduly to trespass upon your time by an over-long document, I remain,

"Most cordially yours,

"THEODORE SCHROEDER."

Just a few words as to the sequel in Union Square, March twenty-eighth, which is a fulfilment of my prophecy to General Bingham, that suppression of free speech conduces to violence. Briefly the facts are these. A permit had been secured for a meeting of the unemployed to be held in Union Square, and it was advertised. Later the permit was withdrawn.

not for public reasons that would operate against all meetings at that time and place, but because of the Park Commissioner's objections to this particular meeting which was to be addressed by socialists. The crowd gathered, were denied opportunity to hear speeches and clubbed out of the park—"the night-sticks swung with deadly precision." The bomb was thrown, and the man said to have thrown it, according to the *New York Times*, March 29, 1908, gave these as his reasons: "Yes, I made the bomb and I came to the park to kill the police with it. The police are no good. *They drove us out of the park, and I hate them.*"

Thus it happens that the unjust denial of equal opportunity for freedom of speech, was the immediate provocation for the bomb-throwing. And so strangely do dull minds work that the Park Com-

missioner whose revocation of the permit evidently provoked to murderous assault actually deems the killing which was provoked by his act a justification for it. Friends, in America as in Russia, the preventive of terrorism is to be found in greater freedom of speech, and more earnest and honest effort to discover and remove legalized injustice. By freedom of speech I do not mean the right to agree with the majority, but the right to say with impunity anything and everything which any one chooses to say, and to speak it with impunity so long as no actual material injury results to any one, and when it results then to punish for the contribution to that material injury and not for the mere speech as such.

THEODORE SCHROEDER.

New York City.

DENIAL OF FREE SPEECH IN MASSACHUSETTS: A PERSONAL STATEMENT.

BY REV. ELIOT WHITE, A.B., B.D.

Note: The Rev. Eliot White, the author of the following paper in which at our request he has described how he became the victim of the present war being waged by the privileged interests and other enemies of the Republic against the freedom of speech that is absolutely vital to the preservation of democratic government, belongs to a band of high-minded, conscientious, and conscience-guided young American scholars who are courageously following in the path of Otis, Adams and Hancock, of Lovejoy, Wendell Phillips and Charles Sumner, of Garrison and Whittier. Mr. White received his early education at the Berkeley School, New York City, of which his father was head-master. From this preparatory school he entered Columbia School of Arts in the class of 1891, when but fifteen years of age. After one year in Columbia he entered

Harvard in the class of 1892. He graduated with A.B. degree, *magna cum laude*, with honorable mention in Greek, Latin and philosophy, and was given one of the five commencement parts to deliver in Sanders' Theater on Commencement Day. He then spent three years in the Episcopal Theological School of Cambridge, Massachusetts, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. From 1895 to 1897 he was assistant minister at Grace Church, New York City. From 1897 to 1907 he was rector of St. John's Church, Worcester, Massachusetts, voluntarily resigning this position last year, after his studies of social problems forced him to accept the philosophy of Socialism, a philosophy so magnificently presented by Canon Kingsley and Frederic D. Maurice in the England of the last century.—Editor of THE ARENA.

TOWARD the end of February last, the little group of anarchists in Worcester, Massachusetts, numbering about seven members, announced that they had secured as a lecturer for March sixteenth their national leader, Alexander Berkman. Almost immediately an even-

ing paper of the city began what it termed a campaign to prevent any hearing of the speaker. It quoted "leading citizens" as voicing such sentiments as these, "I do n't see what good could come of Berkman's speaking here," and, "If the chief of police does n't prevent the

man's lecture, I will be one of a company to meet the anarchist at the train and tell him he is n't wanted here." Such was the tenor of some opinion among citizens living under the Constitution of the United States. The great trouble was that the chief of police thought it the expression of "public opinion" in general, and said, "This man's ideas may be all very good, but it will not be best for him to speak in Worcester."

I wrote letters which were printed in the only morning paper, and in the evening journal already mentioned, heartily opposing the denial of the rights of free speech, at the same time that I acknowledged that the man in question attempted assassination years ago for which he served the legally-imposed sentence, and denied that I approved his philosophy. Before taking this stand I had secured these promises—that police would be allowed and welcome, at the lecture, and that if they decided at any point that the speaker was inciting to violence, he and those listening would consent to have the lecture terminated and would peaceably disperse. I consider that any other loyal American ought to deem these agreements ample justification for allowing any person the right of free speech, as readily as I did.

I have sufficient reason to be sure that I was singled out by the authorities for special "watchings," partly for taking such a position at this time, partly in memory of activity last fall in connection with certain methods of the mills in this city, of the United States Steel Corporation.

On the night of the sixteenth of March I found eight policemen guarding the doors not only of the hall which had been let for the Berkman lecture, but also preventing the socialist local of which I am a member from entering their rooms. The latter communicate in no way with the first-mentioned hall, and our members had refused to let their rooms to the anarchists. By this ruling

the police might close all the rooms on the floor of a building where an "objectionable" person was announced to speak, regardless of injury to business and affairs of those actually opposed to the sentiments of the would-be speaker.

On a street corner nearby I was talking later in a conversational tone of voice with an attorney about the legal aspects of the incident, when noticing several men stop near us I asked my companions to step out into the street so as not to block the sidewalk. Here on the asphalt of a side street where no team even tried to pass during all the time we were there, we continued to talk quietly. Several more men loitered about us. Suddenly I felt a rough push against my shoulder from behind, and heard a loud voice, "Now, move on out of here, and do n't be blocking the street!"

I answered that I was not causing any trouble, and that I thought things had gone too far when a citizen could n't talk with a friend about his business, out in the street. I was not addressing the crowd, nor was there the slightest disorder or disturbing noise.

The patrolman who had shoved and commanded me said, "You're liable to be arrested!" "Well," I answered, "if it's come to this, that a man can't talk with a friend in the street, you'd better arrest me—go ahead." I said this, weighing my words, and resolved to endure something, as seemed necessary, to call the attention of Worcester citizens to the lengths to which we are traveling on the path of arbitrary and panic-stricken denial of American rights and liberties, hard-won by untold sacrifice and suffering in the past. I consider that the whole point at issue was that of freedom of speech, and for keeping this to the fore I became "obnoxious" to those overriding it.

I was taken into custody, lectured in judicial and caustic terms by the captain of detectives at the police-station, searched and deprived even of my pocket prayer-book, and locked in a cell. I

refused to accept bail, preferring to stay where the men in the other cells had to, who had no money or friends. The chief came to my door and expressed his opinion that I was making a mistake to stay all night. I felt that I must cast into the weight of my protest this iron door and these soiled bricks.

At my trial the next morning the police testified that I was haranguing a concourse of fifteen hundred people, on the rights of free speech, in so loud a voice that I could be heard eighty feet away. (Two days later I was introduced to a man who was willing to testify that he stood never more than twelve feet away from me during the whole episode; that he tried to hear what I was saying, but that he was unable to hear a single word.)

The city solicitor was sent by the mayor to conduct the case against me; I had no lawyer, considering it more in accord with a Christian's position to answer simply for myself. I cannot help adding that it became a matter of public opinion that the solicitor did not come off with flying colors. I am told that this first appearance of the solicitor in this court meant that if my case "fell through" I had a clear claim of heavy damages for false arrest. As it was, I was advised to appeal the case and also sue, but I did neither, deeming it again more in accordance with the command "Resist not evil," to take what I believe was "wrong." I was fined ten dollars for "disturbing the peace."

On his way from the court-room, the solicitor was asked by another lawyer why my case had been rushed through in such a manner, and he replied, "Oh, White has been a disturbing element

here for some time, and something had to be done." A capitalist of the city remarked to an alderman, "White ought to be in prison, anyway." This seems to be the accepted form of comment on a professional man in these times who leaves what is certainly the beaten path, and in the eyes of some of the "powers that be," the only path.

The particulars leading up to the arrest constituted a total with which I should have felt it downright cowardice not to grapple, and push through to an outcome, no matter what the results.

I do not deny that orders were to suppress Berkman, and to close the rooms besides of those who had refused to let him speak in their quarters. But so subversive of the rights for which men—many thousands of our now honored citizens—fought, bled, went to prison and died, did I deem such orders, that I acknowledge I was prepared to endure whatever penalties might be involved, to make a protest that should be openly known of by my American fellow-citizens. I acted as nearly as possible in accord with the tremendous gravity of the issue at stake. The future alone can show whether the matters were worth a sacrifice. I still believe them to be so.

I am not a machine; I have feelings; I was stirred through and through. I should be less than human if I had not at last been keyed up to vehement protest. I am a man before I am a clergyman, yet I still think that no one more appropriately than a clergyman could have taken the stand I did.

ELIOT WHITE.

Worcester, Massachusetts.

AN ASSISTANT TO PROVIDENCE: A STORY.

BY WILMATTE PORTER COCKERELL.

SO WE always called her, our Dean of Women. She believed it, too.

"One must withstand the gods," she said; "strive with them and as a friend make demands. They will hold you in bondage if they can."

I have wondered many times if her example and philosophy account for the singular rightness of the lives of so many of the women of M—— college. It may or may not be, but the story of Margaret Calhoun is the story of the Dean's striving and of how she gathered up the broken threads of two lives and set them again in a fair web.

The Committee on Students' Affairs was having a meeting with the President in the chair, and the Dean was there, since something was likely to come up that had to do with the women of the University. Through the windows one might see that the sun was bright on the colors of the foothills, and the Dean's thoughts strayed into the splendid world outside. She was full of the joyousness of life; each year she felt an added keenness for the gold of the aspens, the smell of sumac, and the majesty of the velvet white mountains of the distance. The bright afternoon and the soft, clear note of the meadow lark in the grass outside were enough to lead the thoughts of any nature-lover from the dull routine of committee work.

Suddenly her wandering thoughts were arrested, for the President was saying:

"Margaret Calhoun is a married woman. She was sent away from Ann Arbor last year, but in spite of that she comes to us as a young woman. She is Mrs. Bennett. This certainly seems deception or worse. What action shall we take?"

Miss Davis could hardly believe her

ears. Her Margaret! The most helpful, lovable girl among the new students—and beautiful, too. The Dean did not need to shut her eyes to see the girl as she had looked the evening before at the faculty dance: the radiant face and the deep blue eyes, startling in their shade and light, the silken gown with its soft lace trimmings, and the proud uplift of the slender shoulders—the perfection of life she had thought her. There was the shadow of a blemish—a look of bitter pride that she had once or twice surprised on the girl's face when she was quiet. And that was what it meant: she had wondered much at that dark touch on a girl so gifted with charm and beauty. But the story back of it—well, she must know it now.

"I would recommend public expulsion." It was the cold, formal voice of Dr. Elkins. A flood of color swept the Dean's face, and she half-rose from her chair, but a look from the President reassured her.

"We shall do nothing without investigation," he said quietly, and he looked at Miss Davis.

"I must have a week," she said hurriedly, "perhaps longer."

"We will wait for your report," the President said, and then added as he ran through his list, "There is nothing else that concerns the women of the school."

"Does Margaret know?" the Dean asked, as she rose to go.

"Yes, I thought it better; that would make it easier for you," the President answered. "She is waiting for you in the outer office."

The Dean found her a few moments later, quiet and cold, but with a brave bearing for all the misery that showed in

her face. The look pleased the Dean. "She's game and strong," she thought; "no snivelling or begging. She's learned to stand up against things, and that's half the battle." To the girl she said:

"Come home with me, Margaret; there are many things to be explained."

The girl resisted. "I must be alone," she said. "I must see my way clear to meet this new trouble."

The Dean drew the girl's arm through her own with sweet compulsion, and together they went out into the campus.

"You are young, child," she said, quietly. "I have learned things about life; some of my gray hairs came because of those very lessons. We must meet this new trouble together. I can make the way smooth if such a thing is possible. You see, I'm a stone-breaker by profession."

The girl smiled a little, and the Dean saw her advantage.

"You will trust me, Margaret; you will let me help?"

The words, with their undercurrent of compelling love, conquered, and the girl bent her head for answer.

The rest of the walk was in silence. The sun had set and the western sky was a blaze of color, while the mountains beneath showed tongues of purple shadows creeping out of the cañons and blackening in their depths. "It is a glorious world," the Dean thought, "and human beings should try to live worthy of it."

"You must tell me everything, Margaret," the soft voice was saying. "It will ease your heart, child, and I must know so that I may help you intelligently."

Margaret was lying on a lounge in the Dean's sitting-room; she had loosened her hair, and the two heavy braids framed her face, giving it a quaint, childish look. The Dean, with a woman's sure instinct, had made her comfortable with pillows and a hot cup of tea.

"I have to begin away back," the girl said. "It all seems a part of to-day, even the time before I was born."

"Yes, it often is," the Dean said, meditatively. "The time before we are born is really more important to us in many ways than the time afterwards."

"When my father and mother were married," Margaret continued, "they were very poor, I think, though I can't believe they minded much. I have some of father's letters written about this time, all full of stir and the joy of doing things. My father was a wonderful man," the girl said, slowly. "I hardly knew him myself, but he seems to have had a marvelous power of making friends. I remember a miner once said to me, 'Remember your father, Miss Margaret; every human in the camp loved him, and the dogs, too.'"

"My father owned a small piece of land just out from Eldorado. I don't know just when it came into his possession, but it must have been soon after his marriage. It was a bit of desert where the yuccas grew and where the prairie dogs made their homes. He bought it for a miner's outfit, two burros, a pick or two, a bag of beans, and a tin of coffee. But he had boundless faith in the West, and in his early letters he often referred to his rabbit-patch, declaring again and again that it would be worth a fortune one day. And he really believed it, for one summer when he went to England to manage the sale of a mine he made a will making mother the guardian of the children and leaving her the rabbit-patch. There was nothing else, not even a life insurance."

"The sale of the mine brought him a large commission, and times were easier. Very soon, too, he was given charge of a big mining property in Mexico and we went with him. I say we," and the girl smiled whimsically, "but it was ten years before I was born. But some way I always feel myself a part of that long isolated time, though my first memory is of Boston where my mother had gone to prepare my brother for Harvard."

"Then a sad, sad day came to us all. Father was killed by the Yaquis as he was crossing the frontier on his way

to spend the summer with us. Such a heart-breaking time; mother sat for days weeping, and Virginie and I moved about the darkened house like little ghosts.

"One day we shut ourselves in our bedroom and played jackstones. I shall never forget the feeling of shame that shriveled up our little hearts that we should even dare to think of being glad again. Children suffer so much. To them there is no to-morrow!

"Mother was aroused at last by the fact that there was no money for the family, and she went down to the mine in Mexico to get what she could for us. She had probated the old will and had been made guardian of Jack, Virginie and me.

"The superintendent of the mine was a big, gentle person with keen Irish wit and a soft Irish voice. He helped my mother in every way possible. There was a great deal of water in the mine at that time and the tunneling made the shares an expense instead of a source of income, but Jack finished Harvard, and Virginie and I were kept at a good boarding-school, on the superintendent's money, I think.

"And three years after my father's death mother married the superintendent. My father's friends were terribly indignant. Their love for my father made them very unjust to my mother, it seems to me, though at the time I took sides against her. She had a right to her own life, had n't she? She could n't be bound by the notions of what my father's friends thought she ought to do. I see it now! But then I thought with the rest that it was dreadful that she should marry again, and disgraceful to us all that she should marry an Irish laborer.

"Later she sold the little desert ranch, soon after her marriage, I think; but one of my father's friends brought suit, and after a time the will was set aside. Meantime the town of Eldorado had grown out to the very edge of my father's ranch, and when Judge Bennett secured

possession of it as our guardian he had it cut up into lots and realized nearly a quarter of a million from the rabbit patch. Think of it; from being penniless we found ourselves with money to burn, as Jack put it.

"But the money has been an evil to us," and the tears came into the girl's eyes. "In the first place it separated us from our mother, for our guardian planned our lives for us. Jack has gone in for races and wines, and Virginie thinks of nothing but globe-trotting; but," and the tears ran down the girl's cheeks, "the money has spoiled my life—oh, worked terrible havoc."

For a time Margaret lay quiet, the tears on her cheeks and the heaving of her slender shoulders showing her great emotion. The Dean stroked her hair and after a time she went on with her story.

"Judge Bennett took me to live in his house, and I went to the High School in Eldorado and for two years I had the joy of a quiet life and the satisfaction of daily tasks well done. Work is a wonderful thing," she said, thoughtfully; "it seems very sad that most children are brought up to wish to escape from the thing that brings most happiness."

"My work has helped me through some hard times," the Dean answered.

"I like to remember," the girl said, whimsically, "that when I was a child I complained to my father of heaven as I'd heard it described. It seemed to me a place for unlimited loafing. But father laughed and comforted me. He said that he was sure I'd find plenty to do—that heaven was work whatever might be said.

"I ought to tell you here," Margaret said, again picking up the thread of her story, "that the Bennetts were very poor. Judge Bennett had lost his money in mines, but they still kept up a big house. It was the worst sort of poverty—debts to everybody and always silk on the outside and rags underneath. Mrs. Bennett hated it all—hated the rags underneath,

I mean. She was not at all the sort of person who would have been willing to do away with the outside show. She said that it was because of her son that she was willing to keep up a brave face, but I doubt if that were really her motive. People are tremendously different. Have n't you found them so? And they do n't really understand themselves, it seems to me."

The Dean nodded.

"The Judge worried about the lack of money and the debts sometimes, but Paul, who was just about my age and in school, knew very little about such things, I think. He was a good musician, even then, and spent most of his time when out of school with an old German musician who praised and abused him by turns. At home he was still a child, doing exactly as his mother told him and asking permission of his father to do the most trivial things. It seems to me now that a certain side of his character had not then developed; and it made him a strange mixture of child and man, for in some ways he was much more of a man than the other boys of the High School. Possibly his mother had more to do with it all than I realized, for I, too, was ready to do her slightest bidding. Her personality was so strong that it almost amounted to hypnotism. Of course, I did n't realize this at the time; it is only now that I am older and have read and studied such things that I seem to understand.

"We were married the day I graduated from the High School. I ca n't quite explain to you how it happened; I do n't quite know. I came home in my white gown, and Paul came into the parlor where I was putting my flowers away. He began to talk wildly about my beauty and charm; it was very strange, for there had never been the slightest word of love between us before—we had been very good friends, that was all. He was kissing my hands when his mother came into the room. She took me in her arms. Now I should be her daughter in very truth, she said. Noth-

ing could be better. Why should n't we be married that very evening and have our vacation in Europe, she asked.

"Paul tried to explain that he could not have me forced into marriage in that way, but his mother smiled and kissed him and said it was all right. I was full of the excitement of the day and could not think or act except to do the things suggested.

"I shall always remember my dazed feeling as I stood with a great bunch of bridal roses on my arm. It seemed to me that it was some other girl who was being married, and I felt sorry for her—sorry that she was missing what a bride should feel—for I seemed to look right into the heart of that other girl, and I could see how dazed and afraid she was.

"When I went to get into a traveling dress I could do nothing but cry, but all the time I seemed to be crying for that other girl. 'Why did you let her do it?' I asked Mrs. Bennett, who was trying to get me ready for the train. 'Oh, the poor thing; you should have stopped it in some way. She didn't want to be married!'"

Margaret told it all with dramatic intensity, and the Dean could see that in some way she still felt herself apart from all the wretched business, though after a minute's pause she said pleadingly:

"Do not think too badly of us, Miss Davis. We were like the flies in a web and struggled just as blindly to be free. We ought to have been stronger, but we did not understand. I have thought since that it is part of Nature's plan that the young shall not understand much, and you see I was not yet eighteen and Paul was only a little older.

"At the depot we met my mother," the girl continued. "She had come up for my graduation, but a washout in New Mexico had kept her for two days. The Limited was just about to start. Dimly I recollect that Mrs. Bennett tried to keep mother, but she said, 'Things must be explained, and Margaret is the one to explain to me!'"

"I couldn't talk to her; I could only

weep for that other girl who seemed to be going off on a bridal trip with a heart full of trouble. And then mother had a berth made ready and put me to bed. At first I could not sleep, but mother gave me a sleeping-powder, and then I remembered nothing further until the next day. It was almost noon. Mother sat on my berth and I saw that she had been weeping.

"Where is Paul?" I asked, the events of the day before crowding into my mind. And then she told me that I must never even think his name again; that our marriage had been arranged by his mother for the sake of my money—that he regretted it as much as I did. She was taking me to Mexico, and Paul—I do n't know where Paul was, but he was not there, and I have never seen him since. That is all," and the childish face looked pitiful in its pain.

"I stayed more than a year with my mother in Mexico. She had the marriage declared illegal, for you see I wasn't of age, and the court always does what the other person asks it to do, does n't it? I could n't understand how it could be, for Judge Campbell gave me away and all that, and he was my guardian, you know."

"But Paul, your husband—surely he tried to see you—wrote——"

The girl shook her head. "I do n't know. Mother always brought the mail from the village and I do n't think she would have given me a letter or a message from Paul. She wanted me to forget.

"And I could have forgotten," the girl said wearily, "though my girlhood went on that wretched day, and while I was on the ranch I was tempted to end things by a slip from a precipice—it would have been so easy. But I was always held back by the very wonder of life, and now if I could have my work I should be happy, I think. I have been happy here," she said, thoughtfully, "happier than I ever supposed possible. And now will they send me away? Must I go back to the weary monotony of the ranch in Mexico?"

The Dean knelt by the couch and gathered the slender child into her arms.

"You have been sinned against, not sinning; you have been betrayed by the natural weakness of youth, which older people should hold most sacred. But now you need not be afraid any more. You shall have work and all the joys of work, be sure of that; and you shall have good friends who will guard and love you. But now you must sleep; it has been a long, hard day," and she led the girl into her own white bedroom.

The Dean sat long at her desk in her little office marshaling her facts and her arguments. She would use as little of Margaret's personal history as possible, but she would be obliged to use enough to convince the President that Margaret must stay, and then she smiled to herself as she thought how the President would deftly put the matter so that the committee would recommend that the matter be dropped—so deftly, probably, that Dr. Elkins would think to his dying day that he had managed it all. The tricks of the President, by which he kept his faculty in good humor, were surely to be winked at by the Dean; for didn't she use them all, and more, with her girls?

Her eyes were heavy with sleep, now that her work was all in hand, but she must have her farewell look at the mountains always strangely beautiful in the starlight, and then a look at Margaret to see if she were sleeping, and she stepped softly into the bedroom.

Margaret lay with her face and hair lighted by the great campus arc-light. Her lips were curved into a smile and, as the Dean stepped to draw a curtain to shield the girl from the light, her movements, soft and gentle though they were, aroused the girl and she murmured, with soft voice as full of love as the mother bird's call, "Paul, O, Paul, you have been so long."

There was no sleep for the Dean after that; the President, the committee—how childish the university problem seemed in the face of this greater one. "Poor, poor Margaret," the Dean

thought; "and so her woman's heart was wakened only to a lifelong hunger, and that is the reason for the black touch in her sweet beauty."

All night she sat by her window, dazed in the face of what seemed hopeless desires. But when light came her heart stirred and, as the great violet shadows crept down the slopes, until suddenly the dull white of the faraway hills took fire, and the morning flashed forth in red and gold, a mighty hope was born to her.

II.

The visit to Judge Bennett's was the first thing to be done, of course; and Harriet Davis went prepared to give some bitter truths to the woman who had made havoc with two lives. But the woman who opened the door was broken and old and saddened out of all resemblance to the person of Margaret's story.

All her pride was gone now, and like a voluble old woman of the people she talked of her troubles. She had reaped, indeed, where she had sown; but it was bitterness beyond any person's power of contriving, and her whole personality had gradually decayed and degenerated until there was nothing to wait for except physical death to put its stamp upon something that could hardly be called life.

From a mountain of wordy complaints and criminations Miss Davis saw Paul's side of the tragedy. He had never returned after the wretched day when his mother had tried to make his future secure by sacrificing Margaret's dearest rights. She had no idea where her son had gone; she thought he was dead or he would have sent her some word, and she wept at the thought. He had always been a good son; she dwelt upon that as a reason for thinking him dead.

Miss Davis pondered over it all and at last decided that somewhere in the world Paul was working to make a name for himself; that seemed to her the natural course for an ambitious and sensitive

man. He would prove Margaret's mother wrong and, since Margaret had apparently taken sides against him, too, he would show her that he was a man that the world esteemed.

The Dean had his picture, which his mother had given her, and in the handsome face, half-child and half-man, she saw the character that she half instinctively believed to be his. Defeat and disgrace would be like a spur to him; his sore heart would be always matched by greater stubbornness. And now in this blind and cruel play of the gods the Dean saw the good that was to come of it all. Yes, the Paul of her picture with the sunshine of life and the warmth of love would have been little better than mediocre. But the stress of life would develop a stern, dogged, ineradicable belief in himself, which would feed even upon the bitterness of his heart and blossom at last into something delicate and exquisite.

And so the Dean waited and, though she regretted the months that finally heaped themselves into years, she felt sure that the time was bringing manhood and the rewards of work to Paul wherever he might be. And suddenly her dreams came true.

She was having a summer's vacation in Germany—a whole summer of music, among the people who alone knew the meaning of music according to her idea of it. The concert had been perfect, when the Herr Direktor came out to say that, because of the illness of one of the people on the program, Paul Bennett, an American, would be given the next place and that he would play one of his own compositions.

There was some applause, and the young man came out, bowing in the stiff, military fashion peculiar to the German student. Miss Davis was keenly alive to the possibilities of the moment. She leaned forward to read his face; yes, she had been right, for there must have been wonderful development of soul to produce those shadowed eyes, the lines on mouth and chin. But any further

thought of his looks was impossible, for her whole attention was held by his music.

Yes, there was something wonderful in that music; something more virile and alive than she had heard among the young composers, even in Germany. It was a tone poem; his life, she guessed, as he went through phase after phase of the exquisite harmony. The first movement pictured the vivid life of early boyhood; then came a dreamy melody expressing the vague melancholy and awakening ambitions of pre-adolescence; and then the reluctant passing of the joys of youth; and then all ended in a vague, tumultuous cry. To the crowd it meant a wonderful expression of a possible life; to the Dean it brought a message from the heart of the musician.

She waited impatiently until the concert was over, when she hurried to speak with him. She found him surrounded by students and their friends, showered by wreaths and single flowers. There was a great clamor about him and she guessed from the *mêlée* of hand-shakings and emotional bear-hugs that he was very popular among this artist set. He was glowing with triumph, but shaken, she could see, by some deeper feeling.

The Herr Direktor pushed pompously through the crowd.

"You have come to your own! Ach—now you will never want for recognition. To-morrow your triumph will be spoken of even in your faraway country, for I have seen to having a report. And here is a countrywoman who would add her word of praise. Madam, allow me—Paul Bennett, the man of the hour."

And in the stir of amusement made by the director's pompous introduction, while her hand was still in his, she said softly, "I must see you alone, where we can talk together about Margaret Calhoun."

His face went deadly pale, he stifled a cry, and then he pitched forward over the tumbled wreaths into the arms of a stout, great-hearted student! There were tender expressions of pity. He was worked to death! He had no exercise for

days! It was even hinted that he had been without food and beer days at a time. All this Miss Davis gathered from the chattering of the students. But she knew that the trouble was deeper than any of them supposed. But it was no use waiting longer, and when she had obtained his address from the director she went. She would go to him in the morning. Her way seemed very plain at last.

Early the next morning she was in the student quarter and at the door of Paul's lodgings. The news that she received staggered her. Herr Bennett had left on an early morning train. No, he had not told them where he was going. Yes, there was a message—a note for an American lady who would call. It was for her perhaps? She nodded.

"I go away," the note said, "so that I shall not be obliged to see you. I have little to say, but you must take it as final. Things were said that I could not forgive, even for the sake of Margaret. You will not understand, but to a man nothing could ever come before the integrity of his manhood."

The Dean sighed. "How young he is still," she thought; "how little he understands the great forces that cripple and thwart. Time will soften him, or"—and she drew a quick breath—"he would forget everything if he saw Margaret, for he still loves her; I was very sure of that last night."

Germany and New York seemed very near together to Miss Davis when she realized that in less than two weeks Margaret could be with her. She sent a note to Paul, simply announcing that Margaret would arrive on the Kaiser Wilhelm. She thought he would be waiting at the wharf and she stood back in the shadow watching the gathering crowd. She always felt great joy in watching the enthusiasm and spontaneity of a German crowd, but that day she saw only a white-faced young American, who seemed drawn against his will nearer and nearer the landing place.

And then, when the great ship was

fastened and Margaret hurried down among the first, radiant and expectant, with eyes full of love—then the white face that the Dean's eyes had not left for a minute, for she was half afraid after all of her own courage, softened and then

took fire, and the man leaped forward to grasp the hands groping for his.

And Harriet Davis turned away with a great song in her heart, for again she had wrested a mighty gift from the gods.

WILMATTE PORTER COCKERELL.

THE EDITOR'S QUIET HOUR.

RELIGIOUS IDEALISM AND TWENTIETH-CENTURY LIFE.

I.

HE WHO seriously studies prevailing religious thought cannot fail to be impressed with the conviction that the present century will be a time of profound religious activity, a renaissance that shall leap the gulf of two thousand years, or a revolution before which the great Protestant reformation will sink into comparative insignificance.

It has been rightly observed that the nineteenth century was preëminently an era of skepticism and materialistic advance. It was more than this. It marked the culmination of the humanistic and rationalistic reaction that followed the dark and bloody days of the Inquisition; but because the nineteenth century, with the rise of the evolutionary philosophy, marked the apogee of the rationalistic sweep, it by no means follows as leading representatives of dogmatic creedal and reactionary theology, including the present head of the Roman church and the late head of the Russian church, seemed to imagine, that the rebound from materialistic thought will be toward the old concepts and dogmas which civilization has outgrown and which, indeed, the larger vision of truth which is our present heritage forbids.

The religious faith that will vitalize the best Christian thought of the oncoming age will be companioned at every step by reason and will prove its verity or its hold on the life of the world, by its works.

II.

The Reformation was a mighty protest against the degraded superstition and the almost incredible corruption that had grown

up in the church during the Dark Ages; but while it vitalized the religious thought of Modern Times and did a splendid work toward purifying the church and ennobling the ideals of Christendom, it was more concerned with faith and dogma than with works, which the Apostle James demanded as evidence of faith, and the translation into life of the glorious spirit of justice, gentleness, light, faith and love which characterized the great Sermon that stands in the forefront of Jesus' ministry.

The awful night of bloodshed and almost incredible human ferocity that followed the rise of the Spanish Inquisition, and the sanguinary struggle between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, naturally produced a humanistic reaction away from organized Christianity—a reaction led in many instances by some of the noblest and most humane thinkers and philosophers of Europe and America; men who were preëminently idealists. Others, it is true, more materialistic in conception, failed to distinguish between the good and the evil in Christianity as it exhibited itself.

This period ushered in the great democratic epoch, which was also largely the protest of lofty idealism against the savagery, inhumanity and oppression of organized government and conventional society. And this new day in the political life of the world was followed by the liberation of thought along almost every line, perhaps the most remarkable results of which were seen in the rise of modern scientific investigation and critical methods of research, especially observable in the domain of physical science.

The transcendental philosophy, expressed

in the thought of so many of the noblest thinkers of Continental Europe, marked the revolt of idealistic thinkers against the materialistic, formal and ritualistic spirit of Christianity; while the evolutionary theory marked the apogee of the skeptical reaction, making the nineteenth century in the truest sense civilization's day of doubt.

But doubt is the mother of the dawn. Whenever the caravan of human progress has reached a new eminence, a loftier plateau in the slow advance of the ages, and the horizon becomes vastly extended, it is seen that the vision of the great sages, philosophers and master geniuses of preceding ages alone swept beyond the confines that marked the limits of vision of their age, and in delivering their message they spake in unknown tongues. Men strove to interpret their message, but bound by the limits of their intellectual vision, failed to grasp its true significance and not until the next step had been taken and a higher vantage ground reached did the full significance of their messages given in the earlier age become manifest. Moreover, when mankind reaches a higher vantage ground, there is always the day of doubt, for the extended vision reveals the falacies and fallacies that were accepted as truths on the lower plane; and during this day of doubt, materialism ever flourishes. Outside of the church it becomes aggressive and indiscriminate in its attack on religion. Inside the church it is manifested by increased concern for rite, form, dogma, ordinance, the more materialistic concepts of earlier ages, or the enlarging of the letter of the law and the broadening of phylacteries, at the expense of spiritual life.

During such periods we ever see the church striving for outward show. Great numbers of temples are erected and vigorous attempts are made to acquire great wealth and to increase the number of communicants rather than to exalt the life and insist on the maintenance of purity, moral idealism or spiritual virility in her children. A typical condition during one of these days of doubt was seen when Jesus trod the sands of old Judea. Then the church, bereft of living faith or *heart religion*, was engaged in compassing land and sea to make proselytes and was concerned with rites, forms and the strict observance of the letter of the law as it pertained to the outward life. Her pillars were largely engaged in ostentatious alms-giving, in honoring God with their lips while their

hearts were far from Him. Long prayers were made and vast sums expended to gain recruits for the church, while the homes of the widows and orphans were being devoured by the very men who posed as leaders of the congregation.

Now the last half of the nineteenth century, and to a certain extent the opening years of the twentieth century, have been marked by precisely this same condition throughout Christian lands, and especially in the New World; while among the masses now as among the populace of the Roman world in the days of Jesus, religion has come to mean less and less as a *vitalising moral influence*. Materialism has grown in the heart of the people as the church has stretched forth her greedy hands for tainted gold and has refused to denounce the great moral lepers, the oppressors, the publicans and sinners whose hypocrisy has been only second to that of a church which claims to follow the ethics, the life and the deeds of the lowly Nazarene.

III.

Thus to-day we are confronted with two forces, great in point of numbers, one of which is also powerful by virtue of its material possessions and the strength which long-accepted concepts, the sanction of convention and the established order bestow.

The other force which is warring against the light of true religion is the multitude who have been driven, through the recreancy of the church, to the farthest extreme from the old religious ideals and who have blindly accepted the crass materialistic thought that sees nothing beyond the man of flesh and blood and the phenomena presented by the physical universe.

The first of these classes, the religious Bourbon reactionaries, imagine that because the light of the new day is dispelling the clouds of doubt which lowered so heavily in the nineteenth century, the world is ready to be dragged back to the cave from which, happily, it has emerged. The most conspicuous exponent of this reactionary thought is the present Roman Pontiff, with his narrow medieval concepts that strive to place the ban on reason and would drive from the church her bravest and noblest apostles of light and leading.

But the reactionary current is by no means confined to the Pope and his associates. All

those churches that have accepted blood money from men whose fortunes have been acquired by indirection have not only been stricken with moral paralysis, but they have shown and are showing the loss of their soul life by their imitation of the conventional and Pharisaical order which obtained in Jesus' day. They are concerning themselves with the exterior of the cup and the platter rather than making soul-growth and illumination the master purpose of the church.

Now these two forces—that of crass materialism and of conventional dogmatic and creedal theology, are numerically the strongest influences in Christendom; but they are both shorn Samsons, for each is negative in character and influence. One lacks the all-powerful inspiration of the vision—the great moral inspiration of the larger faith that understands the true significance of life and sees, with Browning, that, "All's love, yet all's law." The other is not only bereft of the vision in its fulness, but insists on worshipping toward a past in which pagan rites, rituals, forms, customs and concepts cloud the spiritual firmament and darken the soul of man.

IV.

If these two influences represented the sum total of the opposing forces in Christendom to-day, the future would indeed be dark. Happily, as at the very time when the religious life of the Jews, and indeed the religious life of the civilized world, was given over to externals and soulless rites, forms and observances, the great Nazarene came with marching orders for the soul of man, so to-day there are two well-defined positive religious influences moving forward, each making its appeal to the spirit that maketh alive. Each places the master emphasis on the life and the works that tell of the faith within. Both demand that the life of the Nazarene shall be made the pattern and inspiration of the life of the individual.

One of these new movements is the metaphysical religious concept of Christian Science, which calls on the church to take the Nazarene at His word and show its faith by its works and life, even as did Jesus, the apostles and the early church.

The other is the spiritual interpretation of the evolutionary philosophy, which accepts the message of physical science, throwing upon the once gloomy array of data advanced by

the great naturalists and physical philosophers the light of idealism, revealing evolution as merely the pathway of life from the involved embryo to the full-orbed spiritual entity ripened through cycles of experience.

These two great religious currents of thought are diametrically opposed to each other in theoretical explanations of certain things, as, for example, the phenomenon of what we call evil. One school employs the deductive, the other depends chiefly in the inductive method of reasoning, and as is necessarily true of all attempts of the finite mind to sweep a vista infinite in character, there are questions not answered in a wholly satisfactory manner by either school of religious interpreters. Yet though in theory the two schools of religious thought differ on many points, it is significant that they each stand for the supremacy of the spiritual. Indeed, the teachings of each class often run parallel to and at times impinge upon those of the other. Both lay supreme emphasis on the recognition of man's real self being spirit and not the material organism.

V.

Christian Science holds God to be infinite. He is omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent, all-in-all; hence the great Reality that fills all space. God, it holds, created all things that are, and pronounced all His works to be very good. Moreover, God is Spirit, whose master or dominating characteristic is Love. God created man in His own image and likeness; hence the real man, the true ego, must be spiritual and not material, and in its normal character it must reflect the character of God. Christian Scientists hold a belief entertained by a large class of modern critical scholars: that there are two distinct stories of Creation in the opening chapters of Genesis. That of the first chapter, which contains the concept above given holds, according to their view, the account of the Divine man and the spiritual revealing of God. The Adam man, who came after "the mists arose from the earth" and who came from the dust of the earth to live a brief life and return to the dust, they believe to be the error man or mortal, whose existence is necessarily transient, and yet who would nevertheless place himself over against the Divine image and claim to be as gods. The

error or dream man, they hold, passes away, but the true life ever persists, ever awaits the waking moment when the real man or idea of the Infinite comes to a recognition of its oneness with God and enters into freedom, enjoying dominion or supremacy over all things beneath it as the common child of the All-Father. They believe that Christ reflected the true image of God and thus was one with His Father; that He came to reveal the oneness of Divinity and the children of the All-Father, and His supreme prayer was that they might be one even as He was one with God; and that through this recognition the limitation born of false concepts, the bondage of sense perceptions and domination, expressed in sin, sickness and death, would vanish as the darkness vanishes before the dawn. Christ, the perfect type of the Divine man, strove to awaken man from the dream or illusion of sensuous domination. His life, His work, His teachings, became the Way, the Truth and the Life.

VI.

The spiritual leaders of the evolutionary thought hold, as do the Christian metaphysicians, to the all-powerful and infinite character of Deity, but they believe that the method of Divine expression as illustrated in evolution reveals the story of the rise of life from the simple cell, through the mineral world, to the vegetable, when a new type-life appears from above. From vegetable the journey advances from simple to complex, and in time a still higher type-life appears in the birth from above of animal existence, which again advances from the simple cell to the complex life of the natural man. Through all this ascent runs the golden thread of Love, feeble, almost indiscernible at first, but gradually growing clearer and stronger, gradually assuming a more predominating influence as life advances to its higher animal forms, and especially in man. At length the next higher type, or the spiritual life, appears, being manifested in Jesus, spiritual birth that marks the true son of God.

Henry Drummond in his thought-arresting and inspiring work, *The Ascent of Man*, gave a luminous pen-picture of the higher aspects of the evolutionary philosophy as seen under the searchlight of idealism. Professor John Fiske also threw luminous side-lights on this subject. But perhaps the ablest and most profoundly thoughtful exposition of the new

spiritual evolutionary concept has been advanced by the Rev. I. K. Funk, D.D., LL.D., in his great little work, *The Next Step in Evolution*. Dr. Funk has in a nutshell, so to speak, luminously condensed the lofty ideals of the spiritual leaders of the evolutionary school. Some extracts from this work will enable us to grasp something of the vital concept which this new positive school of spiritual thought is advancing. Dr. Funk accepts the evolutionary hypothesis and traces the rise of life to man in the following manner:

"Let us attempt to climb quickly as may be the spiral stairway of the evolution of man, from platform to platform—kingdom to kingdom.

"FIRST STEP IN LIFE, *The Vegetable Kingdom*.—After ages of preparation in the inorganic world, the material which supplies the physical basis of the vegetable life—vegetable protoplasm—was ripened through the marvelous chemistry of nature. But when all was ready for the plant, whence came the plant life? Scientists are now practically unanimous in saying that there is not a scintilla of evidence that the inorganic or mineral world has ever evolved a plant life.

"This life was imparted to and incarnated in the prepared matter, possessing the power to reorganize after its nature, that is, after the pattern that goes with each type-life, and possessing the power of multiplication, so that the earth was covered with all the many varieties of plant life, varieties resulting from the law of selection through difference in climate, through food distribution, and through other causes, and from the law of heredity.

"SECOND STEP IN LIFE, *The Animal Kingdom*.—No plant, no animal. The plant was necessary to prepare the inorganic world for the animal; the plant is the essential go-between. . . . Then again, when all was ready, whence came the animal life? Scientists now substantially agree that there is not a scintilla of proof that an animal life has ever been developed from a plant. The physical basis of animal life was ripened through the plant and mineral world, and when the basis was ready, animal life came.

"This life also came from above, it did not come from below. It came with the new birth of an animal type-life into the hereditary chain of evolution; and the animal type-life was imparted to, and incarnated in the prepared physical basis, bridging in itself the

chasm between the two kingdoms. . . .

"THIRD STEP IN LIFE, *The Kingdom of the Natural Man*.—Again, ages elapsed in the preparation of the human protoplasm, that is, in fitting the material for the physical basis of the natural man; and when all was ready, the human type-life was imparted to and incarnated in the prepared matter, being born from above into the evolutionary order through the hereditary chain, and having power to reorganise after his nature.

"From this type-life sprang the races of mankind. More and more with each succeeding kingdom evolution has changed its direction upward from the physical to the psychical, protoplasm giving way to psychoplasm.

"FOURTH STEP IN LIFE, *The Kingdom of the Spiritual Man*.—Now other ages elapsed. The natural man evolved a higher and higher degree of perfection, evolution finally ceasing along the lines of the coarser physical man, the direction becoming wholly psychic, immensely developing that portion of the brain which is the organ of the psychic powers. In the fulness of time there was developed in him what may be called, for the sake of a name, the spiritual protoplasm, the exalted physical and psychic basis of the inner man, the new creature of the kingdom of the spiritual man. When all was ready, again whence came this new life? . . . Again, the life came from above. It came with the new birth of a spiritual type-life into the evolutionary order through the hereditary chain in strict accordance with the law followed in the preceding kingdoms. The spiritual type-life was imparted to and incarnated in the prepared psychoplasm, or the spiritual protoplasm.

"None of the previous transitions from a lower to a higher kingdom has taken place within historic times. The cradle at Bethlehem flashes a searchlight down the spiral stairway up which man has come from platform to platform, kingdom to kingdom. Here we see clearly that the type-life of the kingdom of the spiritual man is born from above into the hereditary chain of evolution. Many times and in many ways, He declares I am 'From above.' He is born a natural man and yet possesses the life of the kingdom next higher, and proceeds to lift the natural man by a new birth into the kingdom of the spiritual man. . . .

"Again and again He says, 'I am the life'; 'I have come that ye may have life'; except ye partake of Me, 'ye have no life in you.' He calls Himself the 'bread of life,' 'the water of life.' This would all be meaningless were Christ talking about the life of the kingdom of the natural man which all now have and have had."

Of the second coming of Christ and of the spiritual meaning of the new life of which Christ was the Way, the Truth and the Life, Dr. Funk has much to say. These extracts will help us to obtain a clearer vision of the new message:

"Christ's second coming should not be understood to be a literal, physical coming, but His reappearance in the spirit and characters of His followers and in the world at large. Thomas said to Christ: 'How can we know the way, since we know not whither Thou goest?' Christ replied, 'I am the way; no man cometh to the Father but in the way I come; he must be as I am and do as I do, and then he will find the Father and he will find Me.' He who willingly serves others and is kind-hearted and is pure in heart, shall see God. And in the very nature of things, none other can.

"John Fiske, himself an evolutionist of authority, says: 'Cerebral psychology tells that in no possibility can thought and feeling be in any sense the products of matter.'"

"Christ came the first time into men's vision by coming on the plane of their senses; He comes the second time into men's vision by lifting them up to His plane of spiritual comprehension.

"This coming of Christ involves a new birth, a new creation, a new kingdom. It means a new step in the evolution of man. As man has stepped from the mineral kingdom to the vegetable kingdom, and from the vegetable kingdom to the animal kingdom, and from the animal kingdom to the kingdom of the natural man, so now he steps from the kingdom of the natural man to the kingdom of the spiritual man, every portion of this step a natural process subject to critical scientific analysis, if that analysis goes deep enough, wide enough, far enough. It is the continuance of evolution without a break, without a leap ('Nature never makes leaps,' says Leibnitz; the leaps are only seeming), lifting the race by a new birth through Christ, the type-life, up to

the plane of spiritual being and knowing."

Many points of similarity as well as some striking points of departure that mark Christian metaphysical idealists and the Christian evolutionary idealists are brought out in these passages from Dr. Funk's work:

"Christ could not have been more explicit or more scientifically exact in declaring Himself the type-life of the spiritual man. 'I am the door,' 'the way,' 'the life'; 'no man can come to the Father but by me.' 'He that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life'; he may be a Caesar leading armies against Pompey, or a Cicero declaiming his matchless oration against Catiline, and yet be *dead*.

"In the inspired picture-history of creation, an Adam is the type-life of the kingdom of the natural man; in the New Testament, Christ is presented in every way as the type-life of the kingdom of the spiritual man. 'The first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit. Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual' (1 Cor., 15:45,46).

"We all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, *are changed into the same image* from glory to glory' (2 Cor., 3:18). We shall be 'conformed to the *image of his Son*' (Rom., 8:29). 'As we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the *image of the heavenly*' (1 Cor., 15:49). After the night is over we shall awake in His likeness.

"Why may it not be permissible for us to guess, from the law of conformity to type, that in every kingdom the new creature carries with it the pattern of its type-life, and that after this pattern, in the lower kingdoms, the accompanying cells strive to weave a nature corresponding with its kingdom, and in the kingdom of the spiritual man the Holy Spirit strives to weave the nature of the spiritual man?

"In the lower kingdoms it is a survival of the *fightest*, in the highest a survival of the *fittest*, the struggle for life for ourselves merging into a *struggle for life for others*. Even among men in the earlier days, to discover the greatest man the measuring string was placed around the muscle. That was the age of Hercules. Then the time came when the measuring-string was placed around the head. That was the age of Bacon and

Shakespeare. But the time comes in the rapidly-advancing future when the measuring-string will be placed around the heart, and he who measures most there will be most conformed to the Master, for he is greatest who most fully gives himself for others.

"On the plane of this lower life we cannot explain suffering. On the plane of the egg-life we cannot explain the breaking of the egg. For the explanation we must look up to the singing bird in the branches. Paul speaks in the language of evolution when he tells of the law of the spiritual man fighting against the law of the members; the fighting and the suffering are essential for growth. I have made great gain when I have learned what Christ meant when he said, 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and His righteousness, and all these things [temporal consolation] will be added unto you,' that is, when you conquer the lower things by the higher, then, and only then, the lower yields the helpfulness that is in Christ.

"It doth not yet appear what we shall be, but when He appears we shall be like Him, and He can never so appear to us until we are like Him. This is the end toward which all evolution on the earth has tended. Nature has taken millions of years and endless struggles to produce the new spiritual man. . . .

"To be a Christian is not to get somewhere, but to be something, to be recreated in the image of the Father, the living God, after the pattern Christ Jesus."

Again, what food for reflection is found in these deeply suggestive paragraphs:

"Seek is the law of growth. Its suggestion we see in the plant working its way toward the sunshine. This law comes to perfection in the prayer of the spirit. I desire, therefore I pray, therefore I have. In a deep sense, as a man thinketh, so he is.

"God broods over every soul, waiting, ever waiting, for desire, for invitation. Seeking begins and continues growth in the inner kingdom. It is the first and last round in the ladder that Jacob saw, and all the intervening rounds. As a man seeketh, so he becometh. The one thing needful is not the power of logic, or the courage to step out on the conclusions of syllogisms; it is right dispositions, intention, choice. The willingness to heed the inner voice opens the door to Christ the

type-life, to the new birth of the personality, and to the beginning of the accompanying new nature by which each personality grows into correspondence with its new surroundings.

"It is not necessary to have heard with the outer ear the words of God or the name of Christ. All that is necessary is within the reach of any man in any age or clime, within the reach of an Abraham or Buddha, or Confucius, of a Paul, or Maimonides, or Savonarola, or Luther, before or after Christ was in the flesh. Come whosoever will. God listens to prayer with His ear on the man's inner heart, not at his lips, and an answer to prayer is the growth of the inner nature into the fitness to receive the request. The heat and light which the plant absorbs measure its capacity, not the ability of the sun. Every soul gets what it is fitted to receive. He that willeth to do the will of God develops the nature that is the touchstone and the absorbent of spiritual truth. By the law of our being we grow a fitness for that which we desire—an earnest desire is bound to reveal itself in action. 'He that keepeth my words, and doeth my will, he it is that loveth me.' We grow by seeking; we confess by doing, for deeds are the interpreters of the inner growth.

"What we love fastens itself to our spirits; we are in bondage to that we love. We set our affections on God, but He is perfect wisdom, and perfect right, and perfect love, hence this bondage is the perfection of liberty; it is the bondage of pure intellect, of pure heart, love. This is a perfect servitude that leads to full freedom. . . . It is a change of center from self to God, from the world of sense to the world of spirit.

"But man must be good because it is good to be good, not because he escapes from wrath, or receives some benefit. The kingdom of heaven is goodness, and all goodness leads that way.

"God is a rewarder of those that diligently seek Him, not by imitation, not outwardly, not with the noise of words that men may hear, but in the closet, in the silence of the inner chamber of the soul. Every man must find himself, and be himself."

Christian Science holds, with the Eastern metaphysical philosophers, that man is the eternal idea of God and that the birth of the babe on the sensuous plane of life is not the beginning of the eternal ego. This same

thought is thus hinted at by Dr. Funk:

"The man is father to himself; long before the child is the man was. Long before Abraham was he is. By the acts of his own free-will he determines his place in the universe. The law of attraction in the inner world is as irresistible as the law of gravitation in the outer world.

"Punishment comes, but it is largely within; degeneracy is, through persistent wrong-doing, the law of nature, fixed, inevitable. If a man will not choose to ascend, he loses his power to ascend, and must be reborn. God never abandons a soul. Though I make my bed in hell thou art there. The soul may lose sight of God, but God never of the soul."

The new evolutionary spiritual concept is not only profoundly religious or spiritual in essence, but it is broad and tolerant; it is instinct with sweetness and light.

"The yoke of ecclesiasticism," says Dr. Funk, "is giving way to the yoke of Christ. Creed is the memory of the Church. The real yoke of Christ is not a burden; it has wings. He is sweetness and light.

"When it is our will to do His will, we become the reincarnation of Christ, for 'Christ is formed in us.' When the dominating ones in a community, in a church, in a nation, in the world, are of this sort, you see Christ reincarnated in all these. Moses, David, John, Plato, Augustine, Savonarola, Bunyan, Emerson were great ideal dreamers, but they were also geniuses of common sense. These men were primarily men of faith and great good sense, not of credulity. They had the power and common sense to know that there were voices within, and to withdraw their attention from the voices without and give the real world a chance to be heard."

To the spiritual or idealistic evolutionist, the record of life is the story of a spiritual ascent, a march in which the soul may leave the heights to traverse the valleys in order to reach still greater heights.

"Hand-in-hand," says our author, "we walk with the great Father over the ages of history, riding victoriously over mountain-tops. We hear the thunder-tones of the Almighty, 'Be still, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth,' I will lift all peoples up to the plane of recognition of Myself.

"We see, modifying the words of John

Fiske, that in the roaring loom of time, out of the endless web of events, strand by strand, was woven more and more clearly the living garment of God."

Thus we have in the briefest outline, the veriest skeleton, given some of the central concepts of the two great spiritual theories which we believe will become the great working ideals of the advancing religious world during the twentieth century.

Both these concepts are positive; both are dominated by lofty idealism; both make spiritual supremacy the master note in religious teaching; both insist on the Christ life being the mark of the high calling or the exemplar of the individual life; both are instinct with that living faith that has crowned with fadeless glory the noblest endeavors known to life on this plane of existence. B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Massachusetts.

"THE LIBERATORS."*

A BOOK-STUDY.

By B. O. FLOWER.

I.

WHILE it is true that the plutocracy is steadily and without stay or hindrance attacking one by one the safeguards of popular government, entrenching itself in the press, in church, college and government, and, what is still more sinister, is making inroads in government that are fraught with the greatest possible menace to free institutions, as, for example, in the securing of more and more autocratic power for bureaus, such as the postal department, where rulings are being steadily substituted for constitutional legal enactments; while, furthermore, it is equally true that the steady encroachments of the judiciary upon the legislative functions of government, and the autocratic usurpation of power by this division of the government, the destruction of the old-time deliberative character of the House of Representatives, so that it now is merely a registering machine for the wishes of the Speaker and the chairmen of certain committees who act in the interest of privileged interests, and the entrenchment of the feudalism of privileged wealth in the Senate until that body is become the Gibraltar of privileged wealth in the battle of the people for popular rights, have brought the Republic face to face with the most deadly peril that has ever confronted a great popular government in its struggle with privileged classes, it is also true that there is a strong

counter movement in the interests of democracy, through the battle being waged for Direct-Legislation, which promises yet to save the Republic before corrupt wealth under the direction of the great gamblers of Wall Street can perfect its infamous plan against popular sovereignty and clean government.

The battle for Direct-Legislation is only one of a number of sane, practical and wisely conservative movements for the restoration of popular government and the bulwarking of democracy. Thus, for example, public ownership would deal a deadly blow to the chief sources of political corruption in city, state and nation, and the millions of America are at last beginning to see this, in spite of the activity of the controlled press and the handymen of the great corruptionists. Another hopeful sign of the present is the general awakening of the conscience element in the Republican party. Long this party, that once was overmastered by moral enthusiasm, has been the servile slave of the party machine and the political bosses who have usually posed as highly respectable pillars of society while neglecting no opportunity to further the interests of privileged wealth in its battle against the popular weal.

Another encouraging sign of the times is the fact that the rapidly-augmenting conscience literature dealing with live political problems is very largely from the pens of former strong men of the dominant party. This fact is

*"The Liberator." By I. N. Stevens. Cloth. Pp. 332. Price, \$1.50. New York: B. W. Dodge & Company.

illustrated in the two most powerful recent political novels that have appeared: *The Magnet* and *The Liberators*. Mr. Crozier, the author of the former, is a life-long Republican, a prominent lawyer of Wilmington, Delaware; and Mr. I. N. Stevens, the author of *The Liberators*, is a man who was very prominent formerly as a leading Republican of the West, and he is at the present time proprietor of the *Daily Chieftain* of Pueblo, Colorado. The first of these works was fully noticed in THE ARENA for April. It is the most masterly *exposé* that has appeared of the attempt of the high financial contingent of Wall Street to get the wealth of the nation into its hands so that it can manufacture panics to order whenever attempts are made to curb its law-defiance or criminal acts.

The Liberators is the most powerful and detailed exposure in fiction of the methods employed by the public-service corporations to debase and destroy popular government that has yet appeared. It is a deeply interesting and a thoroughly wholesome story with many strong and lovable characters brightening its pages; yet its chief value is in its masterly uncovering of the multitudinous methods of that section of the plutocracy which operates the natural monopolies, by which it has steadily increased its hold upon government in all its ramifications while it has by devious plans, such as stock-watering, gambling, secret freight rates and extortionate charges, abnormally enriched the few by impoverishing the millions. The author speaks by the cards. He knows his subject, and he describes in detail the method by which these great privileged interests have debauched the greatest government of the world, making our cities reeking cesspools of corruption, our state governments the instruments of the people's enemies for despoiling the millions of America and even tampering with courts and the national government, so that it has reached the point where every man of real power in public life, who cannot be bought or bribed into silence, is at once set upon by the hireling press and the handy-men of the corporations, a nationwide, vicious and persistent effort being at once inaugurated to discredit, misrepresent, injure and, if possible, drive into retirement all such incorruptible champions of fundamental democracy and clean government.

These two novels complement each other. They reveal two phases of the same battle

against popular government by the same corrupt oligarchy of privileged wealth. Both novels come from matured minds, from men long prominently identified with the Republican party, and therefore they merit special consideration. They appear as fiction, each containing a pleasing love story. But the solemn facts that crowd their pages are not fiction. They are the grim and awful truth. The facts which they make plain are indeed truths that if ignored will speedily sound the doom of free government in the New World.

II.

The Liberators is a book that our young men and women who possess ideals and who love the great Republic should carefully peruse. The story is laid in the near future. The hero enters the stage of active business and political life four years after the pending presidential election, and the story covers the succeeding four years. This has given the author the opportunity to graphically describe the rise and onward march of the public-service corporations and their steady and effective advance at the expense of free government and popular rights—an opportunity that he has seized with the skill and power of an able thinker whose ability as a modern journalist, essayist and statesman is amply evinced in the vigorous and graphic marshaling of vital facts and the eloquent and trenchant manner in which they are presented.

Some reviewers of this novel criticize the long discussions which are employed. It is difficult to imagine such strictures, however, coming from serious-minded persons interested in the grave matters with which the book deals; for not only are the discussions and arguments presented in a natural, bright and interesting manner, precisely as we would expect intelligent and serious-minded people to consider issues that are vital to the welfare of the Republic, but Mr. Stevens has in this particular merely followed the most illustrious of the novelists who have pictured life and its grave problems in such a manner as to impress the reason and conscience while entertaining the reader. This is markedly true of the greatest of the nineteenth-century novelists of Continental Europe, such as Hugo, Balzac, Tolstoy and Zola.

In the prefatory chapter we have the dying injunction to his son of a noble old Virginia gentleman who in early life had emigrated to

Illinois, in which the boy is urged to enter public life and battle for the fundamental principles of free government and against the growing corruption of the times. The son, George Randolph, treasures these dying words of his revered father, whose conscience has been first awakened by the appeals of Abraham Lincoln. The youth goes to Harvard, where he meets and forms a strong attachment for Frederic Ames, the son of the greatest public-service magnate of New York. He visits the palatial home of the Ameses at the earnest solicitation of Frederic, during an Easter vacation. Here he meets a young widow, Gertrude Strong, a woman of great wealth and of splendid intellectual powers. She has recently lost her husband and is devoting her time largely to the mastery of economic conditions and to practical efforts for rescuing unfortunate children from the grip of poverty, crime and disease. As she is one of the heaviest stockholders in the Ames companies, she is ever a welcome guest at the home of the great magnate. The elder Ames, no less than his son Frederic, esteems her very highly, though the magnate abhors her political heresies. Mrs. Strong has just returned from Cambridge, England, where she has been making some special researches in political and sociological problems. She believes in public ownership of public utilities, in justice for the people, in clean and honest government, and that measure of moral idealism that is as vital to true national greatness as it is conspicuous by its absence in present-day modern politics. She is one of the strongest and best-drawn characters in the book, and her letters to George Randolph are essays filled with timely and vital truths for our young men and women of to-day.

Seldom has a novelist succeeded so well in holding the interest of the reader in his love romance while he presents in a fascinating manner the most solemn truths, as has Mr. Stevens in *The Liberator*. In one of her letters to Randolph, Gertrude Strong succinctly states facts that cannot be too strongly impressed upon the public mind to-day.

"The remedy," she says, "for governmental evils in this country appears to me so simple; but blatant political demagogues, acting for special interests that rule the government, have taught the people that any change is fraught with such dire peril that it is amusing to watch the terror of the public mind when any reform in government is suggested.

"All we need to do is to wipe out feudalism—completely uproot it—and become a republic in fact as well as in name.

"How can this be done? Nationalize every industry which in the least degree performs any of the functions of the general government, and municipalize every industry which in the least degree performs any of the functions of local government. We shall then get back to popular rule, and other necessary legislation will follow naturally and easily. After that, the baronial possessions—for the most part unfairly and illegally acquired—can be effectively dealt with by readjusting the system of taxation and inheritance so that the State shall gradually but surely come into its own.

"In the process of readjusting taxes enters the large questions of a protective tariff and the disposition of our public lands in such manner that the American people, as a whole, can get the greatest benefit. It seems such an inexcusable crime that for years our mines, taken from the public domain, should have produced practically one-fourth of the metal from which the money of the world is made, and our national treasury not have profited materially therefrom. It seems a much greater crime that the poor, struggling masses of our people should be placed at the mercy of robber coal barons, when all coal lands came originally from the national possessions.

"No tariff law is properly 'protective' to the people, which does not absolutely prohibit child-labor in the protected factories, which does not provide for an eight-hour work-day, and which does not assure a reasonable price to the people of the protected articles.

"Important as these other measures are, they do not essentially affect the form of our government, whereas, the private performance of the public functions of transportation and communication, in the nation and locally, under conditions as they now exist in this country, make us a feudal people and not a free people. None of these latter measures, nor any wholesome, industrial or moral legislation, can be enacted, or will have any force or effect, if enacted, until the laws of the country are placed in the keeping of the people of the country for their equal benefit and protection."

Randolph falls in love with Miss Virginia Ames, a beautiful daughter of the magnate, who heartily returns his affection; something that is encouraged by the elder Ames, who appreciates the intellectual brilliancy of the

young man and wants to attach him to his interests as one of the army of handy-men whose work is largely to circumvent public interests and to corrupt government in order that privileged interests may plunder the people. When Mr. Ames imagines young Randolph is sufficiently interested in his daughter to be clay in his hands, he makes him an extremely liberal offer to join his legal firm. Randolph demurs, as he has marked out a public career for himself, and the conversation that follows is very illuminating. The following brief extracts will serve to show a condition that has obtained and which is a crying evil in the Republic to-day:

"I do n't see how I can accept this generous offer and be true to my father's behest. I may be greatly in error in judgment and in ethics, but if I accept your proposal and become a member of this law firm I must close forever every door that leads to a public career. Other people may be able to serve two masters, but I cannot. If you pay me for my services they are yours exclusively, but I cannot pretend to serve other people, and, least of all, the government of the city, state or nation, while I am drawing my pay from you."

"I fear you do not understand conditions," replied Mr. Ames. "The offer I make to you opens up every kind of a public career that you may seek. Nothing would please me better than to see you governor or United States Senator. You cannot get either of these offices without money, and I am giving you an opportunity to make large sums of money, for, of course, if you possess the legal secrets of our business it is easy for you to make millions on Wall Street. Look at Judge Dabrymple. When he came to us he was a poor man, and to-day he is worth at least ten millions. Nonsense, my boy! If you wish a public career, I am offering you the only channel there is open at the present time. You cannot get any high office without the backing of our interests, or other similar large corporate enterprises, and any other theory is an idle dream. Conditions have changed since your father died. If he were alive now he would urge you to accept this offer. Do n't allow any impracticable and altruistic doctrines to influence your good, sound judgment in this matter."

Randolph in the course of this conversation thus describes one of the eating cancers in present-day political life:

"I know there are many lawyers serving in

both houses of Congress who are drawing from three to five times as much from great railroad companies as they get from the government, yet these lawyers, without a blush of shame, arrange mail contracts between the government and their private clients, and they pass upon a hundred matters where the interests of the government are diametrically opposed to the interests of the corporations which they are paid to represent. Neither can I understand the code of ethics of lawyers who take large retainers for a number of years from private concerns that grow fat upon public favor, and then accept public office, where every demand of the public service requires them to be arrayed against the clients that made them rich."

Finally, however, the young man agrees to go into the law office for one year. Then, if he feels that he cannot honestly remain, he is to retire. In his new position he is brought face to face with the overthrow of popular government and the robbing of the voters of the fruits of their victory by high-handed fraud, in which newspapers, the political machines of the state, the militia and even the judiciary are brought into the service of the corruptors of government.

Any person familiar with the scandal connected with the buying of a senatorship a few years ago in Montana; the stealing of the governorship of Colorado some time later; and the carnival of corruption, injustice and defiance of the fundamental principles of free institutions by privileged interests and their manikins in office, which has given Colorado such an ill-fame in recent years, will recognize that the author's vivid and thrillingly realistic story of the overthrow of popular government by public-service corporations as given in *The Liberator*, has much more of an historical than an imaginative basis.

Mr. Stevens has evidently not lived in Colorado in recent years for naught, and that he has been a close student of the doings of the public-service corporations all over the land is evinced in his masterly description of their multitudinous methods, in and out of politics, to defeat the people in order that they might be able to plunder right and left.

George Randolph, seeing he cannot remain in the Ames service and retain his manhood, resigns and incurs the bitter enmity of the magnate, who forbids his daughter to have any communication whatever with the young patriot. Virginia goes into a decline. Randolph joins a new organization known as

the People's Alliance, and fights for public ownership of all public utilities. At a great public meeting in New York Randolph delivers a notable address, extracts from which are given in this work, and they constitute such a statesmanlike presentation of truths that are of the first importance to patriotic citizens that we quote at length:

"Less than half a century ago," he began, "our fathers were engaged in a mighty struggle to free the black slaves of the nation. Scarcely a generation had passed when new elements of greed and oppression set to work to enslave millions of our people and to annul the doctrine that, under American institutions, every citizen has equal opportunities and equal rights. You will search the pages of history in vain to find where a once free people were ever so completely deprived of liberty of political action, or the power to control public affairs, as are the American people at the present time.

"This new form of bondage has been of slow and insidious growth, but none the less certain and constant and progressive, until to-day that citizen is not a patriot who will not assist in overthrowing it. It had its origin in the liberal, though misguided, laws which permitted the performance of government functions by individuals and corporations in their private capacities. It fastened its poisoned fangs deep into the national body when these individuals and corporations waxed rich and powerful through the favor and protection and license of public officials engaged in performing the other duties of government. It became oppressive when those to whom the people had granted authority to perform specific functions of government undertook to control the operations of all government for their own enrichment. It became unbearable when those private concerns, engaged in specific governmental work, adopted the business policy of using each year a portion of their wealth to control every department of the government not already granted to them by license, through corrupting the agents of the people in such departments.

"These great private enterprises, which control our various governments, undertake to direct the thought and action of the nation through their press and their creatures in office. They uphold mediocre individuals and destroy strong and worthy characters. They fix the quality and the quantity of the

money which the people may use. They maintain that great gambling institution known as Wall Street, which is a menace to every honest young man in the land, and which government and municipal ownership of public utilities would destroy in a day. They set up a false standard of living and take the means of comfort from the millions to riot in luxury themselves. They corrupt the public service, prostitute the judiciary and defy the popular will. With a withering hand they blight the noblest aspirations of the young and place a premium upon boodling, graft and dishonor.

"How can you expect the parasites that take public office under such a system to be honest in any of their relations with the people? They are essentially corrupt, necessarily craven, as a matter of course venal; and you will never have honest or competent officials until you destroy this mighty agency of avarice and selfishness.

"The attempt to regulate these institutions is a makeshift which delays the final triumph of the people, which plays into the hands of the corruptionists and which only succeeds in increasing the avenues of bribery. What do these powerful agencies care for the regulation of their service by a government, all branches of which they control and under which they can defy the people with impunity?

"Our own recent state regulation laws are probably as complete as can be devised, but their application and enforcement are dependent entirely upon the ebb and flow of the political tide and upon the character of the men who get into office. What may be reasonable rates and fair capitalization in the opinion of one set of administrative officers may be considered most unreasonable by another set. The two-cent rate laws are illustrations of the uncertainties of regulation. In thickly-populated New York state our former governor considered a two-cent rate law unfair to the railroads for the reason that the rate was too low, while in sparsely-settled Nebraska the officials consider two cents a mile an amply adequate rate. Thus, you see, regulation depends upon the point of view or interest of the person doing the regulating, and however honest such person may be, it is not the sort of power that should be vested in individuals, for it is manifestly unfair to the people and not in consonance with any tenet of popular government.

"You may, now and then, win a popular

victory over them and get a few honest men in office, but you leave these institutions with all their gigantic strength unimpaired for future raids upon the people, unless you take their unfair, undemocratic, unjust privileges from them forever.

"There can be no peace until this is done.

"Fifty years ago the great Lincoln declared that the nation could not exist half slave and half free. Neither can it exist with half of its functions farmed out for criminal uses and the other half retained for government purposes.

"Our opponents boast about the economy of operation under private ownership.

"In twenty years the capitalization of the public-utility companies in Greater New York has increased over one billion of dollars, with less than twenty per cent. of that sum expended for improvements and extensions, and all of such properties capable of being reproduced at par value of their stocks and bonds twenty years ago.

"This billion of dollars is a direct and constant tax upon every inhabitant of the city in addition to the daily tribute paid upon the legitimate capitalization. Who can say how much that tax will be increased during the next twenty years if private ownership continues?

"They shout 'confiscation' at us, but we do not intend to confiscate one dollar's worth of property, nor to destroy or injure one dollar's worth of invested capital. We shall obtain a constitutional amendment permitting the people to vote whatever debt they choose to acquire these utility properties, and then we shall take them over by purchase if we can, by condemnation if we must, on the basis of a valuation which the average net income for the five years last past will capitalize at six per cent. Surely nothing can be fairer to every person who has a dollar invested in either stocks of any of such corporations."

A great wave of public sentiment sweeps over New York and elects the People's Alliance ticket. Randolph is sent to the state Senate and later to Congress, where he makes a brilliant record.

All this time, however, the love motive is sustained and much is constantly happening of interest to the general novel reader, quite apart from the political issues discussed.

Mrs. Strong proves a magnificent ally of Randolph in his battle for the restoration of popular government. The wave of reform finally sweeps over the nation, resulting in the election of a Congress representative of the people, the first that has assembled in America in many years. Then again the old-time greatness of that once distinguished body is revived, a greatness that has long since been destroyed by the plutocracy. On this point we quote from Mr. Stevens:

"The first act of the People's Alliance, after reorganizing the House, had been to restore its functions as a popular parliamentary body by giving members ample opportunity to discuss all pending measures. It was agreed at the beginning of the debate that it should close on the sixtieth day, thus giving each member of the House an opportunity for almost an hour's speech by holding sessions of six hours each day, and no night sessions. The time of any speaker could be extended by arrangement with such of his colleagues as were willing to give him all or portions of their time. It had been arranged that Randolph should close the debate and should have the full session of the last day.

"This Congress was the first one in twenty years in which members of the House were allowed full freedom of expression. The defiance of boss-rule and the reasserting of their governmental prerogatives by the people at the polls had sent three-score able, learned, eloquent, ambitious and patriotic young men into the congressional arena, and the Federal House of Representatives once more appealed to the imagination and interest of the people."

The dangerous illness of Virginia, her seeking health in Colorado, her lover's battle for her life while fighting against the schemes which her money-mad father is fostering, the passing away of the father, the great Congressional speech of Randolph, the victory and dramatic climax, are all well worked out. In the final hour of triumph Gertrude Strong, true to her fine character, plays the part which we predict many high-minded, patriotic and justice-loving women of culture and wealth will yet play in the great work of redeeming the Republic from the rule of the spoilers.

The novel carries a fine, pure atmosphere. It is one of the best exposures of corruption of government by public-service corporations that has appeared, and, being instinct with a lofty patriotic spirit, it is a vital work for the present hour.

B. O. FLOWER.



HON. I. N. STEVENS,
Author of "The Liberators."

OUR LITERARY SECTION: MEN, WOMEN AND BOOKS OF THE HOUR.

Hon. I. N. Stevens: Author of "The Liberator."

THIS month we present the latest portrait of Hon. I. N. Stevens, the brilliant author of *The Liberator*, which is made the subject of our book-study in this issue. Mr. Stevens is the proprietor of the *Pueblo Chieftain*, the leading daily paper of southern Colorado. He is also one of the most prominent and successful attorneys of Denver, Colorado. For many years he has been a prominent figure in western politics, battling against corruption and strongly advocating the rights of the people and the cause of public ownership.

Professor James T. Bixby. Ph.D., A.M.

PROFESSOR BIXBY, whose fine essay on "Emerson as Writer and Man" in the May issue is complemented in this month's *ARENA* by one of the noblest papers that has ever appeared, on "The Message of Emerson," is a man of ripe scholarship and deep insight.



PROF. JAMES T. BIXBY, PH.D.

He graduated from Harvard in 1864 and holds the degree of Master of Arts from that institution. Later he continued his studies at Leipsic, receiving the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from that famous seat of learning. He is a fearless yet reverent thinker—a man whose breadth of intellectual vision is only surpassed by his lofty moral idealism. He is the author of some deeply thoughtful works, perhaps the most important of which are *The Crisis in Morals*, *The Ethics of Evolution*, *The New World and the New Thought*, and *Religion and Science as Allies*.

Elizabeth Miller.

INDIANA has in recent years produced a greater number of able and popular writers than any other state between the Appalachian and Rocky Mountains. Dr. John Clark Ridpath, the historian; Lew Wallace, David Graham Phillips, James Whitcomb Riley, Booth Tarkington, Katharine Evans Blake and Elizabeth Miller by no means exhaust the list of those who have acquired eminence in literary fields.

Miss Miller, the author of *The Yoke*, *Saul of Tarsus* and *The City of Delight*, is probably the youngest of the group. She was born on August 17, 1878, and was educated in the public schools of Indianapolis and at Butler University. In 1903 she completed her first novel, *The Yoke*, a tale of ancient Egypt and the deliverance of the children of Israel from the bondage of the Pharaohs. This novel is, in our judgment, one of the best religious-historical romances that has appeared in America in the past quarter of a century. It was followed by *Saul of Tarsus* in 1906. Her new romance, *The City of Delight*, a tale of the fall of Jerusalem, appeared during the past spring and was noticed in our last issue. In referring to her reason for adopting writing as a profession, Miss Miller recently wrote:

"It was in response to that essential inner urging to write. I prepared for, and took up the work as a profession, because I was better equipped for it than anything else, and I was offered the medium for expression of my ideas through the newspapers and the encourage-



ELIZABETH MILLER,
Author of "The City of Delight," "Saul of Tarsus,"
"The Yoke."

ment of the editors. Altogether it was a very premeditated and unromantic matter.

"I write of old people, old times and old places because their glamour has attracted me ever since I can remember and because through study and research I know them better than this big, complex, unfamiliar world that I live out of."

Paris and the Social Revolution. By Alvan Francis Sanborn. With drawings by Vaughan Trowbridge. Printed on deckle-edged paper, richly bound in cloth. Pp. 404. Price, \$3.50 net. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.

ONE of the most interesting and certainly the most elaborate and artistic volumes that has appeared dealing with the extreme radicals in present-day political life, is *Paris and the Social Revolution*, by Alvan Francis Sanborn. It is a work that for beauty of style, rare and delicate humor, broad intellectual hospitality, and that fine sympathy that enables a man of culture to view unbiased by distorting prejudice and ideals and aspirations of men with whom he cannot agree intellectually, is

unmatched in the writings of recent decades.

The book is chiefly given to a survey and study of the anarchist groups, although the socialists and other radicals are given some attention. Mr. Sanborn is not himself an anarchist, but this does not prevent him from understanding their view-point or from sympathizing with much, very much, which is fine and true in the aims and concepts of the great leaders of intellectual and philosophical anarchy. In his preface the author thus defines his personal attitude:

"Once for all, then, the author is not a revolutionist, though there are moments when he fancies he would like to be one, it appears such an eminently satisfying state. It takes faith to be a revolutionist; and he is, alas! mentally incapable of faith. He is not an anarchist, not a socialist, not a radical, not a 'red republican.' . . . He is a conservative of the conservatives, only prevented from being a reactionary by the fact that reaction is but another form of revolution, and the most hopeless and faith-exacting of them all."

This unusual mental attitude in a chronicler of the radical groups of a nation, gives peculiar interest to the work. In the nineteen chapters which constitute the volume the author discusses in the most fascinating manner such subjects as the following: "What the Anarchist Wants," "The Oral Propaganda of Anarchy," "The Written Propaganda of Anarchy," "The Propaganda of Anarchy by Example," "The Propaganda of Anarchy *par le Fait*," "Socialists and Other Revolutionists," "The Revolutionary Traditions of the Latin Quarter," "The Revolutionary Spirit in the Latin Quarter To-day," "Those Who Starve," "Those Who Kill Themselves," "Literary and Artistic Cabarets of Montmartre," "The Revolutionary Spirit in Prose Literature and the Drama," and "The Revolutionary Spirit in Poetry, Music and Art."

In the opening chapter Mr. Sanborn quotes at length from the writings of Jean Grave, one of the most scholarly of the French anarchists. This writer in giving the aim of the philosophical anarchist observes that:

"They are very few who know that anarchy is a theory resting on rational bases, that anarchists are men who, having collated the complaints of those who suffer from the actual social order, and having saturated themselves with human aspirations, have

undertaken a critique of the institutions which control us, analyzing them, weighing their worth, and estimating what they are capable of producing, and who, from the sum total of their observations, deduce logical natural laws for the organization of a better society."

Our author shows that a large proportion of the leading anarchists discourage all acts of violence. Those who believe in propaganda by the act of violence are very few in number, and what is very significant, most of those who have committed overt crimes have been persons who have been unjustly punished or who have lost their positions and been hounded from place to place because of their convictions. Often those dear to them in consequence of their persecutions have suffered from hunger. At other times the extreme punishment of anarchists has resulted, as has ever been the case, in acts of retaliation. Hate begets hate. Injustice invites injustice. The spirit of brutality on the part of the ruling classes is always sooner or later reflected in brutality on the part of the ignorant, who feel that wrongs have been done them. This is not said in justification of such acts, but as a simple historical fact. In dealing with this subject the author shows that the greater part of the overt acts of anarchists "have been committed by persons who have either suffered unjustly themselves at the hands of government or society or have lived very close to those who have so suffered."

Then follow a number of typical citations from which we make the following extracts:

"The sensational killing of the assistant superintendent, Watrin, by the striking miners of Decazeville (1886) was a horrible crime or a wholesome act of popular justice, according to the point of view. The fury of the mob is explained, if not excused, by the fact that this Watrin was allowed a premium of five per cent. upon every reduction of wages he was able to accomplish, coupled with the other fact that his brutal and insatiate rapacity had forced wages down thirty per cent. in eight years.

"The anarchist house-breaker, Clément Duval, had been seriously handicapped in the struggle for existence. In the Franco-Prussian war he had received two wounds which had rendered him permanently unfit for his trade of iron-worker, and had contracted a disease which had forced him to spend nearly four years out of ten in various hospitals. He



ALVAN F. SANBORN,
Author of "Paris and The Social Revolution."

had experienced real want in the course of his many periods of enforced idleness.

"Pini had suffered much at the hands of society and the state. Many a time, when out of work, he had been glad to sleep on straw, at two cents a night, in the faubourg of La Glacière. His autobiography, which he wrote in jail, while awaiting his trial, is, like every formal utterance Pini ever made, exceedingly illuminating. Of his early life he says:

"Son of a poor pariah, I began my career surrounded with the luxuries which the *bourgeoisie* heaps upon us from our very cradles. I saw six of my brothers die of want. One of my sisters wore herself out in the service of a stingy family of bourgeois.

"My old father (an ancient Garibaldian), after a painful existence, in which he had given to the *bourgeoisie* sixty years of his sweat and enriched a good number of employers, died like a dog in a charity hospital.

"I passed my childhood in a charity asylum; and, my primary studies finished, I was forced at the age of twelve years to go to work in a printing office, where I earned just one franc a week."

"Ravachol had been driven from workshop after workshop for his opinions. In his defence, which the presiding judge, Darrigrand, refused to allow him to read, he said:

"I worked to live and to make a living for those who belonged to me. So long as neither I nor mine suffered too much, I remained what you call honest. Then work failed me, and with this enforced idleness came hunger. It was then that this great law of nature, this imperious voice which brooks no retort—the instinct of self-preservation—pushed me to commit certain crimes and misdemeanors for which you reproach me and of which I recognize myself to be the author."

"Lorion, who fired on and wounded *gendarmes* to prove he was calumniated in being treated by the socialists as a police spy, had been detained for five years in the House of Correction for having insulted the police at the age of thirteen.

"President Carnot signed his own death warrant in refusing to commute the sentence of Vaillant, who was condemned to the guillotine for throwing a bomb which neither killed nor seriously wounded anybody.

"Whether he admits it or not," wrote Henri Rochefort, prophetically at the time, 'M. Carnot will remain the veritable executioner of Vaillant.'

"The exasperation produced by the execution of Vaillant was aggravated by the indelicacy—unpardonable from the Parisian point of view—of holding the execution during the Carnival, and by the atrocious pleasantry of the Minister of the Interior, Raynal, who said, '*J' ai donné des étreintes aux honnêtes gens.*'

"Georges Etievant, who wounded two policemen, had had his life rendered absolutely impossible by the persecution of the police. Implicated by them in a theft of dynamite in 1891, he is said, on good authority, to have served his time rather than denounce the real culprit, who was a father of a family. Banished for the first article he wrote after his release, he tried to practise sculpture in London, but was prevented by the machinations of the French secret police, who made him lose all his work. He was a starving, shelterless outcast at the moment of his crime.

"Salsou, who attempted the life of the Persian Shah during the Exposition of 1900, had lost work by reason of his opinions earlier

in life. Furthermore, he had been arrested for vagabondage at Fontainebleau while making his way from Lyons to Paris on foot in 1894, and, this charge of vagabondage being groundless, had been condemned to three months of prison for vaunting his anarchist belief, on the dubious testimony of a police spy, who had been put into the same cell with him for the express purpose of 'drawing him out.'

"Finally, the condemnation of Salsou to hard labor for life, in punishment of a relatively insignificant attempt by which no one was hurt, was based on diplomatic rather than judicial reasoning. He died soon after his arrival at Cayenne, in consequence, probably, of the hardships to which he was subjected. His body was thrown to the sharks in the presence of a number of functionaries, who amused themselves by taking photographs of the fight for its possession. Certain of the prisoners, who were witnesses of this revolting scene, have taken a solemn oath to avenge it.

"It looks very much as if the high-handed suppression of free speech in France during the early eighties had been largely instrumental in producing the numerous overt anarchist acts during the nineties, and as if the continued policy of the authorities in 'making examples' by an overstraining of the law had inspired other anarchists to follow the examples of those who were made examples of.

"The anarchists," says Jean Grave, very justly, 'suffer governmental persecutions, not only when they revolt, which is quite comprehensible, but even when they content themselves with a peaceable propagation of their way of understanding things, and that notwithstanding the fact that at the present time the majority of the governors pretend to have granted the greatest political liberty. . . . The police have been ferocious, pitiless, towards the workers. They have hunted the anarchists like wild beasts. For a word a bit strong, for an article a trifle more violent than usual, years of prison have fallen on them. . . . Treated like wild beasts, certain ones act like wild beasts. . . . "Who sows the wind reaps the whirlwind."

"Zola, in his account of the trial of the dynamiter Salvat (*Paris*), makes the culprit's fellow-workmen testify that he was 'a worthy man, an intelligent, diligent and highly tem-

perate workman, who adored his little daughter, and who was incapable of an indelicacy or meanness'; and this characterization of a bomb-thrower of fiction might be applied with little change to almost every real bomb-thrower who has operated in France. Scarcely one appears to have been—the *propagande* apart—what we call a 'bad egg' and the French call a '*mauvais sujet*' or to have had a bad disposition. There is scarcely a drunkard, a gambler, a libertine, or a domestic tyrant in the lot. Indeed, they have had so few of the vices of genius that one almost sighs over their essential commonplaceness.

"They have nearly all been highly abstemious and nearly all great readers. Pini's living expenses averaged less than three francs a day, and were no more after a successful theft than before—the best possible proof that he was not given to reckless dissipation."

Many crimes are heralded far and wide as having been committed by anarchists, when the perpetrators have never had any connection whatever with anarchists. This, as Mr. Sanborn points out, is sometimes due to the criminals wishing to enjoy the added notoriety which attaches to any crime which is branded as anarchistic, and at other times the officials, for obvious or ulterior motives, brand as anarchists offenders who have never been adherents of anarchy. This kind of procedure by the police and prosecuting officials is by no means confined to France. In America we have recently witnessed a striking illustration in the case of the unfortunate Hebrew lad, Averbuch, who was shot dead by two police officers in the house of the chief of police in Chicago. In justification of the deed of violence, the interested parties claimed that the boy was a desperate anarchist. The coroner's investigation proved that the lad had never been directly or indirectly associated with anarchists. He was simply a hard-working Hebrew boy who after toiling throughout the day attended night school in order to gain an education.

There is nothing so fatal to the cause of free institutions and the orderly development of society as the manifestation of a spirit of brutality, hate and despotism on the part of officials or the government. Crime should be punished with rigid impartiality, the rich and the poor being treated alike, and society should be protected from those who commit crimes; but all punishment should be made

in the spirit of justice and free from hysteria, passion or hate, and with the double aim of protecting society and reforming the criminal. Above all, it is vitally important to recognize the fact that when reactionary classes and the enemies of free institutions take advantage of a carefully inflamed public opinion, based largely on falsehoods, to suppress free speech and a free press, a deadly and unjustifiable assault has been made of democratic government, not for the protection of the people, but for their enslavement by corrupt and conscienceless classes.

The chapters in Mr. Sanborn's work dealing with "The Revolutionary Spirit in the Latin Quarter of To-day," "The Revolutionary Spirit in Literature and the Drama," and "The Revolutionary Spirit in Poetry, Music and Art" are intensely interesting; while the discussions on "Those Who Starve" and "Those Who Kill Themselves" are as suggestive as they are somber and depressing.

The volume as a whole is one that should appeal to all thinking men and women interested in social studies, and it is safe to say that he who commences its perusal will not be satisfied until he has read the entire work.

Joan of Arc. By M. Boutet de Monvel.
Profusely illustrated in color by the author.
Cloth. Price, \$3.00. New York: The Century Company.

THIS work by the author-artist, M. Boutet de Monvel, has a double interest. It is a rather brief but beautifully written sketch of the life and marvelous achievements of the Maid of Orleans, accompanied by pictorial representations in color, which themselves tell the story by remarkably suggestive drawings of the chief passages in her career, from the fateful morning when the little maid beheld the shining vision and heard the voice, to the hour of her tragic death at the hands of an ecclesiastical court belonging to a church that some centuries later was destined to canonize her as a saint. The pictures deserve special mention. They are more like mural decorations than drawings in which any thought has been taken for the laws of art, but nevertheless here in a few lines and with simple colors, with no attempt at proportion and no thought, we almost said, of the very grammar of art, the artist has seized upon and represented the dominant thought and

the general atmosphere of the scenes depicted in a most striking manner. The illustrations occupy far more space than the text on each page and form a setting for the story which, though evidently written for children, will also appeal to all lovers of fine writing.

II.

Authentic history contains few passages so almost incredibly strange, so profoundly suggestive and so fascinating and pathetic as that dealing with the life, work and death of the simple, faith-dominated peasant maid of Domremy, who, following visions and voice, led the forlorn hope of France in the most desperate crisis of her history out of the valley of defeat and despair to victory, though at the cost of her own life.

The condition of France at the crisis in her history when Joan appeared on the scene was the most perilous, we may say hopeless, in her annals, as will be seen by the following extract from the author's descriptive introductory word:

"On the twenty-second of October, 1422, Charles VI. died, leaving his kingdom with the hand of his daughter, by the treaty of Troyes, to Henry V., King of England.

"The English held the north and the center of France as far as the Loire. Orleans, then besieged, opposed one last obstacle to their southward march; but the helpless city was on the point of yielding.

"Across a country stricken by famine, the remains of the royal army . . . were retreating, incapable of further effort.

"Everything was lacking—men, means, even the will to resist. Charles VII., despairing of his cause, meditated flying to Dauphiné, perhaps even across the mountains to Castille, abandoning his kingdom, his rights and his duties.

"After the madness of Charles VI., the indolence of the Dauphin and the selfishness and incompetence of the nobility had completed the ruin of the country."

The deadly peril that threatened France and the anarchy that prevailed because of the demoralization of social and political affairs weighed down the hearts of all thoughtful children of France. An impending doom overshadowed the land which, it seemed, only divine interposition could avert. And in this fateful

hour, in a peasant hut in a little French village of Lorraine, we find a simple-hearted child destined to rescue her native land—a savior for France, who, like so many of the world's saviors came from obscurity, innocent of the wisdom of the world; but a pure-hearted, lofty faith and a single-hearted consecration to the service of God that dared the impossible at the august command of duty marked the life of this strange child of destiny.

It is fortunate for the world that by a singular accident, through the decree of the murderous council that tried her, we have preserved to this day a trustworthy history of the life of Joan of Arc as revealed in the searching examination of her enemies. The proceedings of her trial being taken down with the greatest minuteness, were afterwards transcribed by members of the University of Paris into Latin. Five copies were made, three of which, as well as a portion of the original exist in Paris to-day. Thus, as if ordered by inscrutable will of eternal Justice her theological executioners through their own acts in preserving this story of her life, have perpetuated their criminality as well as given to posterity a reliable picture of a life at once beautiful, pure, brave, gentle, loving and tender.

III.

Jeanne de Arc, better known as Joan of Arc, was born in 1412 in Domremy, a province of Lorraine. Her parents were peasants, simple-hearted and unlettered, but deeply religious. The mother never tired of telling Joan Bible stories and the poetic legends of medieval France, among the latter of which was a popular tradition ascribed to Merlin, which declared that out of Lorraine there should come a virgin maid who should save France. The misery and desperate condition of France was ever with Joan, as she faithfully performed the toils of the day. She became very pensive, devout and absorbed in the thought of God and His power to save, and of France and her great need. Of her childhood Michelet says:

"Her charity and piety were known to all; all saw that she was the best girl in the village; what they did not see and know was that in her, celestial ever absorbed worldly feelings, and suppressed their development. She had the divine gift to remain, soul and body, a child. She grew up strong and beautiful, never knowing the physical sufferings entailed on woman

—they were spared her that she might be more devoted to religious thought and inspiration. Born under the very walls of a church, lulled in her cradle by the chime of the bells and nourished by legends—she herself was a legend—a quickly-passing and pure legend from *birth to death*."

One day, when she was only thirteen years of age, she was suddenly startled by beholding a bright vision of an angel, who purported to be St. Michael. "He told her to be a good girl and to go to church. Then, telling her of the great mercy which was in store for the Kingdom of France, he announced to her that she should go to the help of the Dauphin and bring him to be crowned at Rheims. 'I am only a poor girl,' she said. 'God will help thee,' answered the archangel."

Later other bright visions appeared, two of them giving the names of St. Catharine and St. Margaret. Finally the voices said, "Joan, go to the succor of the King of France and thou shalt restore his kingdom to him."

When the subject, however, was broached to the father, he was greatly alarmed, knowing as he did the extreme brutality and immorality of the soldiery of the time and the purity and innocence of his child. He did not know, however, how powerful is innocence when the pure soul is wholly consecrated to the cause of holiness or God; and it is said that the father declared that he would rather drown her with his own hands than have her enter the French army. Finally an uncle aided her in obtaining a hearing before the brutal and cynical French commander of that region, M. Baudricourt. Here she met rebuffs, and it was only after much delay that she was able finally to set forth in her quest of the Dauphin. The latter determined to test the child. He therefore had a courtier represent himself, and he himself assumed the plainer garb of one of his court. But Joan, after glancing at the bogus Dauphin, looked perplexed and troubled for a moment, as the face was not the face which had been revealed to her. Allowing her eyes to wander over the assembly, however, she quickly discovered the real Dauphin, and, advancing to him, knelt before him. He declared that he was not the Dauphin, but she replied, "You are he, gentle Prince, and no other. The King of Heaven sends word to you by me that you shall be anointed and crowned."

Then she told him the story of her visions and demanded troops, promising to raise the

siege of Orleans and to bring him in triumph to Rheims.

"The King hesitated. The girl might be a sorceress. He sent her to Poitiers, to have her examined by learned men and ecclesiastics. For three weeks they tormented her with insidious questions. 'There is more in God's book than in yours: I do not know my A B C, but I come from the King of Heaven. When they objected that God had no need of men-at-arms to deliver France, she drew herself up quickly: 'The soldiers will fight, but God will give the victory.'"

Finally, so terrible were the exigencies of the city and so eager was the populace for her to be allowed to lead the soldiers, that the King and the religious council determined to allow her to attempt to raise the siege of Orleans. With her white standard in her hand, symbolizing most beautifully her own innocence and purity, she went forth. In two weeks she had raised the siege of Orleans, the British having been beaten in every engagement. She wept when she saw the bleeding French; she wept when she beheld the dying English, for her nature was one of great love and sympathy.

On one occasion when the French were pursuing the English with great slaughter she cried when she observed the cruel spirit manifested by her people toward the foe; and, seeing one poor, dying Englishman, she lost her military control, and, springing from her horse, she raised the dying man's head on her lap, sent for a priest and soothed his last moments.

Victory crowned her on every hand. She was a heroine, called forth in a great crisis, and in three months after the raising the siege of Orleans she had crowned the King at Rheims. After the coronation of the King she fell at his feet, assured him that now her mission was ended, and begged him to let her return home and mind her father's sheep; but the King feared to lose her, he knew no one had such a hold on the people as she; so he compelled her to remain, and from that moment she was no longer the same strong, spirited general, but felt and spoke frequently of her approaching doom. At last she was wounded, and by the treachery and jealousy of the French officers, just as she had predicted, she was betrayed into the hands of the enemy; a most cruel imprisonment was followed by a trial, the infamy of which has never been eclipsed. The judges were deter-

mined to make her admit that she was a witch so as to invalidate the coronation of the king. Hundreds of questions were put to her which, answered either affirmatively or negatively, they intended to construe as proof that she was a sorceress. One example will suffice. They asked her if she believed herself to be in a state of grace. Now they imagined that they had ensnared her with a question, which, no matter how she answered, they would construe as evidence of her guilt, for if she answered yes, it would prove she was proud and presumptuous, just as one who had fallen from grace naturally would be; while on the other hand if she answered no, she thereby confessed that she was not God's chosen instrument. But she cut this bond with which they hoped to bind her with that strange wisdom that sometimes startles a mother when it springs from the lips of her child. "If I am not," she said, "may God be pleased to receive me into grace, and if I am, may he be pleased to keep me in it." So it was with her answers to hundreds of similar questions; she seemed guided by inspiration above the wisdom of man. Her fate, however, had been settled long before her sham trial, and after this mockery was over Joan of Arc was condemned to be burned to death. Dragged from her dungeon, she was bound to the stake, while above her was placed a placard bearing the words, "Heretic, relapser and idolator."

And thus she was burned to death. Michelet in commenting on her martyrdom says:

"She had the sweetness of the ancient martyrs but with this difference: the primitive churches remained pure by shunning action and sparing themselves the struggles and trials of the world. Jeanne was gentle in the roughest struggle, good among the bad, pacific in war itself, yea, she bore into war the very spirit of God. In her purity, gentleness, and heroic goodness, the supreme beauty of the soul was reflected."

And it may be added that in her we find the loftiest type of heroism. She was called forth at a crisis to save a nation and shape the destiny of the people.

Thomas Alva Edison: Sixty Years of an Inventor's Life. By Francis Arthur Jones. Profusely illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 302. Price, \$2.00 net. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

THE LIFE of Thomas A. Edison is one that every youth should be acquainted with, for he

represents the best type of self-made American manhood. Compelled at an early age to make a living, he toiled faithfully, but at the same time kept his brain active. All the windows were open for new truths. He was not content to be an automaton. His brain was for use, not rust. Around him on every side were boys who seemed far more fortunately circumstanced than he. They were being given all the benefits of the best college education; he had his bread to earn. What did it matter? His brain was free. This was the spirit of the boy, who though sometimes a train-boy and sometimes a tramp operator, never lost sight of the goal of success, never allowed his brain to rust or his splendid energies to be exhausted in excess or dissipation. Step by step he advanced. Before his tireless experimentation door after door opened, revealing new chambers in the temple of truth. From behind each closed door the inventor emerged bearing a new discovery, a new wonder that was destined to prove a blessing to the race and a benefit to the tireless searcher into the mysteries of nature's workshops. Important inventions in the telegraph and telephone were followed by the incandescent Edison light, the phonograph, the kinetoscope, the magnetic ore separator, the Edison storage battery, the Edison model cement house; and these are but a few of the wonderful discoveries or inventions and achievements that have marked the career of this greatest inventor known to time.

In the present volume the author gives a most interesting life story of the inventor and describes in a lucid manner his various triumphs and how each was realized. Nor is this all. The story of Edison's work, discoveries and inventions is but one side of a life rich in inspiration for the young. Here we see Edison the man; the earnest, tireless worker; the scientific genius; the whole-souled, unaffected and unobtrusive American; the self-made man who is great enough not to be lost in worship of his maker, as is the case with so many modern self-made men.

The author has long been an intimate personal friend of the inventor, and the story of his life is presented at once sympathetically and intelligently. It is not too much to say that the volume is one of the most valuable biographical sketches of recent years. It is a work we take pleasure in recommending to our readers, and especially would we urge parents to place it in their libraries where the boys will find and read it.

The Next Step in Evolution. By Isaac K. Funk, D.D., LL.D., Cloth. Pp. 108. Price, 50 cents net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THE FOURTH edition of this little great book has just appeared. It afforded us much pleasure to review the book at length on its first appearance, about six years ago, and we take equal pleasure in calling the attention of a greatly increased number of ARENA readers to the new and revised edition, because we believe it to be the most vital contribution to religious literature from the view-point of the evolutionary thinker that has yet appeared. We say this, fully conscious of what the statement means in view of the late Professor Drummond's noble volume on the ascent of life and other profoundly thoughtful religious works that have been written of late years adopting the evolutionary hypothesis. We believe that Dr. Funk has outlined what will be one of the great and dominating world religious concepts before the twentieth century shall be passed.

Elsewhere we have presented at length not only our views on what will probably be the master religious concepts of the coming years, but have also taken occasion to quote extensively from *The Next Step in Evolution*. It is therefore not necessary to give extended extracts here. Never have we read a distinctly religious discussion that in the same compass has suggested so many trains of fruitful thought or opened so many luminous vistas as this volume. It is therefore perhaps unnecessary for us to add that we can heartily wish that every reader of THE ARENA should possess and read this work, which our great poet, Edwin Markham, has thus happily and truthfully characterized:

"A great little book—suggestive and inspiring. It has a clarity, brevity and poetry seldom found in books dealing with the deeper problems of life and thought. The book is an arsenal of epigrams that sing home like bullets. It ought to become a little religious classic."

Earthquakes. By William Herbert Hobbs. Illustrated. Fully indexed. Cloth. Pp. 336. Price, \$2.00 net. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

WITH the exception of the wonderful discoveries made in regard to radiant energy,

no branch of science has made greater progress during the past decade than seismology, or the study of the phenomena of earthquakes. The fact that theories of earthquakes have until very recently required the study to consist largely of difficult mathematical computations based on extensive compilations of data, has led geologists generally to neglect the subject; but recent discoveries and inventions in the way of delicate and largely automatic instruments, which enable earthquake phenomena to be studied at a distance from the place where they occur, have led to a renewed interest in the subject. Therefore a text-book like Professor Hobbs' volume is of special value at the present time, not only to students, but also to the general reader who wishes to keep informed in regard to recent scientific advance.

In this volume Professor Hobbs discusses in a comprehensive manner such subjects as the following: "The Evolution of the Earthquake Theory," "The Cause of Earthquakes," "Seismic Geography," "The Nature of Earthquake Shocks," "The Lines of Heavy Earth Shock and the Lineaments of the Earth's Face," "Derangement of the Surface and Underflow of water," "Some Great Earthquakes Described," "Great Earthquakes Within the Territory of the United States," "Earthquake Danger Spots Within the United States," "Disturbances Above and Beneath the Sea," "The Distant Study of Earthquakes," and "Disturbances of Gravity and Earth Magnetism."

At the close of each chapter the author gives a complete list of the various works referred to in the course of the preceding discussion. This is a feature that will be of great value to students. The volume is also fully indexed and copiously illustrated.

AMY C. RICH.

Socialism: Positive and Negative. By Robert Rives La Monte. Cloth. Pp. 150. Price, 50 cents. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company.

THE LOYAL supporters of the present social order will have no easy task to meet the logical arguments of Robert Rives La Monte in this volume of deep sociological research and the conclusions drawn therefrom. In a masterly way and with marvelous precision this earnest and thoughtful writer depicts the trend of the forces that are irresistibly driving

human society into a more practical system than the one that prevails to-day—a system wherein all its units will be related to each other on the basis of economic justice and the noble ethical life that will undoubtedly develop from it. And supporting his position with the logical conclusions attained by science, economic development and the historical evolution of mankind, he proceeds to proclaim to the world that nothing short of the Coöperative Commonwealth will ameliorate the chaotic conditions of the present order of society.

In the several chapters of this work the author discusses the following subjects: "Science and Materialism," divided into three parts: 1. "The Materialistic Conception of History," 2. "The Law of Surplus Value," 3. "The Class Struggle"; also "Marxism and Ethics," "The Nihilism of Socialism," "The Biogenetic Law," and the conclusions derived therefrom.

On one point only would I differ with Mr. La Monte, namely, in regard to his contention that "it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than it is for a member of the Middle Class to become a scientific Socialist." This statement will not bear analysis, for the simple reason that it is not true. I am personally acquainted—and so are other people—with a number of members of this same Middle Class who are not only scientific but even militant Socialists; because they realize only too well that their class is economically doomed to oblivion, and nothing but Socialism will save them from the grip of the capitalist octopus.

Aside from this comparatively insignificant error, the work is one meriting wide reading on the part of all earnest and thoughtful people, of whatever opinion.

SAUL BEAUMONT.

Government by the People. By Robert H. Fuller. Cloth. Pp. 261. Price, \$1.00 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

THIS is an extremely valuable little volume. The author, as he observes in his preface, aims "to give facts for the practical information of the voter, without argument either for or against any theory or proposal of reform."

The work contains eleven chapters which deal with "Government by Elections," "Qualification for Voting," "Identification of Voters," "Primary Elections," "Nomination

of Candidates," "Voting on Election Day," "Indirect Elections," "Bribery by Intimidation," "Supplemental Safeguards Against Fraud," "Experiments in Reform," and "Parties and Their Organization."

These general subjects are divided into 330 distinct sections which cover the whole field in so far as information is concerned relating to the voters' participation in government. The book ought to be used as a textbook in every school in America, as the facts here given are such as should be thoroughly known to every voter. The author possesses a direct, lucid style. All persons who would possess an intelligent idea of our government and keep abreast with changing conditions and facts as they relate to the progress of government and the evils arising in the body politic, as well as the proposed reforms, will find this little work indispensable. It is a volume we take pleasure in recommending to our readers.

Get-Rich-Quick Wallingford. By George Randolph Chester. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 448. Price, \$1.50. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

THIS story, written in a bright and breezy vein, holds the attention of the reader from the opening pages. It deals with the modern high financier or promoter—the past master of dream finance and watered stock. In J. Rufus Wallingford we have one of the best pen-pictures of the methods pursued by modern commercial buccaneers in robbing the people that has been presented in fiction. Mr. Wallingford is not the great evil figure who corrupts government and robs the millions under the protection of law, by virtue of his influence over governing and public opinion-forming agencies. He does not belong to that desperate and skilful band that has become so largely at once the master of the people's money and of their government, through ownership of the money-controlled political machines and control of newspapers, banks, etc., to such an extent that it is able to defy law and sneer at the people while persistently plundering them, answering every effort of the people to curb lawless and criminal greed, with a defiant threat of a panic. The colossal moral criminals who belong to this band often pretend to be religious leaders. They hold high places in the congregations of the churches; they bribe the churches and colleges; they have their hands on the throat

of the banking interests as of the newspapers; so they have no fear of just punishment and are the most sinister figures of modern civilization, as they are also the most deadly foes to American prosperity and to free government.

It is not, however, with this type that Mr. Chester is concerned, but rather with the modern criminal who is less cunning and less culpable but who to the limit of his power plunders the people through deception and cunning appeals to their cupidity. Wallingford comes to a western city with one hundred dollars, and on that sum embarks on the career of a promoter. He is a Colonel Sellers up-to-date. Commencing his career by organizing a company for the manufacture of covered carpet-tacks, he soon centers the attention of a number of unsophisticated men upon fabulous possible gains. When they are thoroughly hypnotized and their cupidity is aroused, he proceeds to deftly relieve them of their earnings. Then he reaches for the money of the "widows and orphans." The farmers later engage his attention. He is very versatile and resourceful. He turns from one class to another, reaping rich harvests on almost every deal. He is not, however, so ambitious, so cunning or so skilful as was J. Pierpont Morgan when he reaped his millions through the Cleveland secret bond deal, or as was John D. Rockefeller when he acquired the basis for his colossal fortune through ruining his competitors by secret rebates and other dark-lantern methods. At length Wallingford is tripped by fate and but for his faithful wife would have spent the closing years of his life in a penitentiary.

The story is told in a bright, humorous manner. All the time the moral criminality of the promoter, however, is obvious. Wallingford's methods reveal with photographic accuracy the workings of the most dangerous class of men outside the prison gates. This is a story that cannot fail to do good.

The Coast of Chance. By Esther and Lucia Chamberlain. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 465. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS romance, which belongs to the class aptly termed time-killers, has no ethical value.

It is, however, much better than most of the modern mystery tales and will appeal to persons who care more for an exciting story with plenty of action and strong dramatic situations, than for literary excellence.

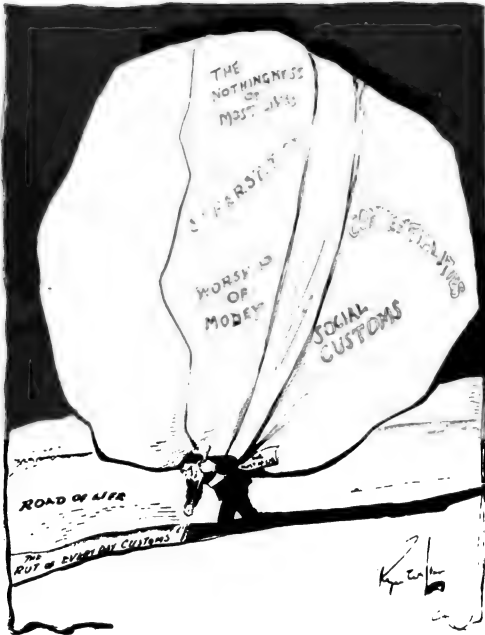
The interest centers largely around an old East Indian jeweled ring belonging to an English noble family—a ring of great intrinsic value, but by reason of the traditions clustering around its history and the family associations it is held to be priceless by its owners. The ring has been stolen and comes into the possession of a beautiful young society girl, being given her by her *fiancé*. The girl, before the ring comes into her possession, falls in love with a mysterious Englishman, and later concludes that he is the thief. All the leading characters work for some time at cross purposes, thus sustaining the interest of the reader. The tale is a fairly well-written story of crime, mystery and tempestuous human love.

The Hemlock Avenue Mystery. By Roman Doubleday. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 276. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THIS is, we think, the best detective story by an American author that has appeared in recent years. It is, of course, a story written simply to entertain and amuse—such a story as most novel readers desire during the summer months. It is well written and convincing. The elements of probability are much stronger than in most detective or mystery tales, and the author's pleasing style is only surpassed by the cleverness of plot and construction and the satisfactory untangling of knots that at times seem to hold ominous significance for some of the leading characters.

The story has to do with the murder of a well-known lawyer. Another attorney, an enemy, is suspected, and the chain of circumstantial evidence points to the younger lawyer or his affianced as the murderer. A young newspaper man is the good angel to the suspected parties and proves more than a match for the alert and determined detective. There are a number of characters who play prominent rôles, and the novel has far more of the elements of human interest and a better background than most mystery tales.

POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.



Drawn expressly for THE ARENA by Ryan Walker.
THE CONTENTED TRAVELER.



Sullivant, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

JUST HIS STYLE!
How Gov. Folk would treat the rich law-breaker.



B. S., in the Columbia State.
A CONFESSION OF FAILURE.
"Unhealthy, seeming prosperity."—T. ROOSEVELT.



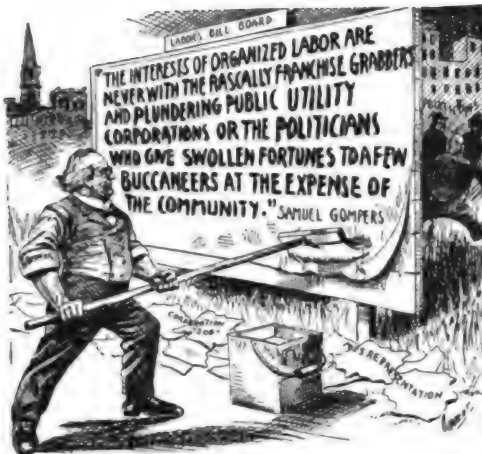
Macauley, in the New York World.
ON GUARD.
(Jerome protecting the "interests" of "the interests.")



Spencer, in The Commoner, Lincoln, Neb.
WHY DON'T YOU LEND THEM A HAND,
MR. PRESIDENT?



May, in the Pittsburg Gazette-Times.
A. D. 3000.



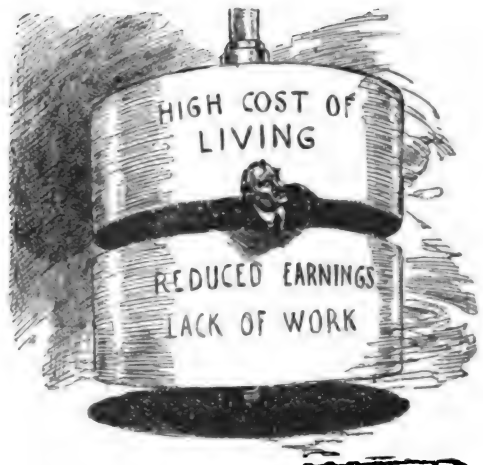
Gilbert, in the Denver Daily News.
SAMUEL GOMPERS TELLS WHERE HONEST
LABOR STANDS IN MUNI-
CIPAL ELECTIONS.



Robert Carter, in Boston American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst).
THE WORLD IS CLIMBING.



McCord, in the Newark Evening News.
IN THE SADDLE.



Macauley, in New York World.



Savage, in Chicago Daily Socialist.

"WAIT TILL AFTER ELECTION."

NEWS ITEM—The Appeal to Reason trial has been postponed until the latter part of November.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

THE SINISTER ASSAULT ON THE BREASTWORKS OF FREE GOVERNMENT.

ONE OF the most timely and important addresses of recent months was delivered by Justice William J. Gaynor of the Supreme Court of New York before the Harvard Political Club on the evening of April seventh. In the course of his discussion on "The Political Duty of College Men" the eminent jurist used these impressive words:

"It is the worst policy in the world to drive people to secret meetings and plottings.

"Let them speak in the open and you will have no secret plottings, throwing of bombs and assassinations.

"It is hard to make the little 'pin-head' in authority understand this in this free country, where of all the world it should be understood. He prefers the Russian method of force."

No more timely or important advice has been given than this. At the present time, when the forces that are aggressively seeking to destroy free government are so perniciously active in attempting to establish precedents that can be used to destroy that free speech without which no such thing as free government can exist, it is the bounden duty of every friend of democratic government to courageously and determinedly stand for the basic principles that are vital to the life of Republican rule.

No one abhors all acts of violence more than does the Editor of THE ARENA. When we founded this review in 1889, one of the important papers in our first issue was a protest against capital punishment, and at all times while under our editorial management THE ARENA has carried forward a war on war and on all acts of injustice, violence and deeds that tend to foster the savage in man. We believe with Hugo, that "Life is sacred and belongs to God alone." We believe the state has no right to take a life; that wars of aggression are moral crimes of measureless proportions; that the slaughter of the lower animals for sport is also morally criminal and brutalizing in its influence on the public mind. For all the overt acts of violence that have at times marked the history of our country we have only feelings of abhorrence.

But, on the other hand, we find it difficult to frame language strong enough to characterize our abhorrence of the systematic attempts that too frequently of late have marked the action of police and the controlled newspapers and which are calculated to create unreasoning prejudice against anarchists by attempting to lodge crimes at their door of which they are entirely innocent, and of the persistent and Republic-destroying attempt of the enemies of free government to destroy free speech, the greatest bulwark of democracy, without which peaceful progress and free government cannot live. The corrupt political rings and the privileged classes which are behind them are working systematically, largely through sensational stories that are false in all essential particulars, and through hysterical appeals, to inflame the public mind and create national hysteria at the time when above all times men should be sober-minded and swayed by reason instead of passion or prejudice.

Recently a tragedy occurred in Chicago, the details of which would create no surprise if the scene of the killing had been St. Petersburg instead of a city in the Republic, and this tragedy was instantly used by the officials responsible for the death in question, and by the newspapers seeking sensation, as well as those controlled by privileged interests, to so inflame the public mind against anarchists as to justify the establishment of precedents curtailing free speech, which in turn can easily be extended to other groups of thinkers who advocate any ideas contrary to conventional or conservative thought. Briefly, the facts in this tragedy are as follows:

On March second, at the home of the chief of police in Chicago, a young Russian Jew, Lazarus Averbuch by name, was killed by Chief G. M. Shippey and James Foley. The next morning the press from ocean to ocean was filled with scare head-lines and lurid descriptions of the alleged attempt of anarchist Averbuch to kill the chief of police, and the public was treated to long disquisitions on a great anarchist plot which the police were seeking to uncover. Not only were the news

columns devoted to long, sensational and very circumstantial descriptions of the desperate character of the anarchist whom the chief of police and another officer shot down, but many editorials appeared, all well calculated to inflame the public against the anarchists. In fact, everything possible was done to hide the real character of the crime committed, while fanning to fever heat the unreasoning passion and prejudice of the people and creating feelings of alarm and hate toward all anarchists. Judging from the reports given to the press, it would almost seem as if those responsible for the poor lad's untimely death imagined they could not only by the course pursued justify themselves before the public, but also make the shameful killing a means of increasing police autocratic power and destroying free speech.

Now what were the facts relating to the charge that the lad was an anarchist as proved at the inquest? It was shown that this charge was a falsehood made out of whole cloth. The only witnesses to the killing of the boy were the men who did the deed and the family of the chief of police, who naturally desired to save from punishment those who committed the act. So it is not strange that the coroner held the perpetrators of the killing as justified. But in view of the falsehoods sent out about the boy being an anarchist, and about an anarchist plot, we may be pardoned for refusing to lay any special credence upon the plea of the men who committed the killing. The *Chicago Jewish Daily Chronicle* for March twenty-fifth published the following editorial comment on the finding of the coroner's inquest:

"The eye witnesses to the tragedy all are members of Chief Shippey's household and only they and God know the truth, and God has not appeared as a witness at the inquest. As far as we are concerned, we may feel satisfied with the verdict. The loss of a young life, with all its chances to become useful to itself and to others, is under all circumstances a thing to be deplored. But doubly painful was to us the cry that Averbuch was an anarchist. We felt all the injustice which the false alarm of an 'anarchist plot' was bound to cause to thousands of our people, both here and abroad. According to the testimony of all those who knew Averbuch, we have lost in him a respectable, intelligent and hard-working boy, and we have lost him under circumstances which are as tragic as they are mysterious.

We regret his untimely death and condole with his family. But we were much more deeply affected by the suffering of thousands which was likely to be caused by the unwarranted imputation of anarchist plots. The inquest has established the fact that Averbuch was no anarchist; that he was a peaceful, intelligent boy who worked every day and attended night school almost every evening. The inquest proved that he had no connection with anarchists. This was the point which concerned us above all.

The injury done by the police and the daily press sowing the false charges of Averbuch being an anarchist cannot be estimated. Probably not one in ten of the millions that read the blood-curdling descriptions of the attempt on the life of the chief of police by a desperate anarchist will ever learn that Averbuch, instead of being a desperate anarchist, had not only never had anything to do with anarchy, but was a peaceable, hard-working, studious lad; and the moral crime thus committed against freedom is typical of a number of recent unjustifiable and indefensible attempts to mislead the people and fan to flame the passions and prejudices of the masses by deliberate misrepresentations.

Following hard on the heels of this propaganda of reaction by falsehood, have come a series of lawless suppressions of free speech that have established precedents absolutely destructive of the chief bulwark of free government. Wendell Phillips more than half a century ago, when similar crimes against free speech were favored by those determined to perpetuate African slavery, said: "The community that does not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinion, no matter how false or hateful, is a gang of slaves."

And James Russell Lowell wrote that

" . . . they are slaves most base
Whose love of right is for themselves and not
For all the race."

Nothing in the world could possibly foster and increase violence and lawlessness so surely as the sowing broadcast of falsehoods such as those published in the Averbuch case, followed by the introduction of the Russian system of suppression of free speech.

Happily, there are always some men in the conservative ranks as well as among the reformers who are wise enough to discern that

in this attack on free speech is to be found the most deadly peril that ever confronted our Republic, and brave enough to disregard the insane and hysterical popular clamor in defence of freedom for those whose views are diametrically opposed to the concepts entertained by these conservative advocates of the great bulwark of fundamental democracy, free speech. We have already called attention to Judge Gaynor's thoughtful words. Another noble and profoundly thoughtful voice among the conservatives that has been raised is that of ex-United States Commissioner of Civil Service, William Dudley Foulke. Mr. Foulke in the *Chicago Record-Herald* of March twenty-first gave voice to as genuinely statesmanlike an utterance as has appeared in recent years; and because the author is a leading conservative thinker as well as on account of the weighty truth expressed, we reproduced his warning cry to American patriots in full:

"Do the police of Chicago realize the ultimate consequences of seizing Emma Goldman, taking her from the platform before she had uttered one seditious word and forcibly preventing her from addressing an audience in that city? And do the people of Chicago realize the full meaning of acquiescence in this suppression of the right of free speech, involved in the failure to punish the officials who are responsible for it?

"The constitution of Illinois declares 'the free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man, and every citizen may freely speak, write and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.' If in her speech she had incited men to crime she might properly have been arrested, but to stop her from speaking at all would appear to be a violation of the constitution as well as of one of our most fundamental rights.

"I know the provocation was very strong. Emma Goldman is commonly believed to have been the instigator of the Haymarket riots and the inspiration of the murder of McKinley and of the recent attempt upon the life of the chief of police. The principles of anarchy which she represents are held by most of us in supreme contempt. It seems ridiculous even to dream that orderly society can exist without organized government, and when it is proposed to overthrow such government by assassination, the crime we most detest, the proposal naturally arouses our abhorrence.

"But no matter how wild the theory, every human being in this country has a right to advocate it by any argument, short of the direct instigation to crime. If Emma Goldman has been guilty of crimes in the past, let her be punished, but if crime cannot be proved and she is still at liberty, part of that liberty is her right to address her fellow-citizens, and by any argument, to convince them of anything she chooses short of the perpetration of crime.

"The right of free speech is elementary in a government like ours, and not for her sake but for our own we must insist upon it. If the police of Chicago can say in advance that her theories are dangerous and may drag her away before she utters them, they might have prevented Henry George from speaking on behalf of the single tax because it would overthrow property rights; they might have prevented the advocates of the rate bill from urging their representatives to support it because in their view it would subject private property to unreasonable governmental control.

"If the police can decide in regard to the propriety of what I intend to say, where is to be the limit of their arbitrary power? Such a precedent cannot be permanently maintained and America remain a free nation. The same methods were attempted in the South before the war to stifle the arguments against slavery. Helper's 'Impending Crisis,' a clear and logical demonstration of the impossibility of the perpetuation of slavery, was denounced and confiscated as an incendiary book, liable to encourage a bloody insurrection among the slaves. All public utterance of anti-slavery ideas in the South was followed by a coat of tar and feathers or a lynching. The world has now passed beyond that stage, but the conduct of the Chicago police is far more dangerous because it seeks through the ministers of law and by the pretended authority of the law itself to overthrow that necessary freedom of speech which the law guarantees.

"To prevent any one from speaking on behalf of anarchy is to give to the cause of anarchy the most formidable weapon it has ever possessed, a weapon even more dangerous than the bullet of Czolgosz, for if our people were once to say to the anarchist, 'You have no other means for the propagation of your doctrines except assassination,' they will give him the first real excuse for his detestable crimes.

"Last spring I was in Russia and conversed with one of the leaders of the party of Constitutional Democrats, that party which has more than any other the sympathy of liberty-loving Americans. Political assassinations were then going on in Russia at the rate of five hundred a month. Two of the most eminent members of the Douma belonging to this party already had been killed by the reactionaries, and this gentleman himself was marked out for secret murder, yet when a resolution was introduced into the Douma denouncing all political assassinations, he would not support it, but said: 'So long as there is any other method of securing the redress of abuses, assassination is utterly unjustifiable and detestable, but when a free press and free speech are stifled and there is no other remedy we will not be hypocritical enough to denounce it.' I could not refrain from contrasting these terrible alternatives with the happy condition of my own country, where men could speak and write and convince their fellow-citizens and finally secure relief by law. But the moment the police can say: 'This man or this woman shall not speak,' the government to that extent is actually Russianized. Then for the first time can the anarchist actually cry out upon the heels of his assassinations: 'I had no other remedy.' Then for the first time the sympathy of really patriotic Americans will be accorded even to such as Emma Goldman, if her lips are closed by arbitrary power. What will Chicago do to repudiate this fatal precedent?

Among the leading reform writers who have courageously defended the fundamental rights of free government in the presence of this attack by the enemies of democracy, Mr. Louis F. Post, the able editor of the *Chicago Public*, deserves special mention. Mr. Post is one of the strongest and most fundamental as well as one of the most courageous leaders of progressive democracy in the United States. Though he is neither an anarchist on the one hand nor a socialist on the other, he is quite as quick to defend the representatives of either of these schools of thought as he is any other class of citizens who are made the victims of unjust, reactionary and undemocratic treatment. Mr. Post's editorial on "Free Speech and Emma Goldman" deserves the serious attention of all friends of free institutions, and because it is evident that the enemies of the Republic who are bent on rearing a commercial despotism on the ashes of free

institutions are now merely throwing out their skirmish lines for a long and well-planned campaign against popular government, we quote at length from this editorial, as the fundamental issue no less than the systematic attempt to mislead the public is so well emphasized:

"'Emma Goldman' is the name that our black-art reactionaries conjure with. Preeminently that name is to a certain malicious class of this generation what John Brown's was to a similar class fifty years ago. The empty-headed accept as sufficient to justify lawless police interference with peaceable meetings and freedom of speech, the explanation that the speaker either was or was to be Emma Goldman.

"And, pray, why should Emma Goldman's meetings be suppressed? Because she advocates assassination? How do you know that she advocates assassination? Did you ever hear her advocate assassination? Were you ever informed by any trustworthy person that he had heard her advocate assassination? Ah, the police detectives say so, do they? And you find it necessary to rely upon police detectives for reports of utterances at public meetings? The newspapers also say that Emma Goldman advocates assassination? But do you retain your faith in the verity of newspaper reports? And whether you do or not, are you quite sure that the newspapers do report advocacy of assassination by Emma Goldman? Is n't it the fact that when they quote her literally her words are sober? Are n't the newspapers always, when quoting her, obliged to explain naively that on this particular occasion she softened her speech? Is n't she an anarchist, then? So she says; but what do you understand by 'anarchist'? Do you understand it in the sense that ignorant policemen and sensational newspapers use it? With them it is only an empty epithet, a mere term of reproach, such as 'republican' once was, and as 'democrat' was, and as 'abolitionist' was. And shall American institutions be broken down for an idle epithet?

"Now, we do not agree with Emma Goldman's opinions. This is not said by way of apology. We should despise ourselves if we denied conviction of any truth in order to escape the odium of identification with one of its persecuted preachers. It is because it happens to be a pertinent fact, that we say we do not agree with Emma Goldman. For

our rejection of her opinions is no reason for joining in the riotous demand that she be forbidden to utter them. On the contrary, all the more should we insist that she be unmolested in her exercise of the American right of free speech. Any human animal will fight for his own rights; but if those common rights which are landmarks of civilization have to depend for their perpetuation upon animal patriotism, they are not likely to endure a supreme test. Let Emma Goldman be as odious as you please, and her opinions as false and hateful as they may be; nevertheless their utterance must not be prohibited if American ideals are to be preserved and each individual's liberty safeguarded.

"We have yet to see the first incendiary quotation from Emma Goldman's speeches. But if her speeches are incendiary, the remedy is not police censorship. It is by orderly prosecution and with full opportunity for defense. The arbitrary suppression of meetings has a natural tendency to create and foster incendiary impulses; and that such is the cold-blooded purpose of some one in this persecution of Emma Goldman we are reluctantly inclined to suspect. It seems incredible that police authorities of reasonable intelligence should not know that while public speeches bring no harm to honest men and honest interests, the harm they bring to rascals comes through lawful channels, and that the only harm that ever comes from public speech comes from its suppression. Said Judge Gaynor of the New York Supreme Court recently, 'Some years ago I saw a big Socialist gathering under a red flag in a public park in Edinburgh with not a policeman in sight; were such a gathering attempted in Central Park the assemblers would have their heads knocked off by the police in less than half an hour.' Is it any wonder that the 'red anarchy' of which we hear so much in this country creates no excitement in Great Britain? Let Emma Goldman speak in public without interference, and what she says will stand or fall in public opinion upon

its merits. She could not if she would, incite to violence; and from all we learn of her, from better sources than the police and sensational newspapers, she would not if she could."

Illinois is by no means the only state where efforts are being systematically made to suppress free speech. Recently one of the most shameful outrages ever perpetrated on Massachusetts soil was committed in Worcester, when the Rev. Eliot White, a scholarly Episcopalian clergyman who happened to call down the ill-will of one section of the community by avowing his acceptance of the principles of Christian Socialism, and who had further antagonized some capitalistic interests by exposing unjust and brutal conditions, was arrested on the streets of the city by two Irish policemen, for merely explaining to some friends the unconstitutional and unjust action of the authorities in forbidding Mr. Berkman to speak in the city. At our request Mr. White has given an admirable story summarizing the actual facts in this case, which appears in this issue.

No student of history can fail to understand how sinister in their significance are the precedents being set by the lawless and unconstitutional acts of irresponsible officials who have no idea of the basic principles of free government and who are industriously striving to substitute Russian theories and Russian practices for the basic ideal of freedom of speech and of the press which all great democratic leaders have recognized to be the greatest bulwark of free institutions. The hope of the Republic lies in appealing to the reason and the judicial spirit of men and women who think and who are not the easy victims of prejudice, insane passion or hysteria. If this element will assert itself, the Republic will not only be saved, but the enemies of free government will be foiled in their attempt to continue to create disturbance and invite deeds of violence by unjust, oppressive, unconstitutional or lawless acts on the part of officials.

THE WAR BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND PLUTOCRACY IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Two Facts for Democratic Voters to Remember.

BEHIND Mr. Bryan there are to-day millions of enthusiastic, earnest and patriotic voters, tens if not hundreds of thousands of whom have heretofore been accustomed to voting the Republican ticket, in the hope that the party might turn from the false gods of privilege, back to the ideals that governed that party in the days of Lincoln. Thousands of these Republican voters were prejudiced against Mr. Bryan by the systematic campaign of slander, calumny and false misrepresentation which was waged by the servants of the Wall-Street gamblers and the law-defying corporations through party organs responsive to the money-controlled machine behind Governor John Johnson is the reactionary or plutocratic wing of the democratic party and the journals that forced Alton B. Parker on the Democracy four years ago, thereby insuring the overwhelming defeat of the party.

These are two facts which all Democratic voters should remember.

The Would-be Wreckers of The Democratic Party and Their Present Tactics.

That element of law-defying corporate wealth that for the advancement of the feudalism of privileged interests poses as Democratic and in this way is enabled to help keep the United States Senate in the control of the handy-men of the plutocracy, and that since Mr. Cannon has been Speaker has made the once noble House of Representatives merely another bulwark of privileged wealth, is again as active as it was four years ago in the Democratic party. This element has no political convictions. Its secret motto is "Our own pockets all the time." If it can control a party and through that control further entrench itself in government, it is willing to pay a portion of the loot which it wrests from the people in order to defeat the interests of the electorate. Otherwise, its effort is to destroy any popular party, so as to keep reactionists in office; and it is, naturally enough, bitterly opposed to any candidate

that has been tempted at all points and who it has proved cannot be seduced by the lure of wealth, of power or of official position. The leading representatives of this element have found Mr. Bryan to be such a man and for this reason they are uniting from the Atlantic to the Pacific in repeating the parrot-cry of four years ago. Prior to the last Democratic convention, the *New York World*, seconded by a number of plutocratic papers, became fairly hysterical in the cry that Bryan could not be elected, but that a certain eastern judge, Mr. Alton B. Parker, would insure the triumphant election of the Democratic ticket. It may be true that a few of the weaker minded among the editorial writers that penned the absurd special pleas for Parker and the reactionists were simple enough to believe what they wrote; but it is impossible to conceive that the men of brains among the plutocratic Democrats imagined for a moment that the nomination of Mr. Parker could result in anything other than an overwhelming defeat for the Democratic party, for these men clearly understood that the Democratic party, was and is a party of the people and opposed to privilege, and so surely as it nominates a man known to be satisfactory to such mouthpieces of reaction as *Harper's Weekly*, the *New York World*, the *New York Times* and the *Brooklyn Eagle*, and to such men as Ryan, Belmont and Cleveland, its overwhelming defeat is assured in advance. And this overwhelming defeat of the Democratic party which followed the nomination of Alton B. Parker resulted in strongly entrenching the privileged interests in government in all its ramifications, giving an overwhelming majority in the House as well as the Senate to the handy-men of the plutocracy. And this was doubtless precisely what the leading plutocratic Democrats desired when they secured the nomination of Parker. The plutocracy dreaded the uncovering of the record of the government after the privileged interests gained control of all its branches. They knew it would be followed by the cry, "Turn the rascals out"—a cry that would be taken up and

echoed from ocean to ocean, for the people were beginning to weary of the perfidy of the Republican party and were anxiously waiting to see if the Democracy would be true to the interests of the people or would be seduced by the Belmonts, the Ryans, the New York *World* and the Louisville *Courier-Journal*. When the Democracy was so seduced by the enemies of the Republic that it accepted the New York *World's* candidate for the standard-bearer of the party, it met with the most overwhelming defeat it had sustained since the Cleveland-Carlisle-Morgan secret bond deal scandal.

To-day precisely the same plutocratic element is at work precisely as it was four years ago. It first hoped to be able to nominate an eastern man, Judge Gray or some other "safe and sane" brand of patriot who is dear to the heart of plutocracy. It hoped it could kill off Mr. Bryan by the old, old tactics of falsehood, misrepresentation, slander and ridicule, and to this end not only was an editorial campaign inaugurated, but all the cartoonists that could be enlisted, both on Republican and Democratic papers, were set to work to accomplish the desired end. The result was that the tide of popularity for Mr. Bryan steadily rose in the face of the opposition because the people's eyes had been opened, they had caught a glimpse of the men who were pulling the strings behind the curtains. Hence the puppets were no longer convincing to them. Moreover the people had come to know that Mr. Bryan was hated only because he could not be bought or used to betray them. They knew that practically every one of the measures Mr. Roosevelt had adopted as his own, which had proved popular with the people, were measures for advocating which Mr. Bryan formerly had been denounced, ridiculed and abused.

The popularity of Mr. Bryan has steadily increased since the predictions which he made and the charges which he advanced against the corrupt conditions of Wall Street and the great "interests" have been proved to be true by various exposures; and it was not long before the plutocracy found that so great was the popularity of the Great Commoner that it would be idle to attempt to settle upon an eastern man. Mayor Tom L. Johnson, Governor Folk and other democratic Democrats were not willing to be made cats-paws to advance plutocratic ends. Bailey

of Texas had been thoroughly discredited by the exposure that had shown him to be the handy-man of the Standard Oil Company and the railroads, the betrayer of the people he pretended to represent.

Finally, the enemies of Democracy settled upon Governor Johnson, J. J. Hill's friend, and it is very significant that Mr. Harvey, so long one of J. Pierpont Morgan's most efficient handy-men and the editor of *Harper's Weekly*, should join the New York *World* in the advocacy of Governor Johnson. It is the old Parker crowd again, raising the old Parker cry—this, and nothing more; and they are doing it because they do not fear Johnson and they do fear Bryan. They would not greatly fear Johnson if he were elected, but they do not imagine for a moment that he would be elected, any more than they imagined that Parker would be elected. They know full well that while he might poll a few more votes than did the New York *World's* candidate of four years ago, he would lose hundreds of thousands of votes that Mr. Bryan, if nominated, would secure. It is impossible to imagine that these shrewd men do not fully realize that the nomination of Governor Johnson would insure another overwhelming defeat for the Democracy.

One of the best editorials we have noticed bearing on this phase of the subject is the following which recently appeared in the Chicago *Public* from the always able pen of Mr. Louis F. Post:

"At a recent meeting in New York City a number of conspicuous representatives of predatory wealth, three of whom bitterly denounce President Roosevelt, were discussing the approaching Presidential election and its probable result. While they could not find language severe enough in which to condemn Roosevelt, they were also opposed to Bryan. One of the gentlemen present, a Southern Democrat, asked these "captains of industry" and railroad magnates why they feared Bryan, reminding them that if he should be elected President there was a reasonable probability that the Senate and the House would nevertheless be safely Republican. One of the most aggressive of the predatorialists candidly replied: 'We fear him for the Attorney-General he would appoint.'

"It is now quite evident that Governor Johnson is the choice of the Eastern syndicates for thwarting the democratic demand for

Bryan as the Presidential candidate of the Democratic party. Bryan's nomination is the one thing these interests now fear. They would risk any man to sidetrack Bryan. But they do not regard Governor Johnson as a risk. James J. Hill's 'o. k.' is good enough for them.

"The one specific virtue in behalf of Governor Johnson is that he would surely win. The same assertion came four years ago from the same sources regarding Judge Parker. It is as baseless regarding Johnson as it proved to be regarding Parker. Governor Johnson has no popular strength outside of his own state. The prediction that he would carry Wisconsin is the veriest moonshine. If LaFollette were the Republican candidate no Democrat could carry Wisconsin, and Bryan is the only Democrat who can carry that state against any Republican. As to Governor Johnson's own state, Minnesota, no Democrat can carry it for President. With all the support which Governor Johnson had from the corporations in his campaign for Governor, and even with a Republican candidate whose candidacy the corporations

should ignore, as they did that of Governor Johnson's gubernatorial adversary, Governor Johnson could not secure the electoral vote of his state. He could not carry a single state that Bryan would lose; and he would lose states that Bryan can carry.

"There has never been any probability of Governor Johnson's nomination. There would be less than ever, were it possible, now that one of Mr. Hill's handy-men has opened Governor Johnson's headquarters at Chicago under the evident and only thinly concealed patronage of Mr. Roger Sullivan, and that the Republican papers are singing Governor Johnson's praises in chorus, as they did Judge Parker's about this time four years ago. Democrats who put principle above pie have come to understand fairly well that any Democrat whom corporation magnates vouch for and Republican newspapers exploit, adds nothing to his Presidential availability by encouraging their overtures. Such a man must win his spurs as a Democrat of principle, free from Big Business entanglements, before he can hope to command the confidence of democratic Democrats."

MAYOR JOHNSON'S SPLENDID VICTORY FOR THE CITIZENS OF CLEVELAND.

MAYOR TOM L. JOHNSON, whom President Roosevelt strove so zealously to defeat for re-election, has recently achieved a splendid victory for the people and for good government. It has been one of the longest and hardest battles ever waged by a statesman loyal to the people's interests against overwhelming odds; and the signal triumph, which means a saving of hundreds of thousands of dollars to the rank and file of Cleveland's citizens and the removal from the politics of the city of one of the most sinister founts of corruption that for years polluted the municipal government, has been fought practically single-handed. Mayor Johnson began his fight for municipal ownership of the street-car service years ago, and but for the complete control of the government of Ohio by the great public-service interests acting through the Republican machine, Cleveland would long ere this have enjoyed municipal ownership. But the Republican organization, under the direction

of Mark Hanna, Boss Cox, Senator Dick and others, was as zealous in behalf of the interests of the great campaign-contributing and people-plundering corporations as Mayor Johnson has been indefatigable in fighting for the interests of all the people. Hence the state government, at the dictation of the bosses, thwarted the plan for securing public ownership. Next Mayor Johnson set out to give the citizens of Cleveland the benefit of a three-cent fare. He knew that the street-car companies, if the city owned and operated the service without being compelled to pay an exorbitant price for watered stock, could give the people the service at three cents a fare and yet realize a handsome profit; and since the Republican legislature had at the instigation of the Hanna-Cox element prevented public ownership for the time being, he lent his aid to the formation of a company to operate a street-car system on a three-cent fare. Then began a war to the death between the incorruptible and efficient statesman and

popular representative on the one hand, and the corrupt public-service corporation, backed by various other privileged interests, monopolies and associated villainies which are unjustly preying on the people, on the other. Every possible obstacle, including numerous injunctions granted by judges favorable to "the interests," were cast in the way, but Mr. Johnson is a statesman of broad vision, a business man of exceptional ability, a moral idealist and a practical worker. He did not allow failure after failure to dishearten him or turn him from the path of duty. Patiently and with grim determination he faced and fought every obstacle. Vast wealth and every stratagem and device which the most cunning and crafty legal talent could devise were unsleepingly employed, and at every step the corporations had the powerful and active aid of one of the most perfect and masterful political organizations known to an American commonwealth. An army of handymen, legal prostitutes, politicians and kept editors did all in the power of man to defeat the mayor's efforts and to discredit the incorruptible and intrepid commoner. But all to no purpose. In the month of April the old company was forced to yield. It had marshalled a mighty army against one man, but that man was an apostle of democracy in the noblest sense of the word. He was a moral idealist who was also a practical statesman and a master business man, as incorruptible as he was loyal to the people. Of his victory and the facts attending the same Mr. Louis F. Post in the *Chicago Public* of May first says:

"At last Mayor Johnson has scored a complete and final triumph over the street-car ring which has for seven years fought him on all sides in his effort to establish three-cent fares and to place the traction system in a position to be taken over by the city as soon as authority for municipal ownership can be obtained from the legislature of Ohio. Even within the present month the Cleveland news factory of the street-car ring has announced Johnson's defeat, and sympathetic papers over the country have published it. Now that the reported defeat turns out to have been a victory, every democrat of every political party will rejoice.

"The entire traction system of Cleveland has come under the 'holding company' plan, to be operated at a three-cent fare, and to

distribute no profits above 6 per cent. dividends on actual cost, besides a 10 per cent. premium if the city takes it over. The 'holding company,' composed of a small number of trustworthy citizens working for salaries and, having no other financial interest in the business, will operate the system as a corporation so long as municipal ownership is forbidden by law. When municipal ownership comes to be allowed and adopted, the change will be imperceptibly made. The people of Cleveland will ride to their places of business some morning over a privately-owned traction system, managed by certain well-known men constituting a private company; they will ride back to their homes at night over a publicly-owned traction system, managed by the same men constituting a municipal bureau. And no passenger will know the difference, except as he reads about it in his evening papers. Mayor Johnson's plan, now agreed to, contemplates a change from private to public ownership without any friction of readjustment or any disturbance in operation.

"It now transpires that Mayor Johnson's long fight for the people of Cleveland has been maintained against him and the masses of the people by six wealthy families. Happening to own a majority of the old traction company's stock, those families forced the remaining 794 helpless stockholders to suffer pocket-nerve agonies while the fight went on. These facts have been made public by Mr. W. H. Boyd, the Republican candidate for Mayor against Mayor Johnson two or three years ago. According to Mr. Boyd, as reported in *The Plain-Dealer*, 'the small stockholders felt they could not go on with the fight and were for settlement, but until two of the majority families had been won over to a more peaceful view, Mr. Goff was unable to make the concession that finally led to an agreement with the mayor.' There is a touch of color in that situation. Think of it! The rights of a whole city held at arm's length because six wealthy families wanted to own its streets in perpetuity for traction purposes—wanted them for 'a savings bank,' as Mr. Hanna once described the privilege. It must be interesting to these families, and also to the 794 smaller stockholders, now that they have settled at \$55 a share, to remember that Mayor Johnson offered to settle with them two years ago for \$85. In all probability, however, the six wealthy fam-

ilies and the 794 small stockholders are not interested in this recollection in precisely the same way."

Mayor Johnson is a statesman who believes that "words are good when backed up by deeds, and only so." He also believes that

the rights and interests of the people should be the first concern of the people's servants. For this reason he is hated by the grafters, the corruptionists, the corporation looters, the criminal rich generally and their well-paid handy-men.

GOVERNOR FOLK ON PUBLIC SERVANTS AND THE LAW-DEFYING CRIMINAL RICH.

THE AMAZING and almost incredible revelations of incompetence if nothing worse, that have been brought out in regard to District-Attorney Jerome touching the "Inter-Met." and the ice trust, emphasized the importance of the people securing competent and honest officials to execute the laws. Wherever officials have really and sincerely desired to serve the interests of the people, they have found a way to punish the law-defying criminal rich. Governor Folk and Mr. Heney have afforded striking illustrations of the fact that "Where there's a will there's a way."

The revelations in connection with the ice trust in New York, where it is alleged that Mr. Jerome screened the trust but tried to have the grand jury act against the competitor of the trust, and his actions in regard to the "Inter-Met." show how an incompetent or unfaithful servant can be a veritable bulwark of strength for the criminal rich who are preying on the people and the municipalities.

The revelations made in New York at the investigation of the "Inter-Met." recently led to a discussion in regard to punishing the powerful law-breakers, by Governor Folk of Missouri. In a very notable interview with William Hoster, published in the *New York American* on May fifth, Mr. Folk showed exactly how the Ryan combination could have been brought to justice, and he emphasized the fact which *THE ARENA* has so frequently laid stress upon—namely, that fining companies is worse than useless. The putting of the rich magnates and law-breakers in striped clothes and giving them employment in the penitentiary is the only effective remedy for the crimes that have been too long winked at and which are making law and its enforcement in many American commonwealths a farce and a disgrace to the Republic. In his interview Mr. Hoster said:

"Reverse the conditions; put Jerome in St. Louis and Joseph W. Folk in the District-Attorney's office of New York, and there can be no doubt that Thomas F. Ryan, H. H. Vreeland and a few more of the eminent figures in the traction crimes of New York would have to face a jury on a criminal charge.

"I have always declared," said Governor Folk to-day, "that a campaign contribution made from the funds of a corporation is plain embezzlement, and I have no doubt that an indictment could be secured against those who make such contributions.

"Understand," he continued, "the making of such a contribution is not wrong because it is a contribution to a political campaign, but because it is a wrong use of the funds of a corporation. A contribution to any other purpose than that to which the corporation is credited is just as wrong and just as illegal.

"Folk groups campaign contributions with the other corporation crimes and places them on a par with rebating, discrimination and the killing of competitors. He recalls the case of the fancy ball which James Hazen Hyde gave, the expense of which was paid out of the Equitable funds. That, he declares, was only another form of the campaign contribution.

"Restitution was forced in the Hyde case, and Folk cannot see why it cannot also be forced on the same grounds where money was paid out for political purposes. Again, in the case of the syndicates, restitution was forced; why can't it be forced likewise where thousands are unlawfully diverted to political uses? Governor Folk believes that the time has come to make an example of the high corporation offenders by sending several of them to jail.

"The only way," said he to-day, "to inspire respect for the law is to punish those individuals who are responsible in the contributions

for the violation of the law. Don't fine them. That does no good. Send them to jail, and thereby there will be created anew a respect for the law, which recently has sadly fallen away.'

"To illustrate his point the man who broke up the Baking-Powder Trust at Jefferson City and convicted a dozen or more legislative boddlers and corporation offenders drew a parallel from Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden.

"Suppose," said he, 'after eating the apple they had said, "The truth is, we have formed a corporation; we did not eat the apple, the corporation did. Applying present-day methods, the corporation would have been driven out of the Garden of Eden, but Adam and Eve would have been permitted to remain, form new corporations, and continue to eat the apples as long as they pleased.'

"It is only because Governor Folk has become convinced that the contributions of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company to funds to beat Bryan and advance Republican interests constitute a national scandal that he consented to discuss the traction crimes."

In giving in more detail the conversation, the correspondent continued:

"The situation is bad," said the Governor, after the history of the Wall and Cortlandt streets ferries railway had been outlined, 'and is of very great delicacy at the same time.'

"Mr. Whitney," it was suggested, 'was not an officer of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company, and there was no legal warrant for the payment to him by Mr. Vreeland of \$500,000.'

"Undoubtedly not."

"And then the alleged obligation having been discharged by the so-called loans of Ryan, Widener, Elkins, Dolan and Whitney, there was no obligation on the part of the Metropolitan Securities Company to pay to these five gentlemen loans which had not been authorized and which were for a questionable purpose anyhow.'

"That is undoubtedly true," he responded.

"And then along comes the purchase of the ferries railway at a fictitious price, which covered up the payments to the five, and the entry of the sum in the books as an asset. 'The people of New York believe that a crime was committed then. Governor, what do you think about it?'

"I have always declared," he answered

slowly, 'that it was embezzlement. A corporation has no right to contribute funds to a political campaign.'

"It is embezzlement clearly. An official of a corporation has no right to take the money of stockholders and use it for any other purpose than that for which it was originally intended. This is one instance of the lawlessness of the persons operating a corporation.

"It is in the same class with rebating—the same thing as discriminating in favor of one against another. I mean all of these offenses are on the same level—wrong in principle and deserving of punishment. I think it would be an excellent thing to indict one of these officials and get him before a jury for the example that it would set. No fines, understand. Put them in stripes, and that means you will inspire respect for the law. That is the only way it can ever be done.'

"We are given to understand in New York," it was suggested, 'that there is no law under which these crimes of embezzlement can be punished.'

"That is regrettable," said the Governor, gravely.

"But in Chicago, Deneen and Healy have contracted a habit of digging around a law that fits after they have become convinced that "moral obliquity" exists, and they persevere until they have found a law. I think I understand you to say that, having taken an oath to enforce the law, you generally make it your business to find a way to enforce it.'

"Folk smiled and nodded his head.

"The great trouble," he said, 'is that too much distinction is made between the corporations and the men who direct them. Nowadays a corporation is merely an instrument through which the law is violated. Behind the corporation are the men who are responsible for the violation of the law. Put them in stripes, and a wholesome lesson will be taught.

"Lawlessness," said Folk, 'is anarchy, whether at the top or bottom of the social scale.'

"As to the question of criminal interest, which enters into consideration of all these offenses, Governor Folk's views closely follow those of Judge Anderson of Indianapolis, who in charging the jury in the John R. Walsh trial at Chicago, said: 'The law presumes that every man intends the natural

legitimate and necessary consequences of his acts. The color of the act determines the complexion of the intent. The intent to injure or defraud may be presumed when the unlawful act which results in loss or injury is proved to have been knowingly committed.

"That is exactly the state of the law," said Folk, "and it always has been so."

"He expressed amazement at the revelations of the Cohen incident where the former Supreme Court Justice forced the Metropolitan to buy back his clients' depreciated stock at its original cost on a threat to begin an action against the directors for paying dividends out of capital.

"Is not that a case where the directors took money out of the treasury of the company to protect their own pockets?" he was asked:

"Undoubtedly," was the reply.

"The entry of the Ferries Railway deal on the books of the Metropolitan Securities Company as an asset, followed by reports to Albany of the financial condition of the concern, based in part on these false entries, was stamped by Folk as 'perjury.'

"He left no doubt as to the course he would pursue if face to face with the situation in New York. He would not falter or seek loopholes or excuses for the offenders. He would bluntly put the naked facts before the

Grand Jury and as its official adviser, demand indictments for embezzlement and perjury, and on these charges he would drag the traction offenders before a jury."

It will not be necessary to inform the readers of the above why the "safe and sane" Democratic newspapers of New York, that dance attendance on the Ryan-Belmont-Wall-Street-plutocratic ring, do not regard Governor Folk as an available Presidential candidate. Governor Folk, like Mayor Tom L. Johnson, is at once a practical statesman and a moral idealist; incorruptible, fearless, efficient. Both these great statesmen place the people's interests above the interests of corrupt, law-defying, campaign-contributing corporations and all privileged interests that seek to prey upon the wealth-creator and consumers. They are types of the same noble statesmanship that marked the Republic in her early days and which blossomed forth in the life and selfless service of President Lincoln; but for the very reason that they place the people's interests and the great fundamental principles of popular government above the interests of plundering special privileged classes and reactionaries who are transforming the Republic into a class-ruled government, the enemies of free institutions and the parasites of wealth are a unit in their efforts to discredit them.

IS MR. ROOSEVELT THE HYPOCRITE HIS FRIENDS WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE HIM TO BE?

AFTER every declaration of President Roosevelt that he would not run another term, certain of his warmest friends and men very close to the President, who enjoy his confidence, have industriously striven to make the public believe that the President was only "playing politics," and that he would be the nominee of the convention. They confidently talk as if they knew the cards had been stacked for a special purpose, and that at the right moment the nomination would be forced on our unwilling Cæsar by his Mark Antonys, who would insist that it was the people's will. After his last positive declaration that under no circumstances would he accept the nomination, certain politicians and editors who appear to be very near the President, raised

a significant cry, or rather joined in a chorus the harmony of which was as suggestive as the alleged reason for it was patently absurd and sophistical.

We were told on every hand that the President would be drafted into service by the party, and that he had never been the man to shirk a duty that was laid upon him; that he was the only man in the country who could do effective service in curbing the lawless trusts and bringing to bay the rich malefactors. With tiresome iteration and reiteration it was insisted upon that this man, whose popularity rests on the advocacy of the very policies that he had freely appropriated from Mr. Bryan, was the only man that could save the Republic from the predatory bands that have been fostered and built up under the rule of

the Republican party and whose position in government, through their handy-men who are the leading members of the President's party enables them to thwart every attempt of the people for real relief.

We were asked to believe that Mr. Roosevelt could do more with attorneys-general like the plutocracy's handy-man, Knox, and the spineless Bonaparte, than Mr. Bryan with an attorney-general who would immediately institute criminal proceedings against criminals and who would enforce the law in such a way as to bring relief to the people from the continued robbery of the few.

We were asked to believe that Mr. Roosevelt, who has systematically surrounded himself by many of the most offensive handy-men of the plutocracy—by men like Elihu Root, George B. Cortelyou, William H. Taft and others, and who has among his close political friends such men as Philander Knox and Henry Cabot Lodge, the great boss of Massachusetts, could be better trusted to protect the people from the depredations of the bands that these handy-men have so long served or to whom they are so satisfactory, than a statesman who has proved that nothing can swerve him from allegiance to the cause of justice and the rights of the people.

Now, considering the fact that the men who are voicing these cries are so anxious to please Theodore Roosevelt and are near enough to him to regard any earnestly-expressed desire on his part as something binding, many people have been forced to the conclusion that Mr. Roosevelt was deliberately playing a double game; that Mr. Taft was merely his stalking-horse; and that the nomination would be given to the President against his verbal protest. Thus, figuratively speaking, he would imitate the action of Cæsar, who pushed aside the crown offered him and which he dearly coveted, in the hope that it would be pressed upon his brow in despite of his apparent reluctance to receive it. We say, the circumstances in the case have led many to this conclusion. Among this number is evidently Mr. Hearst, judging from the long series of Oppen cartoons that have been appearing for many weeks.

We, however, are inclined to believe that President Roosevelt is not such an insincere

or hypocritical man as his friends' conduct would lead us to infer. We think he has permitted this ridiculous exhibition on the part of those who claim to be his friends to go unchallenged, and perhaps he has fostered it, for a double purpose. He doubtless knows how weak Mr. Taft is with the people, and that if the masses once were convinced that Mr. Roosevelt would not run, they would select delegates who would vote for Senator LaFollette, the one Republican candidate who honestly stands for the reform program that Mr. Roosevelt has appropriated from such statesmen as Mr. Bryan and which the people are anxious to see carried out. On the other hand, Mr. Roosevelt determined to name his successor. He settled upon his personal friend as the most available man, because he was a man who could be counted on to secure vast campaign funds from Wall-Street interests, precisely as Mr. Cortelyou was able to collect a colossal campaign fund from the Perkinses, the McCalls, the Morgans, the Armours, etc., for the election of Mr. Roosevelt. He knew full well that Mr. Taft's record, in so far as his acts were concerned from the time he was so considerate for the railroads in the struggle of the employees against the railroads when he was a judge, to the present time, had been as satisfactory to predatory wealth as his words had been fair to the people. He knew Wall Street had no serious objection to Mr. Taft. Indeed, his candidacy had been approved by its most authoritative journals and many of the political bosses and handy-men who would under no circumstances have favored any man whom the law-defying corporations really feared or disliked. So in Mr. Taft he had a candidate who could most easily be used to kill off any candidates who might be advanced by certain groups of the feudalism of privileged wealth whom Mr. Roosevelt had antagonized. By letting it be understood in advance that if the man he had selected as his heir apparent should not be chosen to head the ticket he had matters so arranged as to have himself placed on the ticket, he could make his control over the convention absolute.

This, we incline to believe, explains the action of the President in permitting those close to him to hold out the idea that he would be nominated.

ANOTHER ILLUSTRATION OF CHANCELLOR DAY'S PERNICIOUS ACTIVITY IN BEHALF OF THE CRIMINAL STANDARD OIL COMPANY.

WE HAVE had occasion in several instances to call attention to the morally disintegrating influence on church and college of the donations of tainted wealth by leading representatives of the great criminal and law-defying trusts and corporations. These donations to churches, missionary societies and colleges act as a bribe. They silence the voices that should be raised in behalf of fundamental morality and obedience to law. In not a few instances the leading recipients of these bribes, or the heads of the institutions thus dowered, have become the zealous handy-men, special pleaders and apologists for the law-defying, immoral and criminal organizations that have contributed the hush-money. The two most amazing examples of this character are Chancellor Day of Syracuse University, the handy-man of the Standard Oil Company, and the Rev. Dr. Buchtel, formerly chancellor of the University of Denver and now Governor of Colorado by grace of Boss Evans and Simon Guggenheim.

In our March issue we took occasion to notice Chancellor Day's latest attack on President Roosevelt. This editorial called forth an interesting communication from one of our valued correspondents giving the story of his experience with Mr. Archbold's handy-man, that is so illuminating and suggestive that we asked our friend's permission to give the facts to our readers.

"The characterization of Chancellor Day in the March *ARENA*," writes our correspondent, "is corroborated by his conduct in an affair of which I have full knowledge.

"Having read one of his ponderous defences of Standard Oil, I addressed a personal letter to him, reciting facts in two cases, of whose authenticity I had no doubt, my authority for one of them being a manager in a large manufactory, whose integrity is beyond all suspicion, and my authority in the other being an agent of the Standard Oil Company. After the lapse of a week or more, I received a note from the Chancellor,

stating that my letter had been forwarded to Mr. Archbold, and that, in due time, I might expect a call from one of the Standard Oil Company's representatives. Of course I was astounded, and immediately wrote, asking if citizens of the United States were under a system of espionage, and if correspondence relating to the Standard Oil Company's affairs was beyond the laws of ordinary communications. The Rev. Doctor replied in fierce terms, defending his own honor, and impeaching mine, as a purveyor of slander. This letter was so contemptible in tone and form that I returned it, but received another, equally base in its innuendo and insult. Meantime the Rev. Doctor had assured me that the S. O. Co. would not 'use' any information which I might possess in regard to the operation of agents who employ unscrupulous methods in the development of S. O. business.

"Having no wish to betray agents, I awaited the call of the S. O. representative, prepared to thwart his efforts to involve me in personal difficulties. At last he appeared, preceded by a letter from 'C. T. Colling,' written on plain paper and enclosed in an envelope returnable to Box 272, Covington, Kentucky. Nothing to indicate the source of the communication! However, I smelt coal oil, and consulting a directory, learned that Mr. Colling was second vice-president of the Standard Oil Company. Subsequently I learned that he was one of the Standard Oil Company's most astute agents, having been detected in various frauds in Illinois. This letter I ignored.

"At 9 A. M., on a Thursday, the representative entered my apartments, and requested an interview. I informed him that Dr. Day had assured me that my disclosures would not be 'used,' and I declined to make them—on the ground that they could be of no value unless 'used.' This non-plussed the gentleman, and he charged me with unfairness. My wife suggested that I resent this. But I remarked, 'He knows no better! He represents the Standard Oil Company.'

This was too much for the representative, and with a hasty 'Good morning!' he left the house.

"This, in brief, is a history of a case which, I am informed, is not unusual. Everywhere, citizens are under the eye of Standard Oil

minions—Dr. Day one of the most contemptible.

"All that you say about Standard Oil Company methods is true, and your warning against Standard Oil Company despotism is justified."

THE THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP.

BEFORE this issue of *THE ARENA* reaches our readers there will be held in New York City a congress of broad-minded, earnest and sincere Christian workers and social reformers, that promises to be one of the most notable religio-economic gatherings of recent years.

The Christian Socialist Fellowship is a comparatively new organization, but it has steadily and healthily grown during the last few years until to-day it is stated that there are between two and three hundred clergymen in the various churches who have publicly declared their adherence to the principles of Christian Socialism as enunciated by Canon Kingsley and Frederic D. Maurice more than fifty years ago.

The forthcoming conference or congress will be addressed by a number of clergymen and other thinkers of national reputation.

Among those on the program are the Right Reverend Frank Spalding, Bishop of Utah; the Rev. R. Heber Newton, D.D., L.L.D. Edwin Markham, Rabbi Stephen Wise, Professor Charles P. Fagnani, D.D., Rufus W. Weeks, Rev. A. L. Wilson, Rev. E. A. Wasson, Rev. E. Umbach, Rev. George Willis Cooke, Rev. Eliot White, Ph.D., Rev. H. S. Baker, John Spargo, Rev. E. B. Gearhart, Ph.D., Rev. Alexander F. Irvine, Rev. J. O. Bentall, Rev. Lawrence R. Howard, Rev. G. G. Mills, Rev. E. M. Frank, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Rev. Albert J. Collison, Rev. J. C. Hogan, Rev. E. E. Carr, Rev. John D. Long, D.D., and Professor Josephus Chant Lipes.

It is our intention to have prepared for an early number of *THE ARENA* an extended paper on this important conference and the work of the fellowship.

WHEREIN PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT HAS FAILED THE PEOPLE.

IS PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S continued bombardment of Congress with messages demanding further centralization of power in bureaus and commissions for the remedying of palpable abuses and defiance of law, due to his desire to divert the popular attention from the do-nothing-serious policy of his attorneys-general? Does Mr. Roosevelt imagine for a moment that if he had placed a man like Senator LaFollette, Governor Folk or Francis J. Heney in the office of attorney-general, that the "great malefactors" and the rich and powerful defiers of law whom he has so long berated, would have had such a prosperous and happy time as

they have enjoyed under the kindly gaze of their long-trusted handy-man, Philander Knox, or the present spineless attorney-general, Bonaparte?

This is a question to which there can be but one answer. No President ever had a more splendid opportunity to serve the people and do something that would have brought the reign of extortion, corruption and law-defiance to an end than did President Roosevelt, with the attorney-generalship at his command. When Governor Folk was elected district attorney in St. Louis, the all but universal cry was that Folk might be honest and desire to bring the guilty to justice, but he would

be powerless, for the municipal government was hand in glove with the "interests," and the great Democratic boss, the boss of Folk's own party was the master handy-man of the corrupt interests. Furthermore, the great daily papers of St. Louis were silent when they should have been exerting their full influence toward upholding the young district attorney's hands. Single-handed and alone this young David began his investigations. He was a true reformer, genuine to the core; no shifty doctrinaire, no opportunist politician. He believed that "words are good when backed up by deeds, and only so." He soon found that the corruption that honey-combed the municipal life of St. Louis was due to the corruptionists who were pillars of society. Yet he did not hesitate or falter. He proved to the people that the earnest statesman or the earnest public official can always make good if he cares more for the interests of the people than he does for personal fame or the political machine of his party, and is consistent in his service of the people.

When Tom Johnson began his fight in the interest of clean government and a three-cent street-car fare for the citizens of Cleveland, he had ranged against him the great privileged interests of Cleveland and Ohio: Mark Hanna and the all-powerful Republican machine of the state, the Republican organization, the predatory element in the Democratic party, all the handy-men of the public-service corporations, and the harpies of commercial life that flourish on every hand. He was slandered, misrepresented and ridiculed from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but he steadfastly went forward, fighting the battle of the people, and the people nobly stood by him. The courts, at the instigation of the machine politicians and the public-service corporations, sought to hamper him at every step. The legislature passed special bills to take away from the people their rights to supervise immensely rich public franchises. The President of the United States urged one of the most popular representatives to oppose Mr. Johnson and thus render it possible for the street-car ring to triumph when the indomitable Mayor had whipped them almost to a stand-still. But in spite of President Roosevelt's effort to help the interests of the corrupt machine and the avaricious public-service interests; in spite of the popularity of Congressman Burton and the vast amount of

wealth that predatory interests poured out to defeat the Mayor, Mr. Johnson was again victorious; and as a result of his long and single-handed fight for the people, Cleveland to-day enjoys a three-cent fare.

Where there is a will there is a way. This fact was splendidly illustrated in the magnificent fight made by United States Senator LaFollette when Governor of Wisconsin.

District-Attorney Folk, Mayor Johnson and Governor LaFollette all demonstrated what public servants can do where they are genuine reformers and where they place the fundamental rights and interests of the people above all other considerations. They succeeded just as President Roosevelt has disgracefully failed, because of the kind of men he has chosen for attorney-generals. The changes advocated by President Roosevelt might easily be made a powerful engine for the insatiable and avaricious plutocracy, through the capture of the Presidency by some "safe and sane" man who would appoint as commissioners men as satisfactory to the privileged interests as have been all the attorneys-general who have served in the last eighteen years.

Who imagines for a moment that commissions or bureaus filled by appointments made by such men as Taft, Foraker, Knox, Cortelyou or Root, would do any more toward giving the people real relief than have the attorneys-general that were appointed to office by President McKinley and President Roosevelt? Only by the right kind of men on the bureaus and in the office of attorney-general would it be possible for the people to have any relief; and if the undemocratic centralization and increase in commission power had been readily granted by Congress, there is not a shadow of reason to believe that these changes in the hands of the man whom Mr. Roosevelt has selected as his successor, and who is enthusiastically supported by Boss Cox, the most odious political boss in America, by corporation handy-men and bosses everywhere, by men like Boss Lodge of Massachusetts and the corporation handy-man, Samuel Powers of this commonwealth, would result in bringing a particle of relief to the people. They would only serve in time to become barriers interposed between popular action and predatory wealth.

On the other hand, had President Roosevelt appointed an attorney-general like Senator LaFollette or Mr. Heney, with the vast

resources of the government behind him and the overwhelming popular sentiment of the people sustaining him, the attorney-general would soon have proceeded, not to fine trusts who in turn levy double tribute on the people, but to place the Paul Mortons, the Rockefellers, the Harrimans and other law-defiers and criminals behind the bars. Such action would have been followed by such overwhelming approval on the part of the people that the recreant handy-men and tools of plutocracy in the Senate and the House would have been quick to bow to the public will instead of assuming the insolent and arrogant attitude that marks the Aldriches, the Cannons and other men in the Senate and the House who are dear to plutocracy.

President Roosevelt has failed the people, notwithstanding his many brave words, because he has not backed those words up by deeds and because he has given moral support to the plutocracy by selecting such men as Elihu Root, the most efficient handy-man of the high financiers and predatory

rich of the nation, to be the Secretary of State; George B. Cortelyou, the darling of the Morgans and other financiers, to be the Secretary of the Treasury; William H. Taft, loved by the railroads, endorsed by the *Financial Chronicle*, upheld by Boss Cox, favored by political bosses and various handy-men of the privileged interests from the Atlantic to the Pacific, for Secretary of War; and such men as Philander Knox and Charles J. Bonaparte as attorneys-general.

The last message of the President was treated with contempt by the Senate and House only because the plutocracy does not at heart fear Mr. Roosevelt. It knows that a man who surrounds himself by such men as the above, and who avoids such men as LaFollette in the selection of men for rival offices like that of attorney-general, is not a man to be feared, further than that his words may set the people thinking. It has a grievance against Mr. Roosevelt, it is true, but it is not for the things he has done but for the truths which from time to time he has spoken.

MEXICO'S PRACTICAL MEASURES FOR FOSTERING AND PROTECTING THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE.

A Republic That Guards her Citizens From The Rapacity of The Few.

WE ARE indebted to our special correspondent, Mr. F. E. Plummer, of the City of Mexico, for some leading facts and data showing how the Mexican government protects the people from the rapacity of public-service corporations and the feudalism of privileged interests. The information given concerning the solicitude of our sister republic for the rights of all the people in regard to the operation of public utilities, affords a striking contrast to the abandonment of the interests of the people to the avarice of the railways, the express companies, the banks and monopolies, by the dominant political interests in the United States.

The Mexican Parcels Post.

In his communication in reference to the post-office department of Mexico Mr. Plummer says:

"As you are no doubt aware, Mexico has

for a long time had a parcels post, by which packages weighing up to eleven pounds could be sent. In fact, the United States mail admits packages of that weight destined for Mexico. On March first of this year the Mexican post-office department inaugurated a C. O. D. feature, so that we are now able to send packages by mail, C. O. D., up to the value of \$100. A fee of ten cents, Mexican currency, equal to five cents gold, is charged for making the collections, but the money must be returned in the form of a post-office money-order, for which regular rates (which are low) are charged. This feature is of inestimable value to merchants, not only for the reason that it is more economical than shipping by express, but because the greater and more valuable portion of mail-order business comes from points not reached by the express companies."

In our Republic every effort that has been made for forty years to give America an efficient parcels post, such as is enjoyed by

the people of other civilized nations, has been effectively thwarted by the express companies and railways working through their servants and handy-men in the government. By liberal contributions to the gigantic corruption campaign funds, and by bargains with the political bosses for the control of party machines, the plunderers of the people and corruptors of government have gained a control of the Republican party and by the aid of the plutocratic wing of the Democratic party, led by such papers as the *New York World*, the *Louisville Courier-Journal* and *Harper's Weekly*, they have succeeded in preventing the Democratic party from becoming a strong, aggressive champion of the people's rights and interests.

In like manner the banking interests have prevented the people from enjoying postal savings banks.

The persistent treason of the government to the interests of the people, and the almost incredible servility of every department of public service to the money-mad and rapacious community of privileged wealth have only been rendered possible by the gigantic campaign funds contributed by the Wall-Street gamblers, the public-service corporation chiefs and the leaders of the various monopolies. This money has enabled the enemies of clean government and of popular rights to thwart the people at every turn, to largely control the party press, to corrupt the electorate, and to enthrone their handy-men not only in the United States Senate and in places of vantage in the House, but also in various departments of government. This domination of government by privileged interests is well illustrated by the complete control of the postal service by the combined interests of the express companies with the banks and the railroads.

The Mexican Government in Control of Her Great Trunk Railroads.

Speaking of the railways reminds us of the recent completion of the railway merger, by which the great trunk railways of Mexico have been consolidated, with the Mexican government holding the controlling interest. In noticing this important practical action, brought about by statesmen who place the interests of the people above those of rapacious public-service corporations, the Mexican *Herald* of March thirtieth says:

"The mere fact of the corporation owning so extensive and powerful a transportation system as is constituted by the Mexican Central Railway and the National Lines of Mexico, having become a Mexican concern, with headquarters in this city, and subject exclusively to Mexican law, would alone be a subject for congratulation, even if the Government were not a holder of the majority of its stock. The great transportation systems, owing to the delicacy and importance of the functions which they perform, become a power in all modern nations and in view of that inevitable circumstance, it is obviously a momentous achievement to have converted this power, in the case of Mexico, from a foreign into a national entity.

"But, if, in addition to this fact, it be considered that the nation becomes the chief stockholder, and hence, in the last analysis, the dominant factor in the new corporation, the value of the safeguard which has thus been thrown around the most sacred interests of the Republic is immensely enhanced.

"The general satisfaction which these considerations must inspire is heightened by the reflection that the pecuniary sacrifice which the achievement has entailed is inconsiderable; nay, properly speaking, at the present time, there has been no sacrifice at all. The acquisition is simply the result of exceptional acumen and penetration, coupled with rare capacity on the part of Mexico's Finance Minister to take advantage of a special situation."

Here we have a practical illustration of high-minded, far-seeing statesmanship that contrasts in the most impressive manner with the humiliating record of American politicians who pose as statesmen, and the political bosses and handy-men who hold high places of trust in the government. In what instance have Messrs. Taft, Cortelyou, Cannon, Fairbanks, Knox and Aldrich attempted to stand between the plundered public and the rapacity of public-service corporations, monopolies and privileged interests which contribute liberally to the money-controlled political machine? And what "rich malefactor" or law-defying corporation chief has been proceeded against, originally by Mr. Roosevelt, and his spineless attorney-general, Mr. Bonaparte, notwithstanding the frequent fusillades of brave words from the President,

who on one occasion declared that, "Words are good when backed up by deeds, and only so!"

Co-operative Movement in Mexico.

Recently in Queretaro a most promising coöperative experiment was started, which Mr. Plummer informs us is being actively aided and encouraged by the governor and other high officials. The friends of coöperation secured from the English coöperators the full particulars of the Rochdale system, that has proved so phenomenally successful in Great Britain, and they are proceeding along that line in establishing a great coöperative store. But their efforts are not to be confined to coöperative trading. They propose to fight the drink evil in a very effective manner, and also to encourage the poor to save their pennies. In referring to their program the Mexican *Herald* says:

"The system to be adopted by the founder

of the society for keeping men away from saloons is likely to be more effective than the commendable work undertaken by temperance societies in this country. It consists in providing the right kind of amusement for the people, for unless the time spent at the pulque den is not suitably compensated to the workmen, all the phraseology and forcible argumentation of theoretical temperance advocates is apt to prove valueless.

"By requiring all members to create a fund for their own benefit, a portion of their earnings will be diverted from liquor stores, where it formerly went.

"In addition the system of penny savings will tend to create the habit of thrift in Mexican workmen, a habit that never has existed.

"The society just organized contemplates the establishment of libraries, cinematograph parlors and other places of entertainment of similar nature, for the exclusive benefit of the workmen."

DIRECT-LEGISLATION NEWS.

By RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the Initiative and Referendum League of America.

The Farce of Representative Government in Ohio.

THE PEOPLE of Ohio demanded the initiative and referendum. This demand was so strong that the "representatives" were forced to pledge themselves to it in overwhelming numbers before election, and even Senators Foraker and Dick bowed before it. In session these "representatives" had to redeem their pledges by voting for something that could be called by a direct-legislation name. The Atwell resolution, a mild and "conservative" measure, was passed by the Senate and after much mutilation by the House also. This led us to say in the last ARENA that Ohio was won. But not so fast. The Senate refused to concur in the House's mutilations of the bill, and a conference committee was appointed consisting of three members of the Senate and three of the House. Here was the place for representative government to get in its work. One man, speaker of the House, was bitterly opposed to the principle of direct-legislation. The fact that the

people of Ohio wanted it was as nothing compared with the fact that this one representative did not want it. He selected three members of the House who had voted against the bill, and who could be depended upon to block its passage in any form, and appointed them on the conference committee. That settled it. The people of Ohio may whistle for what they want. And this is what Senator Lodge calls a republican form of government.

Herbert Bigelow says that "as a Democrat" he is jubilant over the situation. He is running now for the chairmanship of the Democratic State Committee and will fight hard for direct-legislation as a party measure in the coming campaign.

The Fight Against Oregon's Constitution.

THE INITIATIVE and referendum amendment to Oregon's constitution was upheld in a decision rendered by Judge Cleland early in March. Upon the validity of the amendment hangs the outcome of the suit of the state of Oregon against the Pacific States Tele-

phone and Telegraph Company and that of another suit brought against the Sunset Telephone Company. The state is seeking to recover the taxes levied upon the gross earnings of the telephone companies, by virtue of a law passed by the people's initiative. In its answer to the state's complaint the Pacific States Company attacked the constitutionality of the initiative and referendum and of all laws enacted under it, one of these imposing the gross earnings tax. Attorney-General Crawford and District Attorney Manning, who had filed the complaint for the state, then interposed a demurrer to the telephone companies' answer, alleging that no defense was set up for the company. This was submitted to Judge Cleland of the State Circuit Court without argument, and he immediately sustained the demurrer.

The defendant company through its counsel, Harrison Allen, then refused further to move, or to plead, and the court adjudged that it must pay the \$10,450 tax. Notice was given that the case would be carried to the State Supreme Court. As a similar case, that of Kadderly against Portland, has already been passed upon by the Oregon Supreme Court, upholding the initiative and referendum, it is expected that it will also be upheld in the present case. It is not intended to leave the case there, however, but to take it to the United States Supreme Court, where a fierce battle will be waged to have the initiative amendment wiped off the Oregon statute books.

In its answer to the complaint of the state the telephone company alleges that the initiative and referendum amendment is in violation of sections 2, 3, 4 and 8, article 1, and sections 3, 4, article 4 of the state constitution. It is the contention of the company that the provision of the Federal constitution guaranteeing to every state a Republican form of government is violated by the initiative and referendum. It is the argument of the Attorney-General, however, that this is a political, not a judicial question.

Four paragraphs of the original answer alleged that the telegraph company should not be taxed for carrying messages for the government and its officials. These portions of the answer were stricken out by the defendant, so that the validity of the initiative and referendum amendment should be the only question involved.

The telephone company declares that the

case will be pushed through to the United States Supreme Court as rapidly as possible, and it will undoubtedly have an unlimited amount of corporation support in the presentation of its case before that body. No more vitally important issue is at stake at the present time, for an adverse decision to direct-legislation by the Supreme Court would set back the progress of democracy on this continent a century, if it would not indeed provoke a revolution in which the position of the court itself in our scheme of government would be the stake.

Développements at Des Moines.

DES MOINES held in April its first election since the popular adoption of the commission government plan, and the result was rather curious. The ticket of the "respectable" elements that had energetically worked for the new plan of municipal government was decisively defeated and that of the reputed opponents of the reform was elected by large majorities. The question was raised at once whether during the next two years the term of the new mayor and his associate commissioners the "plan" will have the fair and adequate trial it ought to have to enable voters to determine at the next election upon the permanent form of their local government. However, after the people of Des Moines had voted to adopt commission rule the outspoken opponents of the plan had affirmed their readiness to give the experiment the benefit of local coöperation and sympathy. And now the defeated party is pledging its support, in the same spirit, to the successful one. Moreover, Des Moines has a civic league, good government clubs, and other agencies that are expected to watch the new administration and demand faithful, non-partisan, business-like policies of it.

Under the law the mayor is superintendent of the department of public affairs. Each of the other four commissioners are intrusted with much power and discretion, subject to popular control by means of the referendum. Any commissioner may be voted out of office during his term for inefficiency, neglect of duty, corruption or other cause, provided a certain number of electors first petition for the exercise of the right of recall and provided a majority subsequently condemns him as unfit.

The value of this provision became early apparent. When the time came to appoint a chief of police one of the commissioners who

had been elected on a strict enforcement platform, voted with the mayor and another commissioner in the selection of the chief whose past record indicates that he favors a wide-open town. This appointment directed a howl of factional indignation against the offending commissioner. Promptly a petition of recall received the necessary number of signers, and, before he had hardly warmed his seat, he had to fight for re-election.

"This rapid-fire stirring up of trouble," says the *Wheeling Intelligence*, "may prove the new system a failure and may prove it a success. It all depends upon the point of view. If elections are to be held every time twenty-five per cent. of the voting population becomes angered at an officeholder the effect will be rather disquieting and not conducive to the peace of the community. On the other hand, if it is true that the commissioner has flagrantly violated his ante-election pledges the sooner the city gets rid of him the better, and therein the system will prove a benefit, inasmuch as it will stimulate all officials' memories in regard to their promises. They will realize that platforms are not only made to get in on but to stay in on."

There has been another development in the system. The charter was enacted at the request of the business interests of the city. They had the assistance of the public-service corporations in return for their promise that John MacVicar should not be elected commissioner. MacVicar is a former mayor and secretary of the League of American Municipalities, is inclined to favor municipal-ownership and is an advocate of strict regulation of corporations which operate under franchises. This makes plain why the public-service corporations exacted the pledge that he should not be elected commissioner. It happens some times, however, that even business interests cannot deliver the goods, for when the ballots were counted MacVicar had a tremendous majority. Hence the business interests are mildly startled while the public-service corporations are genuinely scared.

Another State Supreme Court.

THE STATE Supreme Court of Oklahoma in a decision of April twentieth held that the initiative and referendum provisions of the Oklahoma constitution are not in violation of the constitution of the United States.

Miscellaneous News of The Month.

FOR THE first time in the history of the Western South Dakota the referendum had been invoked to determine whether the recent fifteen-year franchise given the Lead Deadwood Gas Company by the Lead City Council is acceptable to the citizens as a whole. Citizens who do not like the terms of the ordinance as passed circulated petitions and the necessary five per cent. of the voters at the last election was secured to enable the proposition to be put before the voters at the next election.

THREE referendum votes were submitted to the people of Hartford at their spring election, over 11,000 people voting on the license question and nearly as many on the questions of a new engine house and school consolidation.

THREE Western states, Illinois, Nebraska and Wisconsin, voted in April on the saloon question. The battle between the "Wets" and the "Drys" seems to have resulted in even honors. In several instances the people voted to return to the license system after an experience without saloons, while several "Wet" strongholds decided to make the experiment of getting along without the public bar. In general the people of these states appear to be satisfied with the law which gives them the privilege of deciding for themselves on the saloon question. The referendum idea again appears to be growing in popular favor.

THE Ohio House of Representatives by a vote of seventy-two to eleven passed the Wertz bill providing for the initiative and referendum in municipal affairs. The initiative feature provides that on petition of ten per cent. of the qualified electors an ordinance may be submitted to council and if not enacted in ninety days it shall be submitted to a vote of the people. The referendum feature provides that councils may submit to a vote of the people any ordinance granting a franchise or the expenditure of money. A majority of the votes cast at the last election are necessary to carry any ordinance.

MR. STEFFENS' article on U'Ren of Oregon has stirred up some discussion in that state as to Mr. U'Ren's claim to the title of "Father of the Referendum in America." That honor is claimed by his friends for Max Burgholzer. Neither Mr. Burgholzer nor Mr. U'Ren seem

to care for the discussion, however. There is enough glory in the achievement for them both.

THE Schuylkill (Pennsylvania) county Democrats took advantage of a provision in the uniform primaries law which allows a candidate for delegate to a party convention to have printed on the ballot the name of the candidate whom he will support in the convention. They took a direct vote on the Presidential preferences with one faction for Bryan and the other for Gray.

IF A REFERENDUM vote of the Republican voters of the country, to say nothing of the Democrats, could be taken on the question of repealing the tariff on wood pulp and print paper there is no question that an overwhelming majority would favor it. Yet Speaker Cannon refuses to allow the bill to do this to be reported from the Ways and Means Committee. And this is a "representative government."

A VOTE was taken at the spring election at Auburn, Nebraska, on the question of repealing the initiative and referendum provisions of their charter. Of course, this nefarious scheme was defeated. The initiative and referendum prove so valuable to the people wherever adopted that the first state or municipality where the voters are willing to give up the double-bladed weapon they furnish, is still to be heard from.

IN THE agitation over the approaching referendum vote on the new South Dakota divorce law the anti-divorce people are raising as their argument the statement that ninety nine out of every hundred who come to the state for a divorce leave the state as soon as the divorce is granted.

NEW JERSEY has been greatly agitated over the voting-machine question which is now to be settled by referendum under a law just passed. Five per cent. of the voters of any election district in which a machine is located may by petition demand a referendum. A majority vote will decide at the next general election. Where machines are ordered placed in a district, twenty-five per cent. of the voters can call a special election to decide whether or not they shall be used.

A NEW law passed by the Ohio legislature provides that upon a petition signed by twenty per cent. or more of the voters of any school-

district the question of whether the school board shall furnish free text books or not shall be submitted to a vote, and if a majority shall vote in favor it shall be done.

THE VOTERS of Pittsburg have been asked to grant \$3,500,000 for a new city hall at a special balloting June sixth.

SENATOR FIELDER's bill providing a new charter for Trenton embodying the initiative and referendum was killed by the Senate on April eighth.

THE CITY of Portland, Maine, recently held a town meeting to ascertain the public sentiment in regard to rebuilding the burnt City Hall. The meeting was attended by three thousand persons and is considered by the *Boston Herald* to have proved the possibility of a popular referendum under the existing form of municipal organization. The *Herald* forgets, however, that the meeting had only advisory powers and the representatives of the assembled citizens were not bound in any degree by the expression of opinion so clumsily attempted at that meeting. The average citizen will not ordinarily put himself to the trouble of giving his rulers gratuitous advice.

UNABLE under the law to get a referendum in any other way, Representative W. H. O'Brien of Ward 18, Boston, called together in mass meeting the voters of his district to express themselves after the manner, but without the power, of the old town meeting, on the subject of the district option bill pending at the State House.

THE Maryland legislature finally enacted a direct-primary law which, however, is not very satisfactory to the friends of direct nominations as it provides only that candidates may, providing the state central committees of the various counties are willing, submit their candidacy to a primary in which delegates shall be chosen to a state convention. It is but a short step in the right direction.

IT WAS generally supposed that the result of the recent state convention in Iowa had practically settled the senatorial question and that Senator William B. Allison had effectually crushed the aspirations of Governor A. B. Cummins. While the Iowa delegation in the House is practically solid for Allison, it transpires that they are by no means certain that the venerable Senator is out of the woods. The general primaries

of the party will be held in June, under a uniform primary law which goes into use for the first time. It is then that the Senatorial question will be settled. Under the law the names of the candidates for the Senatorship are printed on the ballots, giving each voter the opportunity to vote directly for the man of his choice. Nominees being thus guided as to whom they must vote for in the legislature, the candidates for the Senatorship also pledge themselves to abide by the result, as expressed at the primary, the unsuccessful ones withdrawing from the contest.

THE Massachusetts legislature has passed a bill which allows the direct nomination of candidates for Senator, Representative, and member of state committee in every district which accepts the act by referendum vote at the next state election.

THE QUESTION of issuing bonds for the construction of a municipal electric plant for Richmond, Virginia, will be voted upon in the June election.

THE PEOPLE of Alameda, California, take a referendum vote on the selection of playground sites on May seventh.

THE Dayton *Herald* says, "That a movement is on foot to organize an Anti-Initiative and Referendum Society in Dayton. Daniel W. Iddings, law librarian at the court house, was offered the management of a local organization at a salary of \$500 per year. The trustees of the law library would not consent to Mr. Iddings accepting the position, however, on the grounds that it would interfere with his library duties." But the corporations will put up money and find men enough to fight this movement as soon as they awaken to its real significance. And they seem to be awakening.

THE MOVEMENT for direct-legislation in Arkansas is very strong. Several county conventions have already given it the prominent place in their platforms, and it is sure to be given emphasis in the State Democratic platform.

GROCERYMEN and others who object to the new ordinance passed by the City Council of Portland, Oregon, imposing a tax on every vehicle in use, except those for pleasure only, filed a referendum petition containing 3,000 names with the city auditor and thus held the ordinance in abeyance until it can be voted on at the June election.

GEORGE J. KING, field secretary of the Ohio Direct-Legislation League, former Detroit newspaper man and at one time editor of the *Michigan Union Advocate*, a labor paper, has gone to Switzerland for the purpose of getting a close-range view of what the people (common) of that country think about the initiative and referendum. Mr. King expected to arrive there in time to witness the annual meeting of the forest cantons, or open-air legislative assemblies held among the common people which occurs in May. He expects to remain about six weeks during which time he will travel among the people on foot the better to obtain the information he seeks and secure photographs which he intends using in stereoptican views when lecturing on the subject on his return.

THE EFFORT to secure a referendum in Chicago on the Sunday closing question was found to have been misdirected as it was not a vote to enact or repeal a law, but a vote on whether or not an existing law should be enforced.

THE CHARTER of Houston, Texas, granted in 1905, has an important provision regarding franchise grants which should be incorporated in every city charter in the country. No franchise becomes effective until thirty days after the ordinance granting it has been signed by the mayor. In the interval it is the duty of the City Council to order an election "if requested to do so by written petition signed by at least 500 legally-qualified voters of said city." At this election the franchise ordinance must be submitted to a popular vote. If a majority is cast against it the franchise cannot be granted.

BY THE terms of a new law passed by the Ohio legislature all franchises granted by the councils of the municipalities of Ohio are subject to a referendum whenever it is demanded by a petition signed by fifteen per cent. of the voters of the city. This applies to new franchises, to renewals of old franchises, and to ordinances granting extension of existing franchises. The council is, therefore, no longer the final arbiter in these vital matters. The bill also provides that the renewals of franchises may be made out without consent of abutting property owners, but this does not apply to extensions or new lines. This removes one of the blockades

which the propertied class has placed in the path of Mayor Johnson of Cleveland in his splendid work of making a city for the people.

MUCH praise is due to the wisdom and essential justice of the Georgia State Demo-

cratic Committee in its recent action changing the method of nominating the Governor and state-house officers from the county delegate system to a popular majority vote of the whole state.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

By BRUNO BECKHARD,

Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

Greenwood, South Carolina, Water and Light Plant.

THE ANNUAL report for 1907 of the municipal water and electric-light plant of Greenwood, says the *Municipal Journal and Engineer*, shows that the department is operating on a sound business basis, although, unfortunately, a full demonstration of this is lacking because the services rendered the city are not paid for.

The department operates the water works and furnishes light for the city streets, and also commercial lighting power. The department also maintains the sewerage system and filter beds. For six years a steam plant was used, but since May, 1907, current has been obtained from the Savannah River Power Company, which brings this from a distant hydro-electric plant.

As the city does not pay for services rendered, the entire cost of street lighting, sewer flushing, water for street sprinkling and other public services are borne by the consumers, in spite of which the rates are not high, being as follows: Water—one plain faucet, \$8 per year; by meter, 20 cents per thousand gallons for 10,000 gallons per month or less, and 15 cents per thousand for all over 10,000 gallons. Electricity—for lighting, 10 cents per k.w.h. for 100 per month or less, and 8 cents for greater amounts; for power, from 8 cents to a minimum of 2 cents when the amount used exceeds 10,000 k.w.h. per month. In estimating the services rendered to the city the following rates were used: Public faucets and fountains, \$75; arc lamps, (6.6 ampere series), \$75 each; 50-c.p. series lamps, \$25 each; fire hydrants, \$40 each; water for flushing sewers and sprinkling streets, 15 cents per 1,000 gallons. On this basis the depart-

ment has furnished to the city services valued at about \$6,000 each year, until the present year, when the value was placed at \$9,070.

Bonds for the construction of the plant have been issued to the extent of \$57,358.70. Since 1900 there has been spent from the receipts \$19,442.68 on extensions. The total cost of the plant has therefore been \$76,801.38.

During 1908 the cash disbursements were:

Salaries	\$2,797.33
Power	7,342.50
Supplies	1,481.08
Extensions	4,454.74
Merchandise	6,099.14
Sewerage Maintenance	400.00
Payment of loans	1,000.00

This makes a total of \$23,575.43

Deducting the cost of extensions, \$19,120.74. Outstanding notes and bills exceed bills receivable and cash and material on hand by \$347.52. The city pays each year \$3,000 interest on bonds as partial payment for services rendered.

The receipts during 1908 were as follows:

Power	\$1,144.59
Water	5,225.01
Light	9,195.08
Merchandise	6,195.55
Sewerage fees	369.60
Loans	2,000.00
From Council for extensions	200.00

Total \$24,329.04

Deducting the \$2,200 received from loans and Council and the \$4,454.74 for extensions the balance is found to be \$3,009.04. The services rendered to the city at large are valued at \$9,070, making a total balance of \$12,166.89. Deducting from this the \$3,000 interest paid by the city there is left a balance of \$9,166.89 to be applied to depreciation and profit, which would seem to be ample to cover the depreciation, figured at 8 per cent., and leave \$3,000 to \$4,000 profit.

In connection with the last report the superintendent of the department, A. J. Sproles, has sent a circular letter referring to a booklet entitled "Defunct Municipal Lighting Plants," published by the Municipal-Ownership Publishing Bureau of New York, in which the Greenwood plant is included as one of the failures. Concerning this the superintendent says, "I am of the opinion that their pamphlet is a fabrication—a tissue of falsehood—from beginning to end. Although the price is forty cents per copy, they state—'On your order we will send complimentary copies to editors, mayors, councilmen, physicians, dentists, barbers, and libraries, because such a distribution at this time will give facts on our side and will have a profound influence in checking the municipal-ownership movement. Even if there is no present agitation in your city, the placing of these in the hands of a number of your influential citizens will tend to prejudice them against municipal-ownership and make it difficult for a movement to get under way.'"

It is stated that the listing of this plant as a failure was due to their abandoning steam power and purchasing current from large wholesale dealers. While it appears as stated above that the plant was not operated at as great profit while steam power was being used, still the conditions then were hardly such as to warrant its being classed as defunct. There can be no question that it was a wise business for the city to arrange to purchase the current from the Savannah River Power Company, and it would have been equally good policy for almost any private company to have done the same, since few small steam operative plants can compete in cost of current with large hydro-electric plants.

New York's Street Railways.

THE GREAT lesson of the Congestion Exhibit in New York was that congestion is largely due to poor transportation facilities, and the moral thereof, as pointed out by Mr. Ivins, was that the only way for New York to procure good transportation facilities was for the city to own the street and subway lines.

Mr. Ivins' address has been widely quoted, and need not here be treated at length. While favoring municipal ownership Mr. Ivins does not advocate municipal operation. The important thing, he says, is to have a city *system* of surface and subway lines, then to let the lines out to operating companies

at a rental of five per cent. of the working capital of the operating companies plus at least half of the profits. This virtually amounts to a partnership to which the city contributes the lines while the operating company furnishes the management. Private enterprise is stimulated, and the city's rights are safeguarded. Hitherto the latter has been far from being the case, and as to the former, it proved more profitable to private enterprise to wreck the Metropolitan than to run it.

New York is in a position to put Mr. Ivins' plan to the test. It should do more than stand it.

A Water Trust.

SOME New Jersey towns are discovering an important truth: It makes a lot of difference whether your dog is barking at your neighbor or your neighbor's dog is barking at you. The neighbor's dog seems to be in Newark. Says the *Patterson Call*:

"While we are not in favor of municipal-ownership on general principles, yet there may be a question of its advisability under certain circumstances when a water supply is concerned. And the conditions that confront us at this particular time make us feel like advising the city authorities to lose as little time as possible in procuring possession of the plant of the Passaic Water Company, either by direct purchase or by condemnation proceedings." The rest of the article is meant for Newark's eyes alone. Newark apparently has been trying to get control of the Passaic with the intention of selling water to other cities. That the article was copied by other Jersey papers shows that Patterson was not the only city that the dog annoyed. Naughty Newark—and in New Jersey, too!

The Traction Situation in Chicago.

AFTER a ten years' struggle the traction situation in Chicago has been settled so as to give the city a fair share in the wealth to be derived from urban transportation facilities.

There will be hereafter two street-railway companies in Chicago, but they have a working agreement and will issue universal transfers except in the down-town district. The city besides exercising strict supervision over the operations of the companies and retaining the privilege of buying them out after a term of years, is to have fifty-five per cent. of their net receipts annually. It is estimated that

the revenue will be about \$1,250,000. After a lapse of years the city will be in a position to buy the lines, or to give up part of its percentage in return for cheaper fares—or both.

Municipal Ferries.

In 1906, according to the Bulletin of the Census Bureau of the Department of Commerce and Labor, six cities were operating municipal ferries. New York owned sixteen ferry-boats with a total gross tonnage of 14,829, valued at \$2,253,000. Seven of these were operated in connection with penal institutions. During the year these carried 12,521,847 passengers at an average charge of 4.45 cents. There was also an income of \$220,905 from other sources. The city paid 188 employes \$360,159 wages.

Boston owned seven boats with a total gross tonnage of 4,448 valued at \$209,347. They carried 7,242,808 passengers at an average rate of about one cent each. Income from other sources was \$41,037, and the wages of 72 employes was \$70,720.

Portland, Oregon, owned three boats having a gross tonnage of 857 and a value of \$35,000. These were operated free of charge and carried during the year 1,156,000 passengers. The wages of 25 employes amounted to \$24,900.

Wabash operated one boat across the Mississippi with a tonnage of 44 and a value of \$2,000. During the year it carried 5,000 passengers at ten cents each. Income from other sources was \$500, and the wages of the one employe were \$200.

Two small cities on the Connecticut operated one ferry each, the combined tonnage being 60 and the value \$4,100. They carried 9,400 passengers at five cents each and

derived \$1,230 from other sources. Four employes received \$2,150.

Notes.

THE NET earnings of the municipal water works at Shoopsville, Pennsylvania, for the last year were nearly \$1,000. The plant also furnished water free to the fire department, drinking fountains, horse troughs, public buildings, schools and churches.

GUELPH, Ontario, a Canadian city with a population of 13,700, made \$20,000 profits on its municipal water works last year.

THE Retail Merchants' Association of Ogden, Utah, recently passed a resolution expressing sympathy with movement for the municipal-ownership of public-utilities and endorsing the acquirement by the city of its own light and power plant.

AN ADVISORY board has been appointed in Westfield, New Jersey, to consider the question of the municipal ownership of the water works. Mayor Alpers is chairman.

THE Provincial Legislature of Nova Scotia unanimously passed a resolution calling on the Dominion Government to acquire all the railroad lines in Nova Scotia and add them as branches to the Intercolonial system. The resolution suggests that the purchase of the roads be on the basis of their original cost and present earning capacity.

WINNIPEG, Manitoba, is about to close negotiations for the purchase of the entire plant of the Winnipeg Electric Railway Company. The plant includes the street-railway, gas, electric-light and power plants.

BRUNO BECKHARD.

INDUSTRIAL COÖPERATION.

BY HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON,
Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

The Co-operating Farmers in Politics.

THE MOST significant part of the awakening and organization of the Western farmers, hundreds of thousands of whom are organized coöperatively to-day, is the keen interest they are taking in politics—in the fight for clean government and an effort to secure some control over corporate power.

In the very beginning of the old Grange movement, the farmers realized that their only hope lay in gaining some measure of control over the railroads upon which they are so absolutely dependent for the transportation of their grain and all their supplies. The Grange made a brave attempt to stem the current of rising rates but because of the lack of a sufficiently close affiliation of the members they failed. They started a movement, however, which is destined never to cease until equal rights for the small and the large shipper are gained. And yet the efforts of the Grange did not fail of actual result. The Granger legislatures enacted the laws which made it possible to inaugurate coöperative undertakings; they are responsible for the first legislation tending to lower railway rates, and it was at this time that the railways began to consider the power arrayed against them and to send lobbyists to the legislature to counteract the influence of the Grangers men. And to the activity of the Grange also is due almost wholly the establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

In 1871 a law was enacted in Minnesota, under the influence of the Grange, fixing maximum railroad rates and prohibiting discrimination between shippers, and in 1874 in Wisconsin similar legislation was adopted. In neither of these states did the railways pay the slightest heed to the provisions of the law, and the president of one of the largest railway systems in Wisconsin wrote the Governor of the state declaring the law to be unconstitutional. The Grangers took the question to the United States Supreme Court and finally won the fight nominally, though the railroads continued to evade the

law whenever possible. The state of Iowa received similar treatment at the hands of the railroads and from the years of 1872 to 1876 the legislatures elected by the Grange men in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas and Illinois passed laws, fixing maximum rates and prohibiting discriminations. Professor Frank Parsons, in his chapter on the "Failure of Control" in the "Railways, the Trusts and the People," sums up the final defeat of the Granges by saying, "The railroads continued to discriminate between persons and places in defiance of law, and paralyzed the Granger efforts to fix rates by cutting down facilities, stopping construction, raising rates that had been moderate, up to the full maximum permitted by law, and otherwise doing all in their power to disgust the people with railway rates, services and conditions, and pointing to the Granger laws as the cause of the trouble when complaints were made. At the same time that they made a systematic effort to disgust the people with the results of the Granger movement, the railroads made an equally determined effort to regain control of the legislatures and the governments. They packed caucuses and conventions, fixed nominations, controlled elections, and captured the 'representatives of the people.'"

It was the Grange also that later demanded of the Federal government rural mail delivery, and of the state government the establishment of agricultural colleges.

The farmers coöperative organizations have been quick to grasp the tremendous political potentiality of their associations and have entered the political field again and again to fight for an honest man, to obtain justice from a certain railroad, or to defeat an obnoxious bill. And it is principally because of this activity that they are incurring such marked hostility from the railroads and the grain trust, for though their interest is never partisan in its nature, it nevertheless comes out strong for honesty in government and for true democracy, and in the history of America,

trusts and railroads have ever been opposed to a true and honest democracy.

Nearly all of the centralized state organizations have passed resolutions supporting legislation favorable to their interests, and the Iowa and Illinois state associations in particular have worked unceasingly in the promotion of better government. The Iowa Association has a legislative committee which lobbies at the State House just as the railroads do, only while the railroads use corrupting methods the farmers appeal to the integrity and conscience of the legislators to obtain their ends.

The Iowa Association of cooperating farmers was chiefly responsible for the investigation of railroad methods made by the Interstate Commerce Commission in November of 1906, the investigation being conducted by Franklin K. Lane. It was proven that the Iowa Grain Dealers' Association had been receiving benefits and had been discriminated in favor of by the railroads, and their secretary, George A. Wells, was ordered from the stand by Mr. Lane for giving false testimony. Commissioner Lane discovered that the Iowa Grain Dealers' Association was dependent upon the trust, and that the big line elevator companies were compelled to join the association. "By threats of boycott they were able to prevent the commission merchant at the great markets from selling for the farmer or irregular dealer, and placed the grain grower in a position where he was compelled to sell to the member of the association at a price fixed by the Cereal Club at their weekly meetings at Des Moines. This club was made up of grain dealers and members of the Iowa Grain Dealers' Association."

Representative Paul E. Stillman had a bill before the Iowa legislature this winter which has been passed by the lower house providing that for any "person, company, partnership, association or corporation dealing in grain to enter into any agreement, contract, trust, or pool for the purpose of fixing the price to be paid for grain, or to in any manner prevent competition in the buying and selling of grain to be a felony." This bill was intended to make the agreement of a stipulated price of grain, previously in vogue among grain men, punishable under the law of the state, and has all along received heart support from the farmers.

The farmers of the state of Washington have succeeded in securing the passage of a

reciprocal demurrage law, and the railroads, it seems, are actually obeying its provisions. It stipulates that a penalty of one dollar per day shall be paid for failure to deliver cars for local shipment within six days from date following the application, and a similar penalty for not moving carload business at the rate of fifty miles per day. The railroad also is fined for not promptly advising the consignee of the arrival of a shipment.

The Farmers Grain Dealers' Association of Iowa, in session at Fort Dodge early in January of 1907, passed the following resolutions, copies of which were sent to President Roosevelt, their representatives in Congress, Governor Cummins, and to the members of the state legislature, and the newspapers of the state.

"Resolved, that we hereby request our United States Senators and our Iowa delegation to the lower house of Congress to secure if possible the enactment of a National Reciprocal Demurrage law, penalizing railroads for wantonly neglecting to perform their duties as common carriers of freight, and we especially request our Congressional delegation to support such a National Reciprocal Demurrage bill as the one recently introduced in Congress by Martin B. Madden of Illinois; and be it further

"Resolved, That we hereby request our members of the state legislature to work and vote for the passage of a state reciprocal demurrage measure, and to use every effort to have such a bill become a law at the present session of our legislature; and be it further

"Resolved, That we are unanimously in favor of a two-cent passenger rate on the steam roads of the state, a reasonable restriction on lobbying at sessions of our legislature, and a drastic anti-pass law covering all but actual and legitimate railroad employés; and be it further

"Resolved, That this association favors the immediate enactment of the law establishing a state twine manufactory at Anamosa penitentiary; and be it further

"Resolved, That we are unanimously in favor of a revision of the law creating the railroad commission of the state, and believe that the power of this commission should be enlarged and that it should be given ample authority to enforce its decisions; and be it further

"Resolved, That we heartily endorse the movement for the election of United States

Senators by a direct vote of the people in order that we may clean out the corporation boodlers that now secure a seat in that august body; and be it further

"Resolved, That we respectfully request our present governor to use his influence in support of the state measures that we have mentioned, and, if possible, drive the corporation lobby, bag and baggage, from our legislative halls; and further be it

"Resolved, That, without regard to party, we congratulate President Roosevelt and all those who have earnestly labored with him, on the mighty upheaval that has accomplished so much for good in our civic and industrial life within the last two years."

The Illinois state association in February, 1907, passed similar resolutions and in addition extended a vote of thanks to Senator Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin, "for his efforts in securing an investigation by the Interstate Commerce Commission of the so-called Grain Trust, that has brought to light a startling condition of affairs existing in the grain trade throughout the central West."

The sentiment throughout the West is very strongly in favor of Federal inspection of grain. United States Senator McCumber, speaking before the fourth annual convention of the Iowa Association in February, 1908, said: "In 1906 the Interstate Commerce Commission was directed to investigate the relations between the railways and elevator companies. The pages of this report were replete with criminal practices of great concerns in the effort to strangle to death competing interests, through a system of loading cars, turning on good wheat, filling the center with screenings and finishing with good grain. The only remedy for all these evils must be national inspection. The thought is not a new one. With greater power and resources the government could over-night take the present corps of inspectors. It could work off the incompetent ones in time. It could be educating the others from a scientific standpoint. The government could work out an intelligent system, not by overthrowing present commercial grades but by placing them on a scientific basis."

The fifth annual convention of the Farmers' Grain Dealers of Nebraska, who met in Lincoln, January twenty-first and twenty-second, also passed resolutions declaring themselves in favor of grain inspections, and

in April, 1908, a committee representing 200,000 members of coöperative grain companies in four states, which was appointed by the various state associations, met in Washington to ask for the passage of Senator McCumber's Federal Inspection of Grain Bill.

It is also owing to the initiative of the farmers that the state governments of Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Michigan and Indiana have established twine plants in their state prisons, and this has lowered the price of twine considerably for the farmers. The president of the Minnesota State Grain Dealers' Association, Burr D. Alton, in speaking of the advantage to the farmers the state twine plant has been, said that at the time of its establishment "we were paying from 15 to 20 cents a pound for twine. I paid 20 cents when oats were 18 cents a bushel. At that time the twine trust was able to govern the price of raw material and paid $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents for sisal—the lowest price—and sold it at the same time for the highest. Now our state pays nearly twice as much per pound as the trust did, sells it for half as much as the trust did and yet makes a good profit for the state. . . . It was the demand of the farmers that brought forth the twine plant."

During the year 1906-07 the Minnesota plant produced and sold 13,152,000 pounds, but was even then unable to fill its orders, in spite of the fact that they worked three hours per day overtime. Since the Minnesota prison began the manufacturing of twine in 1891 it has made about 95,000,000 pounds at a profit to the state of one million dollars, and a saving to the farmers of the state of three millions. The Kansas plant, which cost \$44,000, has in five years made a profit of \$90,622. The Missouri plant sells its twine at cost price to the farmers, and has reduced the price from 14 cents per pound to eight and one-half. The Iowa plant has in the last two years made a profit of \$410,000 for the state and lowered the price of twine three cents a pound. It is now manufacturing 18,000,000 pounds a year. These are results of the political activity of farmers that speak much louder, so the farmers think, than all the carping criticism of the corporation-controlled newspapers and the economic theorists who object to any governmental activity beyond the police function.

The purpose underlying these unions of the

farmers is, first of all, perhaps, economic self-protection, but back of that is a desire for the larger civic life which is the ideal of all true Americans. These men are interested in and their organizations stand for the Initiative and Referendum, direct election of United States Senators, government-ownership of public utilities as far as possible, otherwise the most stringent governmental control. And the steps which they have already taken are but the first steps in the nursery of political life as compared with the political activity and progress which we may expect to see these coöperating farmers make in the near future.

Some of the news items from these companies this month are as follows:

Ralston, Iowa, has a new coöperative elevator with a capacity of 20,000 bushels. The capital stock of the company is \$5,000, and there are about 180 members.

The Coöperative Elevator Company of Ireton has just completed its new 30,000-bushel elevator. A lumber yard has been purchased by them, and they are now actively engaged in the grain, lumber and coal business.

The annual report of the Farmers' Elevator Company at Alford shows the total purchases for the year \$36,960; total sales, \$40,130.88; profit \$3,170.88, expense of running house, \$2,039.70; net surplus, \$1,131.09. They are about to instal a 10,000-bushel addition to their elevator to care for their increasing business. During the past year the company has han-

dled 2,543 tons of coal, 151,000 bushels of corn, 145,370 bushels of oats and 1,681 bushels of flax. The gross earnings were \$5,889; expenses, \$2,307, leaving a net profit of \$3,582 on a paid-up capital of \$3,550, or a trifle over 100 per cent.

The Farmers' Elevator Company of Lyon has just completed a new flour and feed house, 16 x 24, with sheet-iron floor, sides and roof. It will make a mice, rat and fire-proof building and will give a storage capacity of two carloads.

The third annual meeting of the coöperative elevator company of St. Ansgar was held on the twenty-ninth of January, 1908. This company handles coal, lumber and grain, and has about 200 members drawn not only from the ranks of the farmers, but also from the business men and residents of the town. Their annual report shows:

Sales of merchandise for the year	\$30,980.06
Lumber sold, 413,323 feet.	
Coal sold, 1,504 tons.	
Bushels of grain bought, 165,829.	
Amount paid for same	\$58,380.89

Aurelia has one of the best organized companies in Iowa, though they encountered many hardships in getting organized. There are about 160 members in this company, and 119 of these are actual grain raisers, though the company secures business from 201 farmers in the vicinity. The report of business done from July, 1907, to January 31, 1908, shows their net profit for the six months to be \$1,755.

HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

EDUCATION BY ASSAULT AND BATTERY.

IT IS ONLY lately that we learned that the best way of governing our wives is not "with a stick not thicker than our thumbs," we have not yet learned that similar methods are not the best for children. If, however, "government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed," as our Declaration of Independence alleges, there must be a juster and therefore a better way. That we have not discovered it is because children are usually governed mainly for the good of the elders and not for their own good. "There is no instance in history," says Buckle, "where a class possessing power has not used it for its own benefit."

This theory of education evolved the iniquitous maxim that "Children should be seen and not heard." Children have as good a right to be heard as we have. It is natural that they should make a noise, and much more necessary than that we should make music. If we do not want to hear them, we could go elsewhere. But it is easier to tell them to "stop" until this becomes a habit.

"Mary," said a mother, "go see what Johnny is doing, and tell him to stop." If he is doing right, he is entitled to go on doing it; if he is doing wrong he is equally entitled to suffer the consequences, or at least to know what the consequences are, not to have his

little experiment nipped in the bud with "Stop." Of course, if his activities result in an attack upon others, then we have the right to stop him; the right to preserve equal freedom, the only right of any governor.

But we are not entitled to check him at our whim nor to assume that everything he does is wrong because his nature is depraved or because what he does is not what we would do.

The theory that we are the children not of God but of the devil, is the real origin of the saying, "Spare the rod and spoil the child."

In the school where I was "got" up the real ruler was an ebony one. If any one left undone what he ought to have done, the ruler rapped his knuckles to teach him that the ways of transgressors are harder than his knuckles.

Startling as it may seem, we have no right to punish children at all. They may be doing wrong. If they do the wrong to us, we are entitled to resist it and prevent it, if we wish to do so. Our natural instincts are against such violence.

"I never can punish my children," said a lady to the author, "until I get good and angry myself." Most women delegate this "duty" to the papa, who does it under protest of his feelings. We have no more right to punish children than to punish grown persons.

The natural inclination of a child is towards the right; when we show him what is wise, he tries to do it. Like a twig bent by force its constant tendency is to uprightness and experience supplements this tendency.

The order of nature is a school—a method of teaching. It is not possible to learn except by experience, and only to a limited extent can we learn by the experience of others. When by force of arms we prohibit some child's action, we are taking that child away from school.

We have a right to advise our children, and when we remember what kind of advice we got from our parents we'll be a little careful about how we do it. But we must not impose either our stronger wills or our stronger muscles upon our children. We must allow them to grow up in the free air and sunlight. The first condition of free development is freedom. To the extent that freedom is denied, healthy growth is retarded. It is for this reason that women are usually less developed physically,

mentally and morally than men. Says Sam Walter Foss:

"The way to make a perfect man
The only way I know,
Is to put him in the Sunshine,
With the one commandment, 'Grow'."

Life is one protracted experiment, and a child's first experiments are to find out whether we are wise and true so that we may be trusted. If we prove trustworthy, we are then in a position to teach, to give the child a share in our experience. But as we are governed ourselves by about 21,200 laws, exclusive of local ordinances, therefore it is not strange that we think a good many are necessary for a child. We must choose between being the friends or constituting ourselves the masters of our children. If we are their friends they will take our advice and profit by our pains. If we are the masters, we may take their liberty and profit by their labors.

If we are masters we make the child afraid of us and tempt it to tell lies, to escape, not the consequences of its acts but our vengeance for crossing our will. We deprive it of the possibility of learning that the natural consequences inevitably follow every act.

Most colleges have relegated the governing power to the students, some schools have given it back to the boys—it may be that a few nurseries will yet leave it to the children.

But are we not to save children from the consequences of their folly? We have only the same right with them that we have with grown people. If we see a man going out without his overcoat, we may not put it on by force even though the consequence of his imprudence might be pneumonia, but if we see him blindly walk in front of the express train we pull him violently out of the danger, trusting to his sense to justify us in the assault. So we may guard our children from irremediable harm.

But by force we can no more make the child good than we can by force make the man prudent or moral. For thousands of years the censors, like Comstock, Gerry, Berg and Company have been guarding, not their own morals (about which they are never uneasy), but somebody else's morals from contagion. Yet to-day, after all our efforts for the suppression of vice, the best that can be said is that there is more suppressed vice than ever.

BOLTON HALL.

THE VOCATION BUREAU.

A NEW institution called the Vocation Bureau has recently been established in Boston. Its purpose is to aid young people in choosing an occupation, preparing themselves for it, finding an opening in it and building up a career of efficiency and success. The expert guidance which usually ceases with the school life, is extended so as to cover the transition from school to work. The idea is to apply scientific method and systematic investigation to the choice of a vocation instead of leaving the youth to drift into this or that employment by chance, proximity or uninformed selection, a process which has yielded plentiful harvests of misfits, and is at the root of much of the inefficiency and change that so many employers have to contend with in their working force.

The Bureau does not attempt to decide for the applicant what his calling should be, but it tries to help him arrive at a wise, well-founded conclusion for himself. Its mottoes are Light, Information, Inspiration, Coöperation. It helps the boy: First, to study and understand himself, his aptitudes, abilities, interests, resources, limitations and their causes; second, to get a knowledge of the conditions of success, advantages and disadvantages, opportunities, etc., in different lines of industry; and, third, to reason correctly about the relations of these two groups of facts.

The fundamental principle is adaptation. If a man is doing work for which he has a natural fitness and an adequate preparation—if his best abilities and enthusiasms are united with his daily work and find full scope in it—he has the foundation for a useful and happy life. But if his best abilities and enthusiasms are separated from his work—if his occupation is only a means of making a living, and the work he loves to do is sidetracked into the evening hours or pushed out of his life altogether, he is likely to be only a fraction of the man he ought to be.

The Bureau was established in January of this year by Mrs. Quincy A. Shaw, the progressive daughter of Agassiz, who started the kindergarten movement in Boston and sloyd work in the public schools, and other

good things that have made her famous for her enlightened benefactions. The idea originated with Professor Frank Parsons, formerly a lecturer in Boston University Law School, a well-known writer on legal, economic and political subjects, and a member of the National Civic Federation Commission on Public Ownership.

The Bureau renders its service free of charge. It is part of the social work of the Civic Service House, in coöperation with the Y.M.C.A., the Women's Educational and Industrial Union and the Economic Club. The Bureau has offices at all these places, the executive office being at the Civic Service House.

Many of the leading men and women of the city are interested in the movement as trustees or members of the executive committee, including the heads of the state departments of Education and Labor, presidents and managers of public-service companies and other large business enterprises, the president of the Chamber of Commerce, the president of Boston University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Simmons College, Wellesley, etc., the president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, lawyers, editors, authors, etc., etc.

Although the work is very young and a good deal of its life has been consumed in the process of organization, nearly eighty young men and women from fifteen to thirty-nine years of age have come for consultation, and, according to their own spontaneous statements, all but two have received much light and help, some even declaring that the interview with the Counsellor was the most important hour of their lives.

The applicants are of two classes: First, those having well-developed aptitudes and interests and a practical basis for a reasonable conclusion in respect to the choice of a vocation; second, boys and girls with so little experience or manifestation of special aptitudes or interests that there is no basis yet for a wise decision. They are set to investigating different industries and practical testing of themselves to broaden their knowledge and bring to light and develop any spe-

cial capacities, aptitudes, interests and abilities that may lie dormant in them or be readily acquired by them.

The Counsellor begins with a ten or fifteen-minute talk to a school, a boys' club or some other group of young people, about the importance of plan and method in the choice of a vocation and the development of an all-round, complete and balanced life. Then individual appointments are made with those who wish for consultation, and the careful studies on which a wise decision may be based are begun and carried out in a systematic, scientific manner. The memory is tested and the general intelligence so far as possible, the senses also and delicacy of touch, nerve, reaction time for sight and hearing, association time, etc., where these facts appear to be important elements in the problem. For example, an artist needs among other things, good visual memory and delicacy of touch; a dentist should have keen sight, delicate touch and correlation of hand and eye, and plenty of nerve; and a boy or girl with defective verbal memory or slow visual and auditory reactions would not make an expert stenographer.

Circulars to young people, to workers and to employers are issued by the Bureau. Also "Instructions" to those desiring its services, and a four-page leaflet full of "Personal Data" or questions to be answered in the process of arriving at that self-knowledge on which a true conclusion must be founded. Information as to opportunities in different industries, is being gathered and classified; the permanent demand and geographical distribution of industries also, and the movement of demand in various occupations. For example, the census figures show that the printing trade in Massachusetts is growing at a rate about four times as great as the average rate of growth for the entire group of mechanical and manufacturing industries. Another investigation has filled twenty-nine large sheets with data in regard to the *conditions of success* in different industries; first, the fundamentals, applicable in large measure to all industries, and, second, the special conditions applicable to particular industries or groups of industries. For example, health, energy, care, enthusiasm, reliability, love of the work, etc., are essential to the best success in any industry; while power of expression with the voice is peculiarly related to success in the ministry, law and

public life; organizing and executive ability, knowledge of human nature and ability to deal with it, power to manage men harmoniously and effectively, are important factors in business affairs of the larger sort: and delicacy of touch, coördination of hand and brain, fine sense of color, form and proportion, strong memory for combinations of sound, etc., are special elements in artistic and musical success.

Over two hundred ways in which women are earning money have been classified, and the tables of industries open to men show hundreds of other ways of making a living.

Birds-eye tables have been made showing the courses of study in leading vocational schools throughout the country and in Europe, and the Bureau is tabulating on a comprehensive card-index system, all the day and evening courses that are given in Boston or near-by, so that the student can see at a glance all the courses available in the line he is contemplating, with the time each course begins, its length, hours per day and week, conditions and requirements, cost, chance of earning money, working way through, etc. The Bureau has also important studies relating to the apprenticeship system, and the college man in business, so that young men taking college courses may be put on their guard against the error of specializing on book-learning without due balance in the practical training necessary to enable them to *use* knowledge as well as *acquire* it—the power not only to think but to *express* thought in useful action, to *do* things that need to be done in daily life and do them efficiently, skilfully, with the power of trained ability.

If the Counsellor finds the *memory* of the applicant below the standard he gives the youth a printed analysis of the means of developing the memory and securing the best results from it. A leaflet called "Suggestions for a Plan of Life" is also given in many cases with oral instructions sufficient to make it vital to the recipient. It is intended to direct attention to the elements essential to an all-round, symmetrical development, and the value of making a good plan and living up to it instead of drifting through life like a rudderless boat.

Special effort is made to *develop analytic power* and *civic interest* whenever the need appears. The power to see the essential facts and principles in a book, or a man or a mass of business data, economic facts, or

political and social affairs, reduce these essentials to their lowest terms and group them in their true relations in brief diagrams or pictures, is invaluable in any department of life where clear thinking and intellectual grasp are important elements. This analytic power is one of the corner-stones of mastery and achievement.

Not less important is the work done in the direction of developing *civic interest*. The boy is impressed with the fact that he is or soon will be one of the directors and rulers of the United States; that his part in civic affairs is quite as important as his occupation, vital as that undoubtedly is; that all-round manhood should be the aim, and making a living is only one arc of the circle; and that he must study to be a good citizen as well as a good worker.

The Bureau's leaflets entitled "Civic Suggestions," "Lincoln's Message to Young Men," and "Analysis of Parliamentary Law," are very useful in this connection. The latter enables the young man to fit himself with very little effort to join in the discussions of a town meeting, young men's congress or debating society, or preside over a meeting with credit to himself if called to the chair. Very often the youth can be led to read and analyze a series of good books on government

and public questions, beginning perhaps with Dole and Fiske on *Citizenship and Civil Government*, or with Forman's *Advanced Cures* and Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, and continuing with the works of Albert Shaw, Zueblin, Howe and Steffens, the famous speeches of Wendell Phillips and the messages of Lincoln, Washington and Roosevelt, the great problem books, such as Moody's *Truth About the Trusts*, *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, *Labor Copartnership*, *The Story of New Zealand*, etc., and some of the principal books on history, economics and sociology.

The work is in its infancy as yet, but it is constantly growing in volume and importance. The Director and those associated with him are enthusiastic over the results that have been achieved even in the few weeks since the Bureau was established, but they believe that in order to cover the field in the most complete and adequate manner the work should become a part of the public-school system in every community, with experts trained as carefully in the art of vocational guidance as men are trained to-day for medicine or the law, and laboratories supplied with every facility that science can devise for testing the senses and capacities and the whole physical, intellectual and emotional make-up of the child.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

WITH this issue of THE ARENA we close Volume Thirty-nine. From various quarters throughout the Republic, from Mexico, Canada and other foreign lands, we have received a great number of letters of the most flattering character, as to the content-matter of this review, many of our subscribers insisting that THE ARENA to-day is far better than ever before in its history. Below we give extracts from a few of scores of letters that have been received during the past few weeks.

From Sandy Hill, New York, under date of April seventeenth, a well-known professional gentleman writes:

"I desire to express my hearty appreciation of your work in behalf of the industrial men and women of this Republic, and that, too, in the face of a double battle-line: first, the oligarchy of the criminal rich, and, secondly, the long line of semi-ignorant, who never read a magazine article—men like Tweed's constituency, who can only be impressed by cartoons and pictures of their poverty. It seems to me that if every voter in the land could have an opportunity to read even the March number of THE ARENA, the consummation of the great work in which you are engaged would be attained."

A prominent journalist of New York City, under date of April eighth, writes:

"Let me say to you that I believe THE ARENA is better than it ever was. It is in the wide catholicity of its contents that it excels. I read it with a great deal of pleasure."

A leading lawyer who is also the proprietor of a large daily in the West, under date of April sixth, writes:

"I have been a constant reader of THE ARENA for several years, as I like to keep posted in the discussions in the periodicals of the month, and this is, in my judgment, certainly the ablest of any of them."

From the City of Mexico an influential business man writes:

"The articles that have appeared in THE ARENA on Christian Science have been highly appreciated here, those by yourself especially. I am not a member of the church in question, but I like the spirit of fair play displayed in those articles, which, however, is characteristic of the treatment accorded every topic admitted into the columns of THE ARENA for discussion. Wishing for your magazine the popularity and prosperity it so richly merits, and for yourself great success and happiness in the noble work for humanity to which you are devoting your life, I remain."

From a planter of Adams, Tennessee:

"All radicals, which means all true reformers, say THE ARENA is better now, with you, its founder, again at the helm, than it ever was, and is doing more good. You are fighting for the noblest cause since Bunker Hill."

Extracts of this character could be extended almost indefinitely. The above, however, from

men in widely different walks of life, are typical of the general expressions which are constantly being received at the Editorial Department of the magazine.

This month's issue is particularly strong in timely articles of worth on great questions vital to the life and integrity of free government—fundamental questions in the domain of politics, economics and social progress. We especially call the attention of our readers to the symposium on Direct-Legislation, which opens with one of the most notable contributions that has yet appeared on this subject. It is from the brilliant pen of United States Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma. Every friend of fundamental democracy from the Atlantic to the Pacific should read the masterly setting forth of facts that are of the utmost importance to the cause of pure and popular government in this able article on "The Restoration of Popular Rule: The Greatest Non-Partisan Issue." The issue is the most important that is now being fought between the upholders of a democratic republic and the advocates of a reactionary class despotism. Consequently no high-minded American can be indifferent to the facts which Senator Owen so happily presents.

"In *Direct-Legislation Campaign in the Empire State* we give one of a series of papers which we contemplate publishing, dealing with the battle of the people against corrupt bosses and privileged interests throughout the various commonwealths of America. In Oregon and Oklahoma the principles of popular rule have splendidly triumphed. In South Dakota they are also a part of the organic law, although the constitutional provisions are not so ideal as those of Oregon and Oklahoma. In five commonwealths this year the people will vote on the question of whether or not the voters are to be the real sovereigns or whether the classes acting through corrupt bosses and the handy-men of the 'interests' are to be the governing power. In *The Direct-Legislation Campaign in the Empire State* we are pleased to be able to present the portraits of about a score of men who are interested in this great fight for the restoration and maintenance of the government of the fathers.

The third paper of the symposium has been prepared by Mr. Frederic C. Leubuscher, the able attorney who drafted the proposed New York State Constitutional Amendment, and is a paper of interest and value to the friends of Direct-Legislation everywhere. It admirably complements the preceding articles.

The symposium dealing with the present attempt to Russianise America by suppression of free speech and free assembly is timely. The cause is vital because it strikes at the heart of popular government and orderly and peaceful progress.

The attempt of the enemies of the Republic to encourage violence and anarchy, such as prevail in Russia, by suppressing freedom of speech, must be met by immediate and nation-wide protest if the program of reaction being steadily pressed forward by the upholders of the oligarchy of privileged wealth is to be checked.

A paper that richly merits special notice is Mr. George Allan England's discussion of the recent panic and the present economic outlook. The author, who is a master of arts from Harvard, is a deep thinker on social and political questions and has given us in this article a paper of special value and interest.

Turning from the discussions of political, social and economic issues to papers relating to the spiritual life or the relation which man sustains to the Creator and the universe, the readers will find in this issue two contributions markedly interesting. In Professor BIXBY's *The Message of Emerson* we have one of the most masterly papers of the kind that has appeared. The writer of this paper has long held a foremost place among the great liberal religious thinkers of the New World. He

holds the degree of doctor of philosophy from the University of Leipsic.

In Mr. WEBSTER's paper on *The Philosophy of Christianity* we have a thoughtful presentation by a prominent Christian-Science thinker of the three world-concepts of life: that of monism or materialism; that of dualism, and the metaphysical concept that holds that God and the spiritual universe are the great realities.

In *The Failure of Organized Religion in the Treatment of the Marriage Relation*, the Rev. ROLAND D. SAWYER, a prominent New England Congregational clergyman, has written a paper that cannot fail to arrest the attention of thinking men and women. Some of its revelations are startling in character. Especially is this true of those that show the historical results of the celibacy of the clergy.

In *An Assistant to Providence* we are pleased to again be able to present our readers with another of Mrs. WILMATTE PORTER COCKERELL's short stories—stories that are always instinct with moral idealism and an atmosphere of helpfulness.

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Mr. Bryan has been an advocate of a law guaranteeing deposits in state and national banks since 1893. The legislature of Ohio has adopted a joint resolution inviting Mr. Bryan to address its members in joint session February 18, 1908, on the subject of "Guaranteed Bank Deposits."

Mr. Bryan, in discussing the tariff question, insists that residents of the United States should be permitted to buy home-made goods at home at as low a price as the foreigner can buy American-made goods abroad. He also insists that our government should be by and for the people as a whole, rather than by and for the trusts, and administered in the interest of a few beneficiaries of the trust system. He believes that national legislation for the purpose of better regulation and control of interstate commerce and common carriers should supplement state legislation, and not be a substitute for state legislation.

Mr. Bryan's paper, *The Commoner*, reflects his opinions each week on questions of public importance and in its columns may also be found his magazine articles, public speeches, addresses and lectures, which are referred to in the daily press from day to day.

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